Encyclopædia

of

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CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Celtic), DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Celtic).

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CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Japanese).

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CREED (Buddhist).

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CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Hebrew), DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Jewish).

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DANAIDS.

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DISEASE AND LOVE (Vedic).

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Convocation.

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Cursing and Blessing, Dew, Doubles.

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Danger, Death and Disposal of the Non-Aryans, Delhi, Fatehpur, G. Devi Palan, Dhinodar, Don.

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Desire (Buddhist).

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Desire (Greek).

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Crimes and Punishments (Parsi).

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Cosmogony and Cosmology (Celtic), Divination (Celtic).

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Cuchullain Cycle.

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Consciousness.

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Cosmogony and Cosmology (Indian), Cow (Hindu), Daitya, Death and Disposal of the Dead ( Jain), Demons and Spirits ( Jain), Digamaras, Divination (Hindu).

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Crimes and Punishments (Hindu), Custom (Hindu), Dharma, Disease and Medicine (Hindu).

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Deism.

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Crimes and Punishments (Muhammadan).

KIDD (BENJAMIN).  
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Darwinism.

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Cosmogony and Cosmology (Muhammadan), Creed (Muhammadan), Death and Disposal of the Dead (Muhammadan).

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Descent to Hades (Christ's).

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Cosmogony and Cosmology (Mexican and South American).

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Covenant, Crimes and Punishments (Primitive), Cross-roads, Crown, Descent to Hades (Ethnic), Door.

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Debauchery.

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Consumption, Distribution.

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Contempt, Contentment.

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Cosmogony and Cosmology (Buddhist), Councils (Buddhist), Death and Disposal of the Dead (Buddhist).

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Dee Matres.

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Donatists.

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Dinka.

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Death and Disposal of the Dead (Greek).

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Culture, Desire.
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<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>Starruck (Edwin Hiller), Ph.D.</td>
<td>Professor of Philosophy in the State University of Iowa; author of The Psychology of Religion. Double-mindedness, Doubt.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stawell (Florence Melian)</td>
<td>Certified Student of Newnham College, Cambridge (Classical Tripos, 1892, Part I, Class I, Div. L.); sometime Lecturer in Classics at Newnham College. Cyrenaics.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stokes (George J.), M.A. (Trinity College, Dublin)</td>
<td>Of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law; Professor of Philosophy and Jurisprudence in University College, Cork, National University of Ireland. Delict.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sudhoff (Prof. Dr. Karl)</td>
<td>Direktor des Instituts für Geschichte der Medizin an der Universität zu Leipzig. Disease and Medicine (Teutonic).</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Takakusu (Jyun), M.A., D.Litt. (Oxford), Dr. Phil. (Leipzig)</td>
<td>Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Tokyo. Dhyan.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Taylor (Alfred Edward), M.A. (Oxon.), D.Litt. (St. Andrews)</td>
<td>Professor of Moral Philosophy in the United College of SS. Salvator and Leonard, St. Andrews; late Fellow of Merton College, Oxford; Fellow of the British Academy; author of The Problem of Conduct (1901), Elements of Metaphysics (1903), Varia Sacra (1911). Continuity.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Thompson (R. Campbell), M.A., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.</td>
<td>Formerly Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum (1899-1905); formerly Assistant Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Chicago (1907-1909). Demons and Spirits (Assyro-Babylonian), Disease and Medicine (Assyro-Babylonian).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thraemer (Eduard), Dr. Phil.</td>
<td>Ausserordentlicher Professor für klassische Alterthumswissenschaft an der Universität zu Strassburg, seit 1909 emeritiert. Disease and Medicine (Greek and Roman).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tod (David Macrae), M.A., B.D. (Edin.)</td>
<td>Minister of St. James' Presbyterian Church, Huddersfield; formerly Cunningham Fellow, New College, Edinburgh. Covetousness.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traill (John)</td>
<td>Late Missionary of the United Free Church of Scotland at Jaipur, Rajpantna. Dadu, Dadupanthis.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throeltsch (Ernst), Dr. theol., phil. jur.</td>
<td>Geheimer Kirchenrat; Professor der Theologie an der Universität zu Heidelberg. Contingency.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
WALKER (WILLISTON), Ph.D., D.D., L.H.D.  
Titus Street Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University.  
Congregationalism.

WALSHE (W. GILBERT), M.A.  
London Secretary of Christian Literature Society for China; late 'James Long' Lecturer; author of Confucius and Confucianism; editor of China.

Confucius, Cosmogony and Cosmology (Chinese), Crimes and Punishments (Chinese), Death and Disposal of the Dead (Chinese).

WATT (WELLSTOOD ALEXANDER), M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.  
Contract.

WENLEY (ROBERT MARK), D.Phil., LL.D. (Glasgow), D.Sc. (Edinburgh), Litt.D. (Hobart).  
Professor of Philosophy in the University of Michigan; author of Modern Thought and the Crisis in Belief, Kant and His Philosophical Revolution.

Conscientiousness, Cynics.

WHITNEY (WILLIAM THOMAS), M.A., LL.D., F.R.Hist.S., F.T.S.  
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Connexionalism.

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

Doubt.

WILLETT (HERBERT LOCKWOOD), A.M., Ph.D.  
Associate Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures, and Dean of the Disciples; Divinity House, in the University of Chicago.  
Disciples of Christ.

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

Delusion.

WISOWA (GEORG), Dr. jur. et phil.  
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Divination (Roman).

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

Deluge.

WORKMAN (HERBERT B.), M.A., D.Lit.  
Principal of Westminster Training College; Member of the Board of Studies in the Faculty of Theology, London University; author of The Dawn of the Reformation, Persecution in the Early Church, and Christian Thought to the Reformation.

Constantine, Crusades.

WÜNSCH (RICHARD), Dr. Phil.  
Ordentlicher Professor der Klassischen Philosophie an der Universität zu Königsberg.

Cross-roads (Roman).

YOUNGERT (SVEN GUSTAF), Ph.D., D.D.  
Professor of Philosophy and Greek New Testament Exegesis at Augustana College and Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Ill.

Cosmogony and Cosmology (Teutonic).

CROSS-REFERENCES

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

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<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Probable Title of Article</th>
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<tr>
<td>Conflict of Duties</td>
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<td>Conjeveram</td>
<td>Kanchi-puram.</td>
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<td>Conservation</td>
<td>Energy, Force.</td>
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<td>Constitutions</td>
<td>Bulls and Briefs, Lutheranism.</td>
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<td>Consubstantiation</td>
<td>Eucharist, Lutheranism.</td>
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<td>Corvée</td>
<td>Labour.</td>
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<td>Cosmic Egg</td>
<td>Cosmogony and Cosmology.</td>
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<td>Geography (Mythical).</td>
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<td>Atinia, Discipline.</td>
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<td>Roman Religion.</td>
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<td>Diaspora</td>
<td>Judaism.</td>
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<td>Dionysos</td>
<td>Greek Religion, Drama.</td>
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<td>Dioscuri</td>
<td>Greek Religion, Twins.</td>
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<td>Disestablishment</td>
<td>State.</td>
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<td>Doppets</td>
<td>Sects (Chr.).</td>
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<td>Dragon</td>
<td>Cosmogony and Cosmology, Symbols.</td>
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**LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS**

I. General

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>A.H.</td>
<td>Anno Hijrae (A.D. 622)</td>
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<td>Ak.</td>
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<td>Amer.</td>
<td>American</td>
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<td>Apocalypse, Apocalyptic</td>
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<td>Altes Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>Authorized Version</td>
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<tr>
<td>AVm</td>
<td>Authorized Version margin</td>
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<td>A.Y.</td>
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<td>c.</td>
<td>circa, about</td>
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<td>compare</td>
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<td>ct.</td>
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<td>English Version</td>
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<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>following verse or page: as Ac 10\textsuperscript{th}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ff.</td>
<td>and following verses or pages: as Mt 11\textsuperscript{th}</td>
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<td>Greek</td>
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<td>H</td>
<td>Holy of Holiness</td>
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II. Books of the Bible

**Old Testament.**

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<th>Book</th>
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<tr>
<td>Nu</td>
<td>Numbers</td>
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<td>Dt</td>
<td>Deuteronomy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jos</td>
<td>Joshua</td>
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<td>Jg</td>
<td>Judges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ru</td>
<td>Ruth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 S 2 S</td>
<td>1 and 2 Samuel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 K 2 K</td>
<td>1 and 2 Kings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ch 2 Ch</td>
<td>1 and 2 Chronicles</td>
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<td>Ps</td>
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<td>Pr</td>
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<td>Ecclesiastes</td>
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<td>Apocrypha.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Es 2 Es</td>
<td>1 and 2 Esdras</td>
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<td>Tob</td>
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<td>Jth</td>
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<td>Daniel</td>
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<td>Hos</td>
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<td>Jl</td>
<td>Joel</td>
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<td>Am</td>
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**New Testament.**

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<td>Luke</td>
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<td>Jn</td>
<td>John</td>
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<td>Ac</td>
<td>Acts</td>
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<td>Ro</td>
<td>Romans</td>
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<td>1 Co 2 Co</td>
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<td>Gal</td>
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<td>Ph</td>
<td>Philemon</td>
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<td>Col</td>
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<td>Jas</td>
<td>James</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Th 2 Th</td>
<td>1 and 2 Thessalonians</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Ti 2 Ti</td>
<td>1 and 2 Timothy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tit</td>
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<td>Phi</td>
<td>Philemon</td>
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<td>Jude</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rev</td>
<td>Revelation</td>
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*ABBREVIATIONS*

**Books of the Bible:**

- Old Testament
  - Gn = Genesis
  - Ex = Exodus
  - Lv = Leviticus
  - Nu = Numbers
  - Dt = Deuteronomy
  - Jos = Joshua
  - Jg = Judges
  - Ru = Ruth
  - 1 S 2 S = 1 and 2 Samuel
  - 1 K 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings
  - 1 Ch 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles
  - Ezr = Ezra
  - Neh = Nehemiah
  - Est = Esther
  - Job
  - Ps = Psalms
  - Pr = Proverbs
  - Ec = Ecclesiastes
  - Apocrypha.
    - 1 Es 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras
    - Tob = Tobit
    - Jth = Judith

**New Testament:**

- Mt = Matthew
- Mk = Mark
- Lk = Luke
- Jn = John
- Ac = Acts
- Ro = Romans
- 1 Co 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians
- Gal = Galatians
- Eph = Ephesians
- Ph = Philemon
- Col = Colossians
- Heb = Hebrews
- Jas = James
- 1 Th 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians
- 1 Ti 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy
- Tit = Titus
- Phi = Philemon
- Jude
- Rev = Revelation

*Authorship Details:

- Isr. = Israeliite
- J = Jahwist
- JHV = Jehovah
- Jerus. = Jerusalem
- Jos. = Josephus
- LXX = Septuagint
- Min. = Micaiah
- MSS = Manuscripts
- MT = Massoretic Text
- n. = note
- NT = New Testament
- Onk. = Onkelos
- OT = Old Testament
- P = Priestly Narrative
- Pal. = Palestinian
- Pent. = Pentateuch
- Pers. = Persian
- Phil. = Philistine
- Phon. = Phenician
- Pr. Be. = Prayer Book
- R = Redactor
- Rom. = Roman
- RV = Revised Version
- RVm = Revised Version margin
- Sab. = Sabean
- Sam. = Samaritan
- Sem. = Semitic
- Sept. = Septuagint
- Sin. = Sinaitic
- Skr. = Sanskrit
- Symm. = Symmachus
- Syr. = Syriac
- t. = (following a number) = times
- Talm. = Talmud
- Targ. = Targum
- Theod. = Theodotion
- TR = Textus Receptus
- tr. = translated or translation
- VSS = Versions
- Vulg. = Vulgate
- WH = Westcott and Hort's text.*

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### 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.

- Baethgen = *Beiträge zur sem. Religionsgesch.* (1888).
- Darenberg-Saglio = *Dict. des ant. grec. et rom.* 1886-90.
- De la Saussaye = *Lehrbuch der Religionsgesch.* (1893).
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- Hamburger = *Realencyclopadie für Bibel u. Talmud,* 1, 1886-1889, 2, 1890-1893, suppl. 1886, 1891 f., 1897.
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- Howitt = *Native Tribes of S. E. Australia,* 1904.
- Jastrow = *Cours de Litt. celtique,* i. xi., 1883 ff.
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- Lane = *An Arabic English Dictionary,* 1863 ff.
- Lepsius = *Denkmäler aus Ägypten u. Äthiopien,* 1849-1860.
- Lichtenberger = *Encyc. des sciences religieuses,* 1876.
- Muir = *Sanskrit Texts,* 1858-1872.
- Mius-Arnold = *A Concise Dict. of the Assyrian Language,* 1894 ff.
- Pumili-Wissowa = *Reinwege. der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft,* 1893-1895.
- Perrot-Chipiez = *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité,* 1881 ff.
- Prollier = *Römische Mythologie,* 1858.
- Réville = *Religion des peuples non-civilisés,* 1883.
- Riehm = *Handwörterbuch d. bibl. Altertums,* 1893-1894.
- Robinson = *Biblical Researches in Palestine,* 1856.
- Roscher = *Lex. d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie,* 1884.
- Schenkel = *Bibl.-Lexicon,* 5 vols. 1869-1875.
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- Schwally = *Leben nach dem Tode,* 1892.
- Siegfrid-Stade = *Heb. Wörterbuch zu AT,* 1893.
- Snouck = *Lehrbuch der altert. Religionsgesch.* (1899).
- Smith (G. A.) = *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (1890), ii. 1886, 1891 f., 1897.
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- Spencer (H.) = *Principles of Sociology,* 1885-1896.
- Spencer-Gillen = *Native Tribes of Central Australia,* 1894.
- Spencer-Gillen = *Northern Tribes of Central Australia,* 1904.
- Swete = *The OT in Greek,* 3 vols. 1893 ff.
- Tytor (E. B.) = *Primitive Culture,* 1891 [1903].
- Weber = *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud u. verwandten Schriften,* 1897.
- Wiedemann = *Die Religion der alten Ägypter,* 1890 [Eng. tr., revised, Religion of the anc. Egyptians, 1897].
- Zunn = *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden,* 1892.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAB</td>
<td>Archiv für Anthropologie.</td>
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<td>AAOJ</td>
<td>American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ABE</td>
<td>Archiv für Ethnographie.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AEG</td>
<td>Assy. and Eng. Glossary (Johns Hopkins University).</td>
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<td>AEGG</td>
<td>Abhandlungen d. Götttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AGPh</td>
<td>Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.</td>
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<td>AH</td>
<td>American Historical Review.</td>
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<td>AIIT</td>
<td>Ancient Hebrew Tradition (Hommel).</td>
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<td>AJPH</td>
<td>American Journal of Philosophy.</td>
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<td>AJR</td>
<td>American Journal of Psychology.</td>
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<td>AJRPE</td>
<td>American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AJSL</td>
<td>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AJT</td>
<td>American Journal of Theology.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AGM</td>
<td>Annales du Musée Guimet.</td>
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<tr>
<td>APES</td>
<td>American Palestine Exploration Society.</td>
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<tr>
<td>APP</td>
<td>Archiv für Papyruforschung.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AFR</td>
<td>Anthropological Review.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AWF</td>
<td>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS</td>
<td>Acta Sanctorum (Bollandus).</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASG</td>
<td>Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSC</td>
<td>L'Année Sociologique.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASWT</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of W. India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AZ</td>
<td>Allgemeine Zeitung.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BAG</td>
<td>Beiträge zur alten Geschichte.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BASS</td>
<td>Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. sem. Sprachwissenschaft (ed. Delitzsch and Haupt).</td>
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<tr>
<td>BCH</td>
<td>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BE</td>
<td>Bureau of Ethnology.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BG</td>
<td>Bombay Gazetteer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BJ</td>
<td>Bellum Judaicum (Josephus).</td>
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<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>Bampton Lectures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLE</td>
<td>Bulletin de Littérature Éclectique.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOR</td>
<td>Bab. and Oriental Record.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS</td>
<td>Bibliotheca Sacra.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BSA</td>
<td>Annual of the British School at Athens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSAA</td>
<td>Bulletin de la Soc. archéologique à Alexandria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSQ</td>
<td>Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BTS</td>
<td>Budist Text Society.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BW</td>
<td>Biblical World.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BZ</td>
<td>Bibilische Zeitschrift.</td>
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*Digitized by Microsoft ®*
CAIPL = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
CBTS = Calcutta Buddhist Text Society.
CF = Childhood of Fiction (MacCulloch).
CGR = Cults of the Greek States (Farnell).
CIA = Census of India.
CL = Corpus Inscription, Atticarum.
CIG = Corpus Inscrip, Graecarum.
CIL = Corpus Inscrip, Latinarum.
CIS = Corpus Inscrip. Semiticarum.
COT = Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT [Eng. tr. of RASS; see below].
CR = Contemporary Review.
CRK = Celtic Review.
CRV = Classical Review.
CQR = Church Quarterly Review.
CSEL = Christian Symbolic Literature.
CQR = Journal of the Pali Text Society.
INS = Journal of Hebrew Studies.
JABS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JAW = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay branch.
JASP = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon branch.
JASK = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korean branch.
JBG = Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.
KAP = Die Keilschriften und das AT (Schrader), 1883.
KATZ = Zimmern-Winkler's ed. of the preceding [really a totally distinct work], 1903.
KB = Klopstock's Klassische Bibliothek (Schrader), 1889 ff.
KGK = Keilschriften und die Geschichte, 1878.
LCB = Literarischen Centrallblatt.
LDP = Literaturblatt für Oriental. Philologie.
LOT = Introduction to Literature of OT (Driver).
LP = Legend of Parous (Hartland).
LSS = Leipziger sem. Studien.
M = Melville.
MAIB = Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
MGH = Monumenta Germanie Historica (Pertz).
MGG = Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde.
MGWJ = Monatsbericht f. Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judentums.
MI = Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas (Westermarck).
MNDPV = Mittheilungen u. Nachtichen des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
MR = Methodist Review.
MVG = Mittheilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
MWJ = Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums.
NBAC = Nuovo Bulletin di Archeologia Cristiana.
NC = Nineteenth Century.
NHWB = Neunehnter Wochenbibel.
NIDQ = North Indian Notes and Queries.
NKZ = Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.
NO = Notes and Queries.
NR = Native Races of the Pacific States (Bancroft).
NTZG = Neunteuzeugen Geschicht.
OZ = Orientalische Litteraturzeitung.
OS = Onomastica Sacra.
OTJC = Old Testament in the Jewish Church (W. R. Smith).
OTP = Oriental Translation Fund Publications.
PB = Polychrome Bible (English).
PBE = Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology.
PC = Primitive Culture (Tyler).
PFE = Palestine Exploration Fund Memoirs.
PFEF = Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.
PG = Patrologia Graeca (Migne).
PJP = Preussische Jahrbücher.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Patrologia Latina (Migne).</td>
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<tr>
<td>PQN</td>
<td>Punjtab Notes and Queries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India (Crooke).</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRE</td>
<td>Prot. Realencyclopadie (Herzog-Hauck).</td>
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<tr>
<td>PREE</td>
<td>Presbyterian and Reformed Review.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERS</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Royal Society.</td>
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<tr>
<td>PSE</td>
<td>Proceedings Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSBA</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Soc. of Biblical Archeology.</td>
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<tr>
<td>PTS</td>
<td>Pali Text Society.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RA</td>
<td>Revue Archéologique.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RAA</td>
<td>Revue d'Anthropologie.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RAS</td>
<td>Royal Asiatic Society.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RASBY</td>
<td>Revue d'Assyriologie.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RB</td>
<td>Revue Biblique.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RRBE</td>
<td>Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington).</td>
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<tr>
<td>RG</td>
<td>Revue Critique.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>Revue Celtique.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RD</td>
<td>Revue des Deux Mondes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RE</td>
<td>Realencyclopadie.</td>
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<td>REG</td>
<td>Revue des Études Grecques.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RES</td>
<td>Revue Egyptologique.</td>
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<tr>
<td>REJ</td>
<td>Revue des Études Juives.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RETH</td>
<td>Revue d'Ethnographie.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RHL</td>
<td>Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuse.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RHR</td>
<td>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RN</td>
<td>Revue Numismatique.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RE</td>
<td>Records of the Past.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RPh</td>
<td>Revue Philosophique.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RGQ</td>
<td>Revue des Quatres Quartalens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RS</td>
<td>Revue sémitique d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire ancienne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSA</td>
<td>Recueil de la Soc. archéologique.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RSJ</td>
<td>Reports of the Smithsonian Institution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTP</td>
<td>Recueil de Travaux relatifs à l'Archéologie et à la Philologie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTPH</td>
<td>Revue des traditions populaires.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RTH</td>
<td>Revue de la Théologie et de la Philosophie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RT</td>
<td>Recueil de Travaux.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RWE</td>
<td>Realwörterbuch.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBB</td>
<td>Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBE</td>
<td>Sacred Books of the East.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBOT</td>
<td>Sacred Books of the OT (Hebrew).</td>
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</table>

\[ SDB = \text{Single-vol. Dict. of the Bible (Hastings).} \]
\[ SK = \text{Studien u. Kritiken.} \]
\[ SMA = \text{Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie.} \]
\[ SSGW = \text{Sitzungsberichte d. Kgl. Sachs. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften.} \]
\[ SWAW = \text{Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akad. d. Wissenschaften.} \]
\[ TAPA = \text{Transactions of American Philological Association.} \]
\[ TASI = \text{Transactions of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan.} \]
\[ TC = \text{Tribes and Castes.} \]
\[ TES = \text{Transactions of Ethnological Society.} \]
\[ THLZ = \text{Theologische Literaturzeitung.} \]
\[ TH = \text{Theol. Tijdschrift.} \]
\[ TRHS = \text{Transactions of Royal Historical Society.} \]
\[ TRSE = \text{Transactions of Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.} \]
\[ TS = \text{Texts and Studies.} \]
\[ TSBA = \text{Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archeology.} \]
\[ TU = \text{Texte u. Untersuchungen.} \]
\[ WAI = \text{Western Asiatic Inscriptions.} \]
\[ WZKM = \text{Wiener Zeitschrift f. Kunde des Morgenlandes.} \]
\[ ZA = \text{Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.} \]
\[ ZA = \text{Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache u. Altertumswissenschaft.} \]
\[ ZATW = \text{Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft.} \]
\[ ZCK = \text{Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst.} \]
\[ ZCP = \text{Zeitschrift für christliche Philologie.} \]
\[ ZDA = \text{Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.} \]
\[ ZDMG = \text{Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.} \]
\[ ZDPV = \text{Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.} \]
\[ ZE = \text{Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.} \]
\[ ZKF = \text{Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaft.} \]
\[ ZKH = \text{Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie.} \]
\[ ZKW = \text{Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben.} \]
\[ ZM = \text{Zeitschrift für die Mythologie.} \]
\[ ZNTW = \text{Zeitschrift für die neuest. Wissenschaft.} \]
\[ ZPhP = \text{Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Pädagogik.} \]
\[ ZTK = \text{Zeitschrift für Theologie u. Kirche.} \]
\[ ZVK = \text{Zeitschrift für Volkskunde.} \]
\[ ZVH = \text{Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.} \]
\[ ZWT = \text{Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.} \]

\[ \text{[A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as } \text{KAT}^2, \text{LOT}^4, \text{etc.]} \]
CONFIRMATION. — r. Names. — The word 'confirmation,' as used in this article, indicates an act, closely connected with baptism, in which prayer for the Holy Spirit is joined with some ceremony, such as the laying on of hands or anointing, through which the gift of the Spirit is believed to be conferred. So long as confirmation continued to be administered at the same time as baptism, the two forming a single rite, the need of a special name for the former was not much felt. The rite as a whole was known as baptism, and the part of it which was associated with the gift of the Spirit was designated by terms derived from its most prominent ceremony, such as 'laying on of hands' (ἐκθένσις χερσίν, Ιού 62); ETHERICE, Clem. Alex. Exc. Th. 22; Const. Ap. ii. 32, iii. 16. vii. 44; cf. Virgilian, ap. Cyp. Ep. 75; imposito manu) and 'chrism.' The word 'seal' (σφραγίς) originally, it seems, applied to baptism (Hermas, Sim. ix. xvi. 2-4; Iren. Deo. 3), was early used of confirmation, with reference to the signing of the baptized with the cross (Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. 3; Cornelius, ap. Eus. HE VI. xiii. 14 f.; cf. Const. Ap. iii. 17). 'Confirmation,' now universally accepted as the name of the rite in the West, does not appear to have been so used before the 5th century. It occurs in Faustus, Bishop of Riez, formerly Abbot of Lérins, de Sp. S. ii. 4 (ed. Engelbrecht, Vienna, 1889, p. 143), hom. in die Pent. (Ligne, Max. Ed. Pat., Paris, 1877, vi. 630), and the cognate verb is similarly applied by St. Patrick (Ep. 2), who spent some years at Lérins. It appears, therefore, to have originated in Gaul, and probably at Lérins, though it was perhaps not fully established as a name of the rite at Lérins when St. Patrick left that monastery c. A.D. 415 (Bury, Life of St. Patr., 1905, pp. 284, 336 ff.), since in his Confession (38, 51) he uses the word confirmaunt instead of confirmare. St. Ambrose had at an earlier date used the latter verb with a similar but not identical meaning (de Myst. 42); and in the middle of the 5th cent. Pope Leo I. (Ep. 159) applies it to the laying on of hands on those who had been baptized in heresy. In Egypt at the present day the rite is called tathbit—a word exactly equivalent to 'confirmation.' In the 9th cent., when confirmation was deferred, the newly baptized were said to be 'confirmed' by the reception of the Holy Communion.

(Alcin, Ep. 90; Jesse Ambian. Ep. de bapt.; Amathuris, de Car. Bapt. 4; Raban. Maur. de Cler. Inst. i. 29.)

2. Confirmation in the Apostolic Age. — A study of Ac 19:4-6—the account of the twelve disciples who had been baptized into John's baptism—seems to yield the following results. St. Paul's first question implies that a reception of the Holy Spirit usually, though not always, synchronized with admission to the Christian Society, and that in the case of disciples whose conversion was not due to the preaching of him or his immediate companions (v.9 ἐλαχισταὶ παρευρέσθενες). It is also implied in what follows that the outpouring of the Spirit was not a result of the act of baptism (v.5), but that it was mediated, at least in St. Paul's practice, by a laying on of hands which normally followed immediately upon baptism (v.6). Since apparently St. Paul, in accordance with his rule (1 Co 13-17), which was also that of other Apostles (Ac 10:4, cf. 20), did not himself baptize the Ephesian disciples, though he laid his hands upon them (v.16, κατατίθησα σὺν δόξῃ τῶν εὐαγγελίων), he may be inferred that, while baptism was commonly administered by persons of lower ministerial rank, confirmation was reserved for those who had a higher place in the ministry, if not for Apostles.

These conclusions are confirmed by the narrative of the planting of the Church in Samaria (Ac 8:19-27). From it we learn that the practice of the older Apostles coincided with that of St. Paul. Baptism by itself did not convey the gift of the Spirit. That was mediated by a laying on of hands by Apostles, with prayer for the Holy Spirit (v.14, 17), the baptisms having been previously performed by Philip, and perhaps by others of inferior ministerial office who accompanied him. It is hinted that, at least when St. Luke wrote, according to established usage the bestowal of the Holy Spirit was not separated in time from the administration of baptism (v.16).

In each of these cases the reception of the Spirit was manifested by the exercise of miraculous powers (9:19). But it would be contrary to the teaching of the NT as a whole to suppose that such manifestations were of the essence of the gift. If we may suppose (Chase, Confirmation in the Apostolic Age, p. 35) that 2 Ti 1:6 refers to...
CONFIRMATION

Timothy's confirmation, rather than to his ordination, it proves that the graces looked for as a result of the laying on of hands were such as 'power and love and solemnity' (cf. Ac 20:32, where 'wonders and signs' are confined to the Apostles).

The influences which have here been drawn from Ac 8:16-17, 19-20, are corroborated by many references in the Epistles to a reception of the Holy Spirit on admission to the Church (Ro 5:5, 2 Co 5:21, Eph 1:18, 4, 1 Jn 2:2, 3), in some of which St. Paul uses the very phrase ascribed to him by St. Luke, as pointing to a laying on of hands, παρασκευάζειν (Ro 8:26, 1 Thess 5:23), which indicates that the bestowal of the gift was an act distinct from and following the washing (1 Co 6:11, 12, 2 Co 12:12, Tit 3:5). To these may be added He 6:1, where βεβαιοῦται ἔκτις τε Χριστῷ must at least include a laying on of hands, likely so posed clearly with a Christian act of unction.

3. A review of the evidence afforded by the NT, therefore, leads to the belief that in the Apostolic age, and to a large extent, the gift of the Holy Spirit to a new believer was associated with an unction in the earliest sub-Apostolic records (Iren. Haer. i. xxi. 3; Tent.; Con. Hipp. 134-136; to the authorities cited by Chase may be added Theophilus of Antioch; see below, § 6 a); (c) The NT adds force to such passages as 2 Co 1:13, 1 Jn 2:20, 27. It must be noticed, however, (a) that no Scripture evidence has been produced that unction was used along with the laying on of hands; while, on the other hand, it was, among both Jews and Gentiles, an accomplishment of the bath (Swete, The Holy Spirit in the NT, 1909, p. 356, citing Lu 3:16, to which see Aa 11); (b) that neither Irenaeus (loc. cit.) nor Theophilus makes any reference to the laying on of hands and anointing; and (c) that neither in the Eucharist. It has occurred to some that the union with the gift of the Spirit in 1 Jn 2:27 does not by itself establish the contention. It may, however, in part account for the close relation which subsisted in later times between the union and the imposition of hands, leading in some cases to the overshadowing, or even the superseding of the latter by the former.

On the whole, the reasonable inference from the facts appears to be that unction was a primitive accompaniment of baptism rather than of confirmation.

4. The passages of the NT examined in § 2 point to confirmation by laying on of hands after baptism. Nevertheless, it must be remarked that there is no indication that any feeling of incongruity was occasioned by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon Cornelius and his friends before they were baptized (Ac 10:45-48), and it is recorded that Ananias laid hands on Saul that he might be 'filled with the Holy Ghost,' and afterwards baptized him (Ac 9:16-18). These facts suggest the possibility that confirmation may regularly have preceded baptism in some regions, concerning whose customs in this matter the NT supplies no information. It will be found that this suggestion has some bearing upon peculiarities of the early Syrian rite of initiation (§ 5).

5. References to confirmation in the sub-Apostolic period. — It was not to be expected that the scanty remains of the earliest extra-canonical Christian literature would supply many references to confirmation comparable with Martyr's 1st Apology, both of which contain accounts of the baptismal rite, explicit mention of it might, indeed, have been looked for. The absence of such mention in the former may, however, be accounted for by the fact that administration belonged to the Apostles and prophets, for whose guidance the Didache was not intended. In Justin, on the other hand, but few details of the baptismal rite are given (I Apol. 61), and we are told (ch. 63) that, after the washing, the neophyte was brought into the assembly, where prayer was made for him and others, followed by the kiss of peace and the Eucharist. That this is a vague allusion to a liturgical act common to all, it is not, of course, to generalize from the Didache to all the primitive Christians: the resemblance in general outline to Con. Hipp. 155 ff. (see below, §§ 26, 28). Irenaeus seems to imply that a laying on of hands followed the immersion, both being included in the rite of baptism. This view he distinguishes from the ceremony of baptism by referring to the present life of the Church, by describing believers as the habitation of the Spirit given in baptism (cf. Haer. iv. xxviii. i, 2).

6. The ancient Syrian rite. — About the ceremonies of baptism widely used in Syria in earlier centuries there is a considerable amount of evidence, which must be set out as briefly as possible. (a) From Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch (c. 180), we learn (pro Ant. 1, 12, 27) that associating with the 'oil of God' was, when he wrote, an important feature of the initiatory rite; and his statement that the name 'Christian' was derived from it implies (see Ac 11:27) that he believed it to date from the Apostolic age. According to him, the immersion conveyed regeneration and remission of sins. (b) Clemens Recognitions, iii. 67 (Gersdorff, p. 110; Jaguer, p. 110, cf. 260 [3]). A description of baptism is put into the mouth of St. Peter. However, he states that, while the administration of baptism was handed down by the former, the rite of anointing was transmitted by the latter, and so he distinguishes the grace of baptism from the gift of the Spirit; and in Dem. 3 he describes the former as forgiveness of sins and regeneration, while in Dem. 411 he speaks of the Apostles as baptizing their converts and anointing them with the Holy Spirit, and connects this with the present life of the Church, by describing believers as the habitation of the Spirit given in baptism (cf. Haer. iv. xxviii. i, 2).

(c) Clementine Recognitions, iii. 67 (Funk, p. 241). In the 3rd century, the writer mentions anointing with the oil of unction on the midst of the body by deacons or presbyters, "and this anointing has been referred to a post-baptismal anointing by supposing that the deacons had no share in it; but it must not be assumed that there was any unction after the baptism.

(d) Syr. Acts of Judas Thomas, in Wright, Apost. Acts of Ap. (vol. ii. Eng. tr. 1873 [1st cent.]). This work contains five detailed accounts of baptisms (pp. 165, 158, 257, 260, 299), which, combined, give the following results: After the blessing of the oil, the candidates are anointed with the seal on the head, the men first. Their bodies are then anointed, in the case of the women by a woman. They are subsequently baptized and communicated. There is no consecration of a consecration of the water, and apparently no recognition of a distinction between the grace conveyed by the anointing and by the immersion.

(e) Aphraates (c. 260). In one of his few allusions to the baptismal rite this writer mentions the unction before the baptism (Dem. xii. 13), though he does not actually state that the former preceded the latter in this case. He apparently mentions the gift of the Spirit, but he connects both regeneration and the giving of spiritual armour with 'the water' (Dem. vi. 1, xiv. 10).

(f) Ephraim, Ephraim Hymnus (Eng. tr. by Gwynn in Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. iii, 1884, p. 292). In some of his allusions we gather that the baptismal rite included the following elements in the order in which they are given: (i) anointing with 'the seal' (iii. 1, 2, v, 8); (ii) the baptism (x, 8, xiv. 41; for the orders of these two, see iii. 17, iv. 1, v, 5, 18, 19, 20, vol. iv. 4, 12, 15, 19, xlv, 8, 9), vestsing of the neophyte (xvi. 19, xlv, 10, iii. 1, cf. iii. 4); (iv) crowning (xvii. 4); and (v) communion (vi. 19, xlvii, 12, cf. iii. 17). From Sermo Ezech. ex Ps. cx. iii (Opp. Syr. Rome, 1763-47, ii. 225) it appears that the anointing...
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7. From this evidence some important inferences may be drawn. It would seem to have been common in Syria up to the 5th cent., and among the Nestorians to the end of the 6th cent., the initiatory rite included three principal acts—unction, baptism, and communion of the baptized. The union consisted of the three parts—the anointing (3rd and 4th cents.), forehead (5th and 5th cents., and later in the case of women), or breast (6th cent.), and the anointing of the body. The gift of the Holy Spirit is usually associated with the union (see above, § 6 f; g, h, i, k, l, and e, c, where the union is ‘at the laying on of hands’); and in this connection it should be noticed that the evidence for the consecration of the oil is earlier than for the consecration of the font (see b, o).

There is no trace, apart from the Apostolic Constitutions, of any important act following the immersion except the confirmation of the baptized. Thus, according to the earliest known custom of the Syrian Christians, confirmation preceded baptism. It is not difficult to believe that this usage was simply a development of local primitive practice. In places where in the laying on of hands for the imparting of the gift of the Spirit took place before baptism (above, § 4), if the baptismal union also corresponded with that custom, the laying on of hands and the union would in time come to be closely associated. Thus the confirmation would become the union ‘at the laying on of hands’ (§ 6 f). Finally, in accordance with this tendency of the ancient Syrian practice, the laying on of hands and the union would supersede the laying on of hands, except so far as the signing of the person with oil could be so described (cf. § 6 e).

In the early part of the 3rd cent. (§ 6, o) confirmation was administered by one person—bishop or priest—assisted by a deacon or deaconess. It will be observed that there is early evidence for the existence of the same ceremonies between the immersion and the baptismal, the anointing, or the Encharch—baptismal union. The signs of the former step are indicated, and a sign of the latter, probably on the lips, below, § 6 f, g, h, i, k, l, and c, o; the laying on of hands could be so described (cf. § 6 f, o).

Modern Nestorian rite—The Syrian rite was re-established shortly after the middle of the 7th cent. by the catholics Isaiyāh III (652-661), and the office of baptism drawn up by him is the basis of the rite as now practised by the East Syrians. He replaced the prebaptismal anointing by a central (see b, o) anointing of the head, followed by an anointing of the body. The result of this change has been much confusion, through the persistence of 6th cent. customs, in the existing MSS. But in one point all agree. In the formula pronounced at this union there is no reference to the gift of the Spirit. No special grace seem to be connected with it, and in a rubric it is described as a symbolic act indicating that ‘the acknowledgment of the Trinity is imprinted on the heart’ of the person about to be baptized. It no longer corresponds to confirmation.

The distinctive rite of Isaiyāh’s ritual is, in fact, confirmation after baptism. It consists of two main acts—the imposition of the hand upon the head of the baptized with an appropriate prayer, and the signing of the forehead (without anointing), accompanied by a formula. Some of the MSS omit the mention of the use of oil in this signing, but there is good evidence that it was ordered by Isaiyāh, and is apparently still customary (A. J. Maclean, Recent Discoveries illustrating early Christian Life and Worship, 1904, p. 68). In the present Nestorian rite, as everywhere in the East, the priest is the minister:
of confirmation. But it is characterized by several unusual features. The priest (not the bishop) consecrates the oil at each performance of the rite, the laying on of the hand is separated from the anointing, and there is no use of ointment, as distinct from olive oil, at any part of the rite.

That post-baptismal confirmation was actually introduced by Isāyāb III, follows almost certainly from the evidence given in § 6, for there seems to have been no earlier between Isāyāb I. and Isāyāb III. who was a liturgical reformer. The supposition is confirmed by the fact that Isāyāb III. was a traveller, who must have had some knowledge of non-Syrian rites (Connolly, op. cit. p. 101). And by the latitude of the variations of existing rituals from each other, and from the Ordo drawn up by him—a natural consequence of so startling an innovation.

One or two of these may be mentioned. Isāyāb seems to have given no direction about the ceremony of crowning. Bishop’s crown is used, and existing ritual is described at certain in some places. In another it appears in its original position after the vesting, and therefore before confirmation (Luterer, op. cit. p. 37). Its present place is after the anointing (Macarius, The Catholicon of the East, 1892, p. 273). Again, Isāyāb I. ordered that the water should not be poured over the face till after the anointing, i.e. apparently the Eucharist—had been administered (Dietrich, op. cit. p. 91). Isāyāb II. ordered, that, as a matter of order, the water should be let over at least before the confirmation (ib. p. 93). Nevertheless the older usage persisted, and is still followed (ib. pp. 304, 82, 101).

The Eucharist is consecrated by the bishop or one of those present by the name of Severus and one of that of James, while the fourth is anonymous (ib. p. 267), resemble one another closely, and are apparently all derived from the Syr. Ordo of James of Edessa, and are only directly from Severus, a monophysite, anonymous ritual probably represents a recension subsequent to that of Barhebrus. There is also a short office for the baptism of the dying (ib. p. 318), attributed to Severus’ contemporary Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabug or Hierapolis (c. 435-519). All these Orders contain a post-baptismal anointing orunction. In two respects they stand apart both from ancient Syrian and from modern Nestorian usage: they have no form for the blessing of the oil, which is consecrated, not by the priest at the baptism, but by the bishop (ib. p. 361); and at the final anointing unguent, likewise consecrated by the bishop, is used instead of oil.

10. On the other hand, among the liturgical reforms attributed to Peter, Bishop of Antioch (471-488), by Theodorus Lector (Vaësianus, Hist., ed. Reading, 1729, iii. 582), was the consecration of the miopos in the church before the whole people. This might seem to give colour to the supposition that post-baptismal confirmation was introduced among the Monophysites by him. But Peter, Bishop of Edessa (488), appears from the Chronicon of Joshua the Stylist (32, ed. W. W. T. Ryan, 1876), written during his episcopate to have adopted the principal reforms of the Fuller about A.D. 500: among other things, 'he [prayed] over the oil of anointing on the Thursday (before Easter) before the whole people.' From this passage it would seem that Theodorus quoted the actual words of the Fuller, and that the latter used miopos as equivalent to oil (cf. § 6 b). It may be inferred that what the Fuller did was to reserve the consecration of the oil at the baptism, and that post-baptismal christening had not come into use at Antioch in 488, or at Edessa by the end of the century.

11. The post-baptismal confirmation consisted of a prayer following by a threelfold signing of the baptized with chrism on the forehead and other parts of the body, with the formula, 'N. is signed with the holy chrism, the sweetness of the oil of Christ, the seal of the true faith, the complement of their body and mind, life and salvation, etc., followed by an anointing of the rest of the body, the vesting in white, and prayers, one of which contained a petition for the sending forth of the Holy Spirit upon the neophyte.

That this form of confirmation is a later addition is perhaps already sufficiently clear. But this becomes still more evident when we consider the portion of the office which immediately precedes the immersion. Here the Monophysite rituals seem to follow another than the Nestorian. Before baptism the candidates are signed on the forehead with oil, and their bodies are anointed. The connexion between these two acts is obscured in all the MSS by the interpolation of other orders of the office, etc., the oil is added to the water. They are accompanied by prayers which distinctly associate with them the gift of the Spirit.

The first prayer has the petition: 'Vouchsafe to send upon them thy Holy Spirit.' The second begins: 'Holy Father, who by the hands of thy holy Apostles didst give the Holy Spirit to those who had been baptized in the name of the Lord, in the shadow of my hands, thy Holy Spirit on those who are about to be baptized, that they may be filled with the holy anointing. This is evident that a laying on of hands once preceded this anunction, though no mention is made of it in the extant rituals (cf. § 6 e, f). The third reads: 'Then who didst send upon thy only-begotten Son ... thy Holy Spirit ... and didst sanctify the waters of Jordan, may it please thee that the same thy holy Spirit may dwell upon these thy servants ... and do thou perfect them ... purifying them by thy holy water;' etc. This extract seems to indicate (1) that the consecration of the font originally followed the anointing, and (2) that the indwelling of the Spirit preceded the purification of the water.

Thus the Monophysite rite is strangely anomalous. It has two distinct anointings, one before and the other after baptism, by both of which it is implied that the subject of the rite is Severian, a monophysite anonymous ritual probably represents a recension subsequent to that of Barhebrus. There is also a short office for the baptism of the dying (ib. p. 318), attributed to Severus’ contemporary Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabug or Hierapolis (c. 435–519). All these Orders contain a post-baptismal anointing or unction. In two respects they stand apart both from ancient Syrian and from modern Nestorian usage: they have no form for the blessing of the oil, which is consecrated, not by the priest at the baptism, but by the bishop (ib. p. 361); and at the final anointing unguent, likewise consecrated by the bishop, is used instead of oil.

12. Of the attendant ceremonies, the vesting, the crowning, and communion follow the christening. All are omitted in the anonymous ritual. It has not been thought necessary to take account here of two rituals used by the Monophysites, bearing the name of St. Basil, since they are not of Syriac origin. One is a more literal translation of the Gr. Ordo, the other incorporates some Syrian elements (Denzinger, op. cit. p. 207).

13. Maronite rite—It is probable that the two closely similar early Maronite baptismal rituals (Denzinger, op. cit. pp. 334, 351) are derived from an Order drawn up by James of Serug (†521), whose name appears at the head of one of them. But that they have been subject to considerable revision is evident; e.g. the baptismal formula is not in the third person, as in all other Eastern Orders, but in the first, as in the Latin rite. This assimilation to Western standards was carried into the liturgy, and was the more closely followed now in use was composed (ib. pp. 334, 350). Till that revision, however, some ancient Syrian characteristics were preserved. The oil was consecrated at each baptism, and at the consecration
the deacon bid the prayers of the people that they might be marked with the sign of the cross, and then bade them kneel and pray: ‘Let the Lord have mercy on us, and bless these, his holy people, that they may be made pure for the habitation of the Holy Spirit.’ Again, the pre-baptismal anointing was divided into two parts, as in the Monophysite rite, by the consecration of the water. Before the act of anointing, the candidate was signed with oil on the forehead, the prayer following, ‘Let thy Holy Spirit come and dwell and rest upon the head of this thy servant;’ after this the priest again signed him with oil, at the head, and the deacon anointed his body. After the baptism the candidate was signed with chrisms, and then his body was anointed (ib. p. 349), or the principal members were signed (ib. p. 357), a formula being used rather similar to that of the Monophysite rite. In an accompanying prayer (not in all MSS) the words occur, ‘Grant us by this seal the union of thy Holy Spirit.’ Thus in this rite there is the same anomaly as in the Monophysite, proving that the post-baptismal confirmation had no place in the ancient Syrian Order from which it was derived.

14. The attendant ceremonies are the vesting— which in one Order retains its original place immediately after baptism (ib. p. 357), and in the other is performed preceding the chrismation—the crowning, and the communion.

15. Armenian rites.—The Armenian baptismal rite is said to have been drawn up by the catholics John Mandakuni (c. 400). It was revised by the patriarch of Jerusalem, John (Conybeare, Rituale, p. xxvii ff.). The extant office obviously differs much from the original from which it was derived. After the consecration of the ‘holy oil,’ the filling and consecration of the font takes place, and the anointing. The latter contains there is a prayer for the baptized, and an anointing with the ‘holy oil,’ with which the forehead and several members of the body are signed, in each case with an appropriate formula. In these formularies no mention is made of the Holy Spirit. The consecration of the oil at the beginning of the baptismal office proper seems to imply an anointing before immersion, which has fallen into desuetude (cf. Denzinger, op. cit. pp. 55, 57). At present immersion is the usual rite, and the prayer of consecration is said over the chrisms which has been already consecrated by the catholics at Echmiadzin (ib. p. 34; Neale, Hist. East. Ch. ii. 185). In the single petition for the grace of the Holy Spirit, the candidate, before the anointing is so wanting in definiteness that this act can scarcely be regarded as a confirmation. It is less emphatic than in the clause in the prayer of consecration, ‘Send the grace of thy Holy Spirit into this oil, to the end that it shall be to him that is anointed therewith unto holiness of spiritual wisdom, etc. On the whole, it appears that this rite is of Syrian origin, and that it has, on account of the mixture in the material, and the pretense ot the oil on the forehead, the prayer used at the bowing to the altar has no special appropriateness to this ceremony; but it contains words which imply a laying on of the hand (‘Stretch forth thy unseen right hand and bless him’), and is perhaps misplaced.

17. The baptismal rite of the Patriarch of Jerusalem is somewhat obscure, but may be treated as one. There are two anointings, but the first is performed outside the baptistery and is separated from the baptism by a long interval. Immediately after the baptism comes the confirmation. The priest, standing before the altar, prays for the bestowal of the Holy Spirit on the baptized, and signs his forehead or head with chrisms in the threefold Name. Other parts of the body are then signed with an appropriate formula. This is succeeded by the laying on of the hand and with a formula in which the words occur, ‘Receive the Holy Ghost,’ and another prayer for the neophyte, including a petition for the sending forth of the Spirit upon him. Both oil and chrisms are consecrated by the Patriarch of Alexandria.
CONFIRMATION

By means of the newly recovered Sacramentary of Serapion and the evidence of contemporary writers, it has been shown that an Order of confirmation identical with this in its main features was in use in Egypt in the 4th cent. (Brightman, in JThSt 2. 252 f., 263 ff., 268 ff.). Indeed, some of its elements can be traced much further back. Originally the laying on of hands was connected with the laying on of the hand (lxxi. 1, lxxiii. 6, lxxvi. 5). Thus baptism and confirmation are distinct, yet closely related as parts of the same rite (lxx, 3, lxxiii. 9).

The immersion was immediately followed byunction (lxx, 2), and it is implied that the unction was connected rationally in several parts with confirmation. The gift of the Spirit is not associated with it in the one passage in which it is mentioned; and in that passage, arguing against the validity of heretical baptism, as distinct from confirmation, Ezek. 36, 25-27 was put out of the invalidity of the unction which accompanied it. It is to be added that he speaks of sanctification (sanctification) as one of the benefits conferred by baptism, in lxxxiv. 1 (cf. Gen. 41, 55, 1, 6). At some time in the course of the rite, probably after unction, the kiss of peace was given (lxxxiv. 3, 4).

It is to be noted that the bishop, according to the earlier usage, usually baptizes (lxxiii. 9). The oil used in the unction was consecrated on the altar at the Eucharist, and therefore not at the administration of baptism (lxx, 2).

The number of administration of the rite remained much as it was in the 2nd cent. till at least the beginning of the 5th; but the giving of milk and honey was transferred to the baptismal Eucharist (C. Cartag. 111. i. 24, longer form).

The Gallican rite.—The rite which prevailed most widely in the West in early centuries was that known as the Gallican, which was used in North Italy, Gaul, Spain, probably Britain, and Ireland. The earliest descriptions of it are found in Ambrose, de Mysteriis, and another tract founded upon it, viz. ps. Ambrose, de Sacramentis. These witnesses to the rite in N. Italy c. A.D. 400. In this rite baptism was immediately followed by an anointing with chrism on the head or forehead (Trident. Psych. 350; Patr. Ep. 3; Missal, Bobbi.; cf. Stowe Missal), with the formula De quo est universus . . . noster. After the chrismation the feet of the candidates were washed (Maximus Taurin. Tract. ili.; Cesarius, Serm. clxviiii. 3, clxviiii. 2 (Pl. xxxix. 227, 2280), Serm. de unct. cap. [PL xl. 1211]; C. Elixir, e. 185.), and they were vested in white. They then received the signaevae spirituale—apparently a signing with the chrism (cf. Greg.
Tur. Hist. Franc. ii. 31)—which was accompanied by a prayer for the septiform Spirit, no doubt similar to that which occurs in all later Western rites, including the Anglo-Celtic (Isidor. de Eccl. Off. 1, cit. Ill; Hesych. de Bapt. iv. 6, Bapt. 127). Finally, they communicated (Soc. Gall. Soc. Goth. ; Stich. Missal; Zeno Veron. Tract. ii. 38, 53). Since there is early evidence that confirmation consisted of two acts—chrismation and the imposition of the hand—or 'benediction' (Gaul: C. Aratus. c. 1. 11; Gennadius. Massil. de Eccl. Doëg. 52, xiv. 24; Spain: Isidor. op. cit. ii. xxv. 9, xxvii. 1; Hdecons. op. cit. 121-125, 128 f.)—it may be inferred that both the anointing and the signaculum, though not in immediate sequence, belonged to it. In some Ordines this signaculum, or laying on of hands, disappeared as a separate act (Gaul: German. Paris. Ep. 2; Soc. Gall.; Soc. Goth.; North Italy: Maximus Taurin. ut supra; Missal. Bobbien.; Ireland: Patr. Ep. c. 21; Stone Missal), and with it the invocation of the septiform Spirit. Thus the 'confirmation' was reduced to an anointing with chrism, perhaps including a signing, without any direct prayer for the Holy Spirit. If this was the use of the Irish Ordines of the 20th century, that of the present day (Vita S. Mal. 3), that confirmation was not practised in Ireland, is not only intelligible but justified.

25. It is clear that about the end of the 4th cent. both the confirmation and the anointing were commonly administered by the same person (Ambro. op. cit.; ps.—Ambr. op. cit.; Pacificus. Serm. de bapt. 6, Ep. i. 6; Zeno Veron. Tract. ii. 53). This, according to Ambrose and Pacificus, was the bishop; but ps.—Ambro. op. cit., is given as the presbyter; the latter is found in both (Wordsworth, Ministry of Grace, 1901, p. 89). A century earlier the Synod of Elvira (cc. 35, 77) implies that if a presbyter baptized he also confirmed, and that presbyterial confirmation prevailed widely in later times, in spite of continual efforts to suppress it, there is abundant evidence (Gaul: C. Aratus. c. 1. 11; C. Arcl. ii. c. 20 f.; Gallican Statutes(C. Carth. iv.), c. 36; Leo, Ep. de prise, Chorp.; C. Epaon. c. 16; C. Antiochus, c. 6; C. Hipal. ii. c. 7; Soc. Gall.; Soc. Goth.; cf. Vasen. c. 3; North Italy: Missal. Bobbien.; Ireland: Stone Missal; Spain: C. Tolet. c. 20); Mart. Bracae. Orputus, 82; Isidor. op. cit. ii. xxvii.; Hdecons. op. cit. 128, 131; cf. Montanus, Ep. 1 (Mart. Bracae. Orputus, c. 18). This summary of the evidence will suffice to show that between the Gallican and the Eastern confirmations there are many points of resemblance. Gallican usages gave place to Roman in France at the end of the 8th century. They had a more prolonged existence in Spain, Milan, and Ireland (Duchesne, Orig. p. 97 f.).

26. The Roman rite.—If the Gallican rite resembled that of the Eastern Church, the baptismal rite of Rome was akin rather to that of Africa. According to the Canons of Hippolytus (134 f.), in the Rom. use of r. A.D. 200, the priest, immediately after administering baptism, signed the baptized on the forehead, mouth, and breast with the signum signaturae, or anointing, which had been consecrated by the bishop at an earlier stage of the office, and then proceeded to anoint his body. The baptized was then vested and brought into the church, where he was confirmed by the bishop. The confirmation consisted of imposition of the hand and a prayer, in which there was a thanksgiving for the outpoured of the Holy Spirit, and a petition that the neophyte might receive the earnest of the Kingdom, followed by a blessing on that head without oil.

That this represents early Rom. practice is confirmed by Hippolytus, in O. A. 16, where the oil used in the bath is said to signify 'the power (δύναμις) [read δυνάμεια] of the Holy Spirit wherewith (αὐτοῦ) the believers are anointed after the laver, as though (ὡς) with ointment,' the implication being that oil was not actually used in conferring the Holy Spirit.

Thus the union was connected with baptism, not with the sealing on of hands.

The imposition of the hand continued to be the principal act in confirmation till at least the end of the 4th cent., when it was accompanied by the prayer for the septiform Spirit (Jerome, cont. Luc. 9; Suriens. Ep. ad Honor.). But by that time the union on the forehead seems to have come to be regarded as closely associated with it, and as belonging, like it, rather to the bishop than to the priest. In 416, Pope Innocent I. permitted an additional union, which did not lie on the forehead, but on the breast of the neophyte; this is the first notice of the double chrismation, which soon afterwards became the regular practice of the Roman Church (Innoc. Ep. ad Dec. 6, cf. 9; Joan. Diacon. Ep. ad Senor. 8, 14). A signing of the head with chrism after baptism, with a formula almost identical with that of the Gallican rite (§ 24), is enjoined in the Gelasian Sacramentary and in later Rom. books.

27. The development of the Rom. order of confirmation in the Sacramentary (which agrees with the description of the Rom. rite in the Epistle of Jesse of Amiens, A.D. 812), and the 9th cent. Ordo St. Amand (Duchesne, op. cit. p. 453)—as in the much later Liber S. Caroli, S. Audri, and S. Andreae, 1855, App. 5)—the imposition of the hand, with the prayer for the septiform Spirit, is preserved, and at the subsequent chrismation a special formula is used. In the Gregorian Sacramentary the laying on of the hand is given as the raising of the hand. In later orders the raising or extending of the hand is sometimes accompanied by the formula 'Spiritus sanctus superveniet,' etc., the prayer for the septiform Spirit following, and a formula more or less resembling the Gelasian being used with the signing. Of the latter the latest form is that which Pope Eugenius IV. (Docr. pro Armen.) declared to be the 'form' of the sacrament.

28. In the Canons of Hippolytus, and in most later Orders in which confirmation immediately follows baptism, the communion of the neophytes is enjoined. The communion commonly followed baptism when confirmation was deferred, though it is sometimes ordered with the reservation that it is to be given when the chrism has disappeared from all the chrismate tubes of the neophyte are of snitable age. Two ceremonies anciently followed confirmation (Can. Hipp.)—the kissing of the neophyte, with the words, 'The Lord be with you,' and the giving of milk and honey. The former has disappeared from all later Orders, but the memory of it is preserved in the words 'Pax vobiscum' after the chrismation. The latter continued till the 6th cent. (Joan. Diacon. op. cit. 12). The bishop has always been the minister of confirmation in the Rom. Church, though apparently Innocent I. (ut superius) permitted priests to confirm in cases of necessity if authorized to do so by the bishop. The bishop has also always consecrated the chrism (but see Joan. Diacon. op. cit. 8).

29. The mingling of Roman and Gallican rites. —In early centuries the Rom. rite was used only in the immediate neighbourhood of the city. That it had not been adopted in the Gr. district of Lacedaemon at the end of the 5th cent. is easily understood (Gelas. Ep. ix. 6, 10); but it is more surprising that at the beginning of the same cent. Pope Innocent I. should find it necessary to urge a bishop of Umbria to bring the custons of his diocese into conformity with those of Rome. From his letter to Decentius (Book II. 5) it appears that the Bishop of Engubium (Gubbio) the consecration of the chrism was not reserved to the bishops, and that presbyters anointed the baptized with chrism (apparently on
the forehead) and laid hands upon them, with an invocation of the Spirit. Thus in Eugubium (c. 400) the baptismal rite was of the type cited by Leo, Ep. 168). Innocent compromised matters with Decentius by suffering the chrismation by the priest to remain, provided it was not on the forehead, and provided the baptized was subsequently confirmed. Cf. the following artichip. One result of his letter, which was widely quoted as an authoritative document, was, no doubt, the modification of Gallican usage in a Romeward direction in many places; another was the introduction into the Roman baptismal order of the post-baptismal chrismation. The Western rite, in fact, combines the Gallican and the earlier Roman confirmation Orders, which suffices to explain the anxiety of Gallican writers like Rabanus Maurus (de Cler. Ins. i. 28-30; cf. De confirmatione, b. 35, et al.); it was, at least, his influence which brought itself in the rites of Western Syria (above, §§ 11, 13, 15). The consequence of the interaction of the Roman and Gallican rites, exemplified in this striking case, is that the present Latin confirmation rite has been termed, as has the Roman, though it is not now possible to distinguish in all cases those features which were developed within the Rom. Church from which others may have been imported from without.

30. The separation of confirmation from baptism.—For many centuries in the West, confirmation has been divided from baptism by a considerable interval. The beginning of this separation of the rites may be traced to the 3rd cent., when the validity of heretical confirmation was denied even by those who admitted the validity of heretical baptism (but see E. W. Benson, Cyprian, 1897, p. 429). By them persons baptized in heresy, when they joined the Catholic Church, were baptized a second time by a ceremony analogous to, if not identical with, confirmation. Later on we find cases contemplated in which confirmation at the time of baptism was impossible, either because the minister was a deacon or a layman, or because the baptism was already a chrismation (C. Eib. cc. 38, 77; C. Avanat i. c. 2). But the practice of administering confirmation apart from baptism in ordinary cases had a different origin. The Rom. tradition of restricting the administration of confirmation to the middle and post-baptismal period of life, which had its postponement in the case of all persons baptized by a priest in the absence of the bishop. This, of course, became more frequent as the Church spread beyond the cities, as bishops became fewer in proportion to the number of Christians, and in many places baptism became the rule. It was already common at the end of the 4th cent. (Jerome, loc. cit.; cf. Anon. de Re-baptismate, 41). But the separation of the rites did not become universal in the West for many centuries, and, when confirmation was postponed, it was usually only deferred till the offices of a bishop could be had. If it was not administered in infancy, the delay was due to the negligence of parents or of the bishops themselves. On the eve of the Reformations, infantiac confirmation was still the normal practice (see, e.g., Tindal, Answer to More, 1531, ed. Parker Soc., 1590, p. 72). At a much earlier period, however, there was a movement towards admitting to confirmation only those of more mature age (Griining, Decr. iii. v. 6; Syn. Colonien. 1280, c. 5), and in the latter part of the 16th cent. it became the rule, both in the Rom. and in the Anglican Church, that candidates for confirmation should have come to years of discretion (Eng. Pr. Bk.; Cat. of paroch. ii. 3, §§ 8; cf. CQR xxii. 72 d.).

For information about modern offices of confirmation and substitutes therefor, in the Reformed Churches, in the Anglican type of Office, see Confirmation, an Act named at the close of the following list of authorities, and to art. Baptism (Later Crit., vol. ii. p. 404.


H. J. LAWLOR.

CONFIRMATION (Roman Catholic).—As a supplement to the data furnished in the preceding article, the following points illustrating the position of Confirmation in the present teaching and practice of the Roman Catholic Church seem worthy of note:

1. Dogmatic tenets.—The doctrine according to which Confirmation is named as the second of the seven Sacraments is clearly enunciated at least as early as the middle of the 12th cent. In a sermon which he delivered into the church of the Bishop of Bamberg († 1139), by his biographer Heribord (c. 1159), the preacher, addressing the newly baptized Pomeranians, discourses at some length on the seven Sacraments. Enumerating them in their order, he says:—"The second Sacrament is Confirmation, that is, the anointing with chrism on the forehead. This Sacrament is necessary for those that are to fight against, to wit, the devil and the world armed by the strengthening of the Holy Spirit, as they will have to fight against all the temptations and corruptions of this present life. Nor can the grace given be deferred until old age, as some suppose, but it is to be received in the vigour of youth itself, because that age is more exposed to temptation" (Frvs., Mh. xi. 733).

Most of this doctrine, including the sevenfold number of the Sacraments, can be shown to have been taught by Radulphus Ardens sixty years earlier, in his as yet unprinted Speculum juvenatum (above, p. 151). It is also stated by Grabmann, Gesch. dcr schelast. Methode, i. 59), but much vagueness still prevailed regarding the nature and definition of a Sacrament. A decree of the Council of Innocent III., which speaks of the Sacraments as "the words of Jesus," of Juris Canonici (Friedberg, 1876-80, ii. 135), outlines further the main points upon which stress was laid by scholastic theologians both before and after the Council of Trent.

By the auction, he says, 'of the forehead with chrism (per frontem chrisimationem) is denoted the imposition of hands, which is otherwise called Confirmation, because by this means the Holy Spirit is bestowed on increase and strength. Hence, while a simple priest (sacerdos vel presbyter) may perform other aunctions, this ought not to be administered by any one but a high priest, that is to say a bishop, seeing it is reserved to the Apostles alone, whose vices the bishops are, that they conferred the Holy Spirit by the imposition of hands" (cf. Ac. 10:47).

During the Council of Florence (1438-1443), a bull was issued by Eugenius IV., known as the Decretum pro uniformitate in ecclesiasticis actionibus, which states that the ordination of bishops was not so much a dogmatic decree, defining points of faith, as an instruction to secure uniformity of practice. A portion of it, which consists of a compendious treatise on the Sacraments, is taken almost word for word by Thomas Aquinas, De fidei artificis et septem sacramentis. The 'matter' of the Sacrament is declared to be chrism, i.e., oil mixed with balsam, and the 'form' I sign the thief with the sign of the cross, and I confit his chrism of salvation in the name of the Father and
of the Son and of the Holy Ghost,' spoken both then and now by the bishop in administering the
unction. In view, however, of the imperfectly
dogmatic nature of the Decretum pro Armenis,
this decision is not held to be a peremptory pro-
ouncement. On the contrary, the more commonly
accepted view regards the act of unction as itself
constituting an imposition of hands, so that the
'matter' comprises both the unction with chrism
and the laying on of hands.

The most prevalent theory, then, concerning Con-
firmation regards the 'outward sign' of the Sacra-
ment as consisting in the act of the bishop, who
makes the sign of the cross with chrism upon the
ear of the candidate, the words already quoted. The Council of Trent, in
its systematic review of Sacramental doctrine, is
very guarded in its affirmations concerning Con-
firmation. It contents itself with declaring that
it 'lays and properly a sacrament,' and 'one of
the seven, all of which were instituted by Jesus
Christ our Lord.' It denies that 'it was in olden
days nothing else but a sort of catechism in which
they who were entering upon youth gave an
account of their faith in the presence of the Church.'
It condemns those (Reformers) who had declared
that to attribute any virtue to the chrism used in
Confirmation was an outrage to the Holy Ghost.
In other words, the simple priest himself could administer the Sacrament: but, by pronounc-
ing that a bishop was the 'ordinary minister,' it
tolerated the practice by which simple priests in
special cases receive from the Holy See faculties
to confer Confirmation. Finally, the Council declares (Sess. vii.
can. 9) that 'in Confirmation a character is
imprinted in the soul, that is, a certain spiritual
and indelible sign, on account of which the
Sacrament cannot be repeated.' It will be observed
that this leaves many questions open. In particu-
lar, nothing is said as to the time and manner of
the institution by Christ, whether direct or in-
direct; and no definition is given regarding the
matter and form—for example, as to whether the
use of chrism is essential to the validity of the
Sacrament.

Of late years another pronouncement, which,
however, is not usually regarded as possessing
infallible authority, has been made in the decree
of the Holy Year, Lecetatatis Nostri, of 3rd July
1907. This, in its 44th heading, condemns the
following proposition as an error, viz., 'there is no
proof that the rite of the Sacrament of Confirma-
tion was employed by the Apostles; while the
foregoing beatitudes of Matthew 5:1-12 were
Baptism and Confirmation, has no place in the
history of primitive Christianity.' (Denzing-Bannwart, Lekhzerdiom, Freiburg, 1898, p. 204).

Lastly, it should be noticed that, according to the
teaching outlined in the above-mentioned
Decretum pro Armenis, and universally held by
Catholic theologians, the Sacrament of Baptism is
vite spiritualis una, and consequently no other
Sacrament can take effect except in the case of
those who have first been admitted to the life of
supernatural grace through these portals. Hence
it follows that, if Confirmation should precede
Baptism, it would be invalid.

2. Adjustment of theory to historical fact.—It
must be sufficiently obvious that, accepting the
foregoing as a summary of approved Roman teach-
ing upon the Sacrament of Confirmation, some
explanations are needed to bring these tenets into
accord with the facts of early Church history set
forth in the preceding article. Attention may be
directed, in particular, to the following points:

(1) Although infallible pronouncements
like all the other Sacraments, was instituted
by Christ, nothing is positively laid down concerning
the manner of that institution, i.e. whether in-
mediate or mediate, whether in genere or in specie.
Modern theological opinion seems to favour the
view that Christ did Himself immediately institute
all the Sacraments (i.e. that we do not owe our
institution to the Church, acting upon His general
commission), but that He did not Himself give
them all to the Church for Constitution. As a
recent authority puts the matter:

'Oon some Sacraments particularly essential to Christianity, Baptism and Holy Eucharist for example, Christ explained
himself completely, so that the Church has had from the
very beginning full and entire consciousness of these sacra-
mental realities. But many Sacraments were left to the
Saviour's disposal according as the necessities of the
Church and development of doctrine should require.' (Pourrat, Theol. of the
Sacraments, Eng. tr. p. 201 f.)

(2) It would be readily conceded that, in the
case of such a Sacrament as Confirmation, the
historical evidence is in some respects imperfect
and obscure. It is the practice of theologians
to light up all the dark passages, but the claims to supple-
ment by supernatural guidance and theological
reasoning the data which we owe to natural
research.

(3) With regard to the early recognition of the
gift of the Holy Spirit as a distinct rite following Bap-
tism, great stress is usually laid by Roman Catholic
theologians, and deservedly, upon the opening of
the heavens and the descent of the Holy Ghost in
the form of a dove. In particular, nothing is said as to
the time and manner of the institution by Christ, whether direct or in-
direct; and no definition is given regarding the
matter and form—for example, as to whether the
use of chrism is essential to the validity of the
Sacrament.

(4) The extensive treatment which, following
Commelli's Homilis of Narsisi, pp. xlii-xliiix, has been
given to the peculiarities of the ancient
Syrian rite (Dubbeg, Jerusalem, 1907),
tends to obscure the very local character of the
observances by which the gift of the Spirit seems
to be connected with unctions preceding baptism.
At Jerusalem itself, where the testimony of St.
Narsisi, Bishop of Alexandria, Northern Africa, Rome, and through-
outr of the West, we find full and dear historical evidence which not only establishes the practice of conferring the Holy Spirit after baptism, either
by unction or by imposition of hands, but points to a very marked consciousness of the distinc-
tion between the two rites; in other words, to
the recognition of Confirmation as a sanctifica-
tion of a separate order, often conferred by a
separate minister. For a discussion of this subject
the reader may be referred to Dolger, Das Subra-
ment der Ernennung, while the same writer, in an
article in the Rom. Querimischer (1905, pp. 1-41),
has dealt with the archaeological evidence of early
date, which establishes the existence in many
places, e.g. at Naples, Rome, and Salona in
Dalmatia, of a separate Confirmation chapel (con-
signatorius, christnaraun) distinct from the baptis-
tory. In the Syrian Church, however, the accounts
given of the institution, e.g. the Homilies of
Narsisi himself, do not seem to remove it from the
category of a mere ceremony subsidiary to bap-
tism, while the effort made in the Apostolic Con-
stitutions to alter the Syrian practice, introdus-
CONFORMITY.

The ethical question regarding conformity is, How far may a man, from regard to the feelings or authority of others, consent in outward action to what, apart from such regard, he is not inwardly convinced is right or true—more shortly, How far may a man conceal or act against his own inward conviction, in deference to the feelings of other persons or to external authority? Such questions concern conformity except for as a dereliction, unless we are prepared to assert for certain abstract forms of duty (e.g. that we ought to speak the truth) a kind of absoluteness which ignores the social ends to which all duties are relative, and ignores also the way in which a general rule, valid under ordinary and tacitly assumed conditions, may be modified or abrogated by the presence of extraordinary conditions not contemplated in the general rule. No one would seriously contend, e.g., that the duty of promise-keeping requires the promiser not to stop even to save a drowning man's life, if by so doing he would have to break an appointment.

But on the other hand, it is evident that our question is, as it has been called (Morley, On Compromise), 'a question of boundaries,' a question involving a conflict of duties. And, so far as the decision of such questions turns upon the infinite variety and subtle details of personal relations between individuals, ethical science can have nothing to say beyond the vague generalities, such as that, on the one hand, we ought not unnecessarily to wound other people's feelings, or that, on the other, we ought not to suppress our own.

It is difficult, e.g., to see how the writer just quoted is entitled to say, so emphatically as he does, that 'one relationship in life, and one only, justifies us in being silent where otherwise it would be right to speak; this relationship is that between child and parents' (op. cit. p. 165). If we take a duty such as that of a son to support and care for his parents in old age, it is obvious that the duty is one which falls upon a son as such: the relationship is the very basis of the duty.

But we can hardly say the same of the duty of suppressing one's convictions: here the relationship seems to require only that added degree of deference which a son will naturally pay to his parents' opinions in all things of life. And, if so, it is surely paradoxical to contend that a like deference is not equally obligatory in the more intangible relation of husband and wife.

It would seem, then, that the only cases in which we can look for a definite development of ethical doctrine in regard to conformity—as distinguished from mere casuistical discussion—are those in which some external authority has a peculiar claim upon one, either formally or informally, to that in which parents have a peculiar claim to their boy's obedience or to their adult son's support. The two authorities which most evidently possess such a claim, and whose claims most nearly develop, are the Church and the State. How far is a citizen morally permitted or obliged to obey legal injunctions of whose nature or objects he disapproves? How far, e.g., is military service to be obligatory upon a Quaker? Payment of Church rates upon a Dissenter? And the question of obligation is, of course, both accentuated and modified when the citizen is himself an official of the State acting as such; e.g., how,...
CONFORMITY

far is a soldier or a subordinate officer, when ordered to fire upon a mob, relieved from all moral responsibility by the fact of his superior's command? Very similar questions are raised by the Church's claim to authority. How far may a layman, and still more a clergyman, subscribe a creed without any duty? We cannot answer these questions.

All that can be attempted here is to point out some of the more general considerations which must be kept steadily in view if these questions are to be adequately discussed. In the first place, we must put aside as an empty truism—irrelevant or even question-begging—the assertion that a man must at all costs obey his conscience. For our problem is precisely to determine what, in the above cases, conscience really commands. We cannot, then, from the ethical point of view, start with a deliverance of conscience as a fixed datum. (From the political point of view, the ruler must needs take the conscience of any section of his subjects as a datum to be reckoned with. Not that he is obliged to give way to their conscience if he thinks them wrong,—for the sanctity of conscience can extend, in any ultimate sense, no farther than the amount of moral truth which it appears to us he must take as the basis of one of the data of his problem. A Christian ruler might be very unwise in trying to enforce monogamy on a Muhammadan population, and yet the United States be entirely justified in putting down Mob that the second American Revolution. In other words, we must apt to think of the relation as merely a modifying circumstance, in the sense of being essentially subordinate to the abstract rule of duty. That is to say, we are apt to assume beforehand that the relation to the external authority, and then bring in this relation to modify our conclusions. We may, therefore, apt to think of the relation as merely a modifying circumstance, in the sense of being essentially subordinate to the abstract rule of duty. That is to say, we are apt to assume beforehand that the relation to the external authority, and then bring in this relation to modify our conclusions.

We have illustrated the duty of conformity, as regards the ordinary citizen, from the supposed case of a citizen required, e.g., to fire on a mob. For it is interesting to observe that our English system of law commits in practice, and in an even aggravated form, the same mistake as that to which we have objected in theory. It treats the soldier's special duty of obedience to military law as a mere qualifying circumstance in relation to his general civic duty to obey the ordinary law of the land; or, rather, it says he must obey both laws, and choose, if they conflict. Hence he may . . . be liable to be shot by a court-martial if he disobeys an order, and to be hanged by a judge and jury if he obeys it. (Dicey, Law of the Constitution, 1902, p. 288.) The law and of, cases, we must be able to guard our guard against a fallacy into which we are likely to fall, if we begin by considering what the individual's duty would be, apart from his relation to the external authority, and then bring in this relation to modify our conclusions. We may, therefore, apt to think of the relation as merely a modifying circumstance, in the sense of being essentially subordinate to the abstract rule of duty. That is to say, we are apt to assume beforehand that the relation to the external authority, and then bring in this relation to modify our conclusions.

The question of religious conformity differs from that of civic in this respect, that membership of a Church is voluntary in a sense in which citizenship is not. We ought not, indeed, to exaggerate this difference, for in the case of a person of strong religious convictions, and of (what may be roughly called) 'high' Church views, it may amount to very little in practice. We can hardly wonder, e.g., at the submission with which Roman Catholic disbelievers in Papal infallibility received the decree, when the choice lay between submission and excommunication. Provided these disbelievers have already committed ourselves, tacitly or by implication, to that denial of the value and authority of the State as an institution to which he proceeds to give open expression (Kingdom of God is within you, 1894, ch. vii.). But, on any less extravagant view than his, it is impossible for the citizen of a State, that is to say, the institution on which the whole system of law and order in life practically depends, to treat his relation to the State in any matter of public duty as a mere qualifying circumstance to be taken into account after his duty has been otherwise determined. In any matter of public duty the real question at issue as regards conformity is always this: Do I think the human interest that is endangered by conformity so vital, that I, with others of like mind, am prepared to endanger, by our refusal of service or our passive resistance or our active rebellion, the institution which the whole fabric of human interests depends? This, at any rate, is the question of principle. To say, with regard to a par.

It might be objected that what is endangered by war is not a particular human interest, but the sanctity of human life in general. But the objection simply repeats the original fallacy. There is no World-Empire which could assert the sanctity of human life against warring States, and therefore we have to distinguish between a citizenship and a civic patriotism, but between a civic patriotism and anarchy.
The Chinese Empire was created in the 3rd cent. B.C., when the mighty Shi Hwang, the Ts'ing dynasty, which had ruled in the north-west since the 9th cent. B.C., destroyed in streams of blood the complex of States which, up to that time, had existed in the birthplace of higher East Asian culture, the home of Buddhism. But the House of Ts'ing did not exist long enough to organize the great creation of this first Emperor of China. It collapsed after a few years, giving place to the glorious House of Han, which maintained itself and its traditions till the 3rd cent. A.D. This dynasty, in organizing the enormous young Empire, built up a political constitution, naturally and systematically taking for its guide the principles, rules, and precedents of the old time, that is to say, the ancient literature. It so far as possible resurrected and irrecoverably lost in the flames which Shi Hwang, in a frenzy of pride, had kindled to devour it. With a view to the completion of this gigantic task of organization, this classical literature was sought for, restored, emended, commented upon, and thus there arose a classical, ultra-conservative State-constitution, which, handed down as an heirloom to all succeeding dynasties, exists to this day. The religious elements contained in the classics were not given a religious interpretation, but that constitution, together with the political, seeing that everything contained in the classics was to be preserved and developed as a holy institution of the ancients; in other words, those religious elements become the Shih Shu, the religious constitution, in consequence, now fully two thousand years old. Its basic principle, Universalism, is, of course, older, much older than the classical books by which it has been preserved. As is the case with many other religious creeds, Universalism is lost in the darkness of antiquity.

With the classical books the name of Confucius is inseparably associated. Five are called King; the others are called Shu. Confucius did not write them all; they belong partly to a much older, partly to a later period. He is held to have written only one King, the Ch'ün-ch'iu. Three other Kings, called the Shu, or Book of History, the Shih, or Songs, and the Yeh, or Natural Law, contain statements which, in consequence, now fully two thousand years old. Its basic principle, Universalism, is, of course, older, much older than the classical books by which it has been preserved. As is the case with many other religious creeds, Universalism is lost in the darkness of antiquity.

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assimilated respectively with the fruitifying Heavens, and with the Earth which they fructify, as also with heat and cold, light and darkness. The vicissitudes of these souls, indeed, every year produce the seasons and their phenomena.

*Confucian Religion.* Every state, minister, and mandarin may form his assigned place on the altar and its terraces, or on the marble pavement which surrounds it. On the upper terrace, a large tablet, inscribed 'Imperial Heaven, Supreme Emperor,' stands in a shrine on the east side, and faces due south. In two rows, facing east and west, are shrines which contain tablets of the ancestors of the Emperor. Before each tablet a variety of sacrificial food is placed—soaps, meat, fish, dates, chestnuts, rice, vegetables, spirits, etc.—to conform them to ancient classical precedent and tradition. On the second terrace are tablets for the spirits of the sun, the moon, the Great Bear, the five planets, the twenty-eight principal constellations, and the host of stars; furthermore, there are tables of the winds, clouds, rain, and thunder. Before these tablets are dishes and baskets with sacrificial articles. Cows, goats, and swine have been slaughtered, and all these offerings are set out before the ceremonies are proceeding. A bullock or heifer is burning on a pyre as a special offering to high heaven. The Emperor, who has purified himself for the solemnity by fasting, is led up the altar by his proxies, and stands, not preceded by any official, but crowded with dignitaries. Directors of the ceremonies guide him, and loudly proclaim every action or rite which he has to perform. The spirit of Heaven is invited, by means of a hymn accompanied by sacred music, and is let in on the altar-park and then to settle in the tablet. Before this tablet, and subsequently before those of his ancestors, the Emperor offers incense, jade, silk, broth, and rice-spirits. He humbly kneels, and knocks his forehead against the pavement. A grandee reads a statutory prayer in a loud voice, and several officials offer incense, silk, and spirits to the tablets of the sun, moon, stars, clouds, rain, wind, and thunder. Finally, the sacrificial gifts are carried away, to the songs, and are burned.

The Imperial sacrifice is probably the most pompous worship which ever has been paid on this earth to a divinity of Nature. It is attended by a large body of musicians and religious dancers, performing all the ancient ceremonies, and reciting the words of the prayers. In the same vast altar-park there is, to the north of the Round Eminenence, another altar of the same form, but of smaller dimensions, bearing a large circular building with dome or cupola, called the high priest, or temple where prayers are sent up for a good year, that is to say, for an abundant harvest throughout the Empire. Here a sacrifice is offered by the Emperor to the Sun and to his ancestors, in the first decade of the first month of the year; while, to obtain reasonable rains for the crops, a sacrifice is presented in the same building, in the first month of the summer, to the same tablets, as also to those of rain, thunder, clouds, and winds. This ceremony is repeated if rains do not fall in due time or sufficiently copiously. These sacrifices are mostly performed by princes or ministers, as proxies of the Son of Heaven.

The ritual for all the State sacrifices is similar to that for Heaven, but the pomp and offerings vary with the rank of the god.

Next to Heaven in the series of State divinities is Earth, called officially Hsü-Ü, or 'Empress Earth,' whose square altar of marble, open to the sky, is situated in a park, with gigantic trees, and surrounded by high walls, near around this altar, which is the largest in the world. On the longest night of the year, the Emperor proceeds to the altar, escorted by princes, grandees, officers, and troops, to the number of many hundreds. Everybody is in the richest ceremonial dress. The spectacle, illuminated by the bountiful light of large torches, is most imposing. Every member, minister, and mandarin may form his assigned place on the altar and its terraces, or on the marble pavement which surrounds it. In two rows, facing east and west, are shrines which contain tablets of the ancestors of the Emperor. Before each tablet a variety of sacrificial food is placed—soaps, meat, fish, dates, chestnuts, rice, vegetables, spirits, etc.—to conform them to ancient classical precedent and tradition. On the second terrace are tablets for the spirits of the sun, the moon, the Great Bear, the five planets, the twenty-eight principal constellations, and the host of stars; furthermore, there are tables of the winds, clouds, rain, and thunder. Before these tablets are dishes and baskets with sacrificial articles. Cows, goats, and swine have been slaughtered, and all these offerings are set out before the ceremonies are proceeding. A bullock or heifer is burning on a pyre as a special offering to high heaven. The Emperor, who has purified himself for the solemnity by fasting, is led up the altar by his proxies, and stands, not preceded by any official, but crowded with dignitaries. Directors of the ceremonies guide him, and loudly proclaim every action or rite which he has to perform. The spirit of Heaven is invited, by means of a hymn accompanied by sacred music, and is let in on the altar-park and then to settle in the tablet. Before this tablet, and subsequently before those of his ancestors, the Emperor offers incense, jade, silk, broth, and rice-spirits. He humbly kneels, and knocks his forehead against the pavement. A grandee reads a statutory prayer in a loud voice, and several officials offer incense, silk, and spirits to the tablets of the sun, moon, stars, clouds, rain, wind, and thunder. Finally, the sacrificial gifts are carried away, to the songs, and are burned.
CONFUCIAN RELIGION

of Earth and to those of the Imperial ancestors, and, on the second terrace, to the tablets of the chief mountains, rivers, and seas.

From the fact that the Emperor, in performing the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth and to the tablets of his ancestors, it follows that they stand, in the system of the State religion, next to Heaven and Earth in rank. Solemn sacrifices are offered to them by the Emperor in the T'ai-miao, or Grand Temple, on the south-east of the Palace grounds, and at the mausolea, in temples erected there, one in front of each grave-mound.

Next in rank to the Imperial ancestors in the pantheon of the State are the Shih-Tai, or gods of the ground, and of millet or corn. They have their large open altar in a park to the west of the Grand Temple. The Emperor sacrifices there in spring and autumn, or sends a proxy to perform the rite (26th cent. B.C.)

2. The above are the so-called Ta-tze, or 'Great Sacrifices.' Next in rank are those of the second category, the Chung-tze, or 'Middle Sacrifices.' The Emperor, in various altars erected in or about Peking. The Sun-god has his large walled park, with round open altar-terrace, outside the main east gate, to the region of sunrise; the Moon-goddess has her square altar also outside the same gate to the west in the region in which the new moon is born. Sacrifices are offered there to the sun by the Emperor or his proxy, at the astronomical mid-spring, when the sun conquers darkness; the Moon receives her sacrifice on the day of mid-autumn, when, in China's natural philosophy, is associated with the west, where the new moonlight is born.

The other State-gods of this Middle Class are the famous men of fabulous antiquity who introduced the Tao, or Order of the Universe, among men, thus conferring on them the blessings of civilization, learning, and ethics. They may be enumerated as follows:

(1) Shen Nung, the 'divine husbandman,' the Emperor of the oldest mythical period, received special sacrificial worship in a temple in the Palace, viz., Yuh Hi, Shen Nung, Hwang-ti, Yao, and Shun, together with the founders of the house of Chou, and Confucius.

(2) Sun-t'wan, or 'the first breeder of silkworms,' supposed to have been the wife of the Emperor Hwang (27th cent. B.C.). In the first month of spring, the Empress, followed by a great train of court-ladies, presents a sacrifice to her on an altar in the park of the Palace.

(3) 188 Imperial and princely rulers of the past. The five Emperors of the oldest mythical period receive special sacrificial worship in a temple in the Palace, viz., Huh Hi, Shen Nung, Hwang-ti, Yao, and Shun, together with the founders of the house of Chou, and Confucius.

(4) The State deities are the men and women who, in the course of the centuries, have been distinguished for Confucian virtue and learning. Four temples are built for them near every Confucian temple.

(5) The Ti-k'i, or 'deities of the sky,' that is, to say, of the clouds, the rain, the wind, and thunder.

(6) The Ti-hsien, or 'earth-gods,' are the ten principal mountains of the Empire, besides five hills and ranges of hills which dominate the site of the mausolea of the present dynasty; further, the four seas or oceans at the four sides of the Empire or of the earth, and the four main rivers of China, viz., the Hwang-ho, the Yang-tze, the Hai, and the Tsai; and, lastly, the mountains and streams in the neighbourhood of Peking, and various others within the Empire.

(8) Next comes Tsii-sui, or 'the Great Year,' the planet Jupiter, whose path in the heavens governs the arrangement of the almanac which is annually published by Imperial authority, and gives the various days considered suitable for the transaction of various business of life. This god thus rules the Tao of the Empire, and consequently the Tao of human life, which, in order to bestow happiness and prosperity, must fit in with the Universal Tao, or course of Time.

3. The third section of the Confucian State religion embraces the Kiu-szu, or 'Collective Sacrifices.' These are all offered by mandarins to the gods in the following lists: (1) the Sien-i, or 'physicians of the past,' patriarchs of the art of promoting and preserving health; (2) the Tsiang, or 'mandarins' and Hwang-ti; (3) Kwan-yu, the war-god of the present dynasty, a great hero of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. A.D.; (3) Wen-ch'ang, a star in the Great Bear, the patron of the classical studies on which the Confucianism is based; (4) the Ta-tze, or 'the Divine Sons,' who, in their rule maintain the Tao among men; (5) Pe-khi, the 'ruler of the north pole'; (6) Hwo shen, 'the god of fire'; (7) P'nao-shen, 'the cannon-gods'; (8) Ch'ing-huang shen, 'gods of the walls and gates'; (9) Shi-ken, 'deity of the altars of walled cities and forts throughout the Empire'; (10) Sung-yoh shen, 'the god of the Eastern Mountain,' i.e., the Thaishan in Shan-tung; (11) Hu-tsun, 'or' god of the ground'; (12) Sze-kung shen, the patron of architecture, to each of whom, before any building work is undertaken, sacrifices are offered on altars erected on the site of the building; (12) Yao shen, 'the gods of the porcelain kilns'; (13) Men shen, 'the gods of the various city gates and doors of Peking'; (14) T'ian-shen, 'the gods of the store-houses' of Peking and Tung-chow.

Many of these State sacrifices are also offered by the authorities throughout the provinces, on altars or in temples which have been built for this purpose in the chief city of each province, department, or district—namely, those of the gods of the ground and of millet; those of Shen Nung, Confucius, and the gods of clouds, rain, wind, and thunder; those of the mountains and rivers in the country; those of the walls and gates of the city; and those of Kwan-yu. In Peking, as in the provinces, there are, moreover, temples, built with the same official design, for a great number of historical persons, who have rendered services to the dynasties and the people. They have, on that account, received titles of honour from the Emperors, and have their special temples in the places where they lived and worked. By the way, there are also certain rulers, who by former wise and faithful princes, nobles, and statesmen; for men who have sacrificed their lives in the service of the dynasty, etc.

4. Lastly, three sacrifices are prescribed to be offered annually by the authorities all through the Empire for the repose and refreshment of the souls of the departed in general. All the State sacrifices take place either on certain fixed days of the calendar, or on days which are indicated as favourable and felicitous.
This synopsis of the State pantheon shows that the Confucian religion is a mixture of Nature-worship and worship of the dead. It is the rule to represent the gods who are believed to have lived and died by images in some form, and the others by tablets inscribed with their principal divine titles. Images as well as tablets are inhabited by the spirits, especially when, at sacrifices, these have been formally prayed to or summoned, with or without music, to descend into those objects. Confucian worship and sacrifices, then, being actually addressed to animate images, is idolatry. Certainly it is quite inconsistent with the Chinese spirit to think of such tablets and images as mere wood and paint.

The religion of the State, performed by the Son of Heaven as high priest, and by ministers and mandarins all through the Empire as his proxies, is thoroughly ritualistic. Since, during the Han dynasty, under the auspices of Emperors and by the care of illustrious scholars, the classics were rescued from oblivion, an elaborate ritual, based on those classics, was at the same time called into existence in the form of rescripts, regulating in minute detail every act in the State religion. Subsequent dynasties framed their institutions in general, and their ritual of the State religion in particular, on those of the House of Han, though with modifications and additions of more or less importance. Instances of eminent statesmen presenting memorials to the throne, in which they criticized rituals and proposed corrections, abound in the historical works; and these instances prove that formal codifications of rites have always been in existence since the reign of the House of Han.

These codifications have for the most part been preserved in the dynastic Histories, but it is not possible now to decide whether they are given in their entirety or in an abridged form. None of them equals in elaboration that of the Khai-yuen period (713-741). This vast compendium of statutory rites of the Tang dynasty is a systematic compilation of nearly all the ceremonial usages mastered by the classical literature of the most ancient statesmen of China have held their place as standard rites of the State religion to this day. The Ta Те’ng hенn теn, or Collective Statutes of the Great House of Ts‘ing, are modeled on it. It is also the prototype of the Ta Те’ng hеn t‘еn, or General Rituals of the Great Ts‘ing dynasty, which is an official codification of the rites proper for the use of the nation and its rulers. Therefore, whoever is able to read and interpret Chinese texts has it in his power to study and describe, in its details, the State religion from official printed documents.

The conclusion is, of course, ready to hand, that the State religion is instituted for no other purpose than to influence the Universe by the worship of deities who constitute the Yang, in order that happiness may come to the Emperor and his household. In other words, a religion of the State is the supreme rule of the Tao, who, as universal originator, has made the Universe the medium of his universal power. Out of this natural, if not universal, the work of the W坚定 in Yan 內 centre, is the exercise of that religion, the highest duty of the subject, to use the language of the Tao, "So the greatest of his subjects is he who ensures the peace and prosperity of the people by not allowing them to take part in it, except by exerting the State temples and altars, and keeping them in good repair at their own cost and by their own labour. The only religion allowed to them by the State is the worship of their own ancestors, which is classical and therefore Confucian." Yet, as everywhere in the world, religious instincts in China go their own way, in spite of official ritual form. Not content with the worship of their ancestors, the people freely indulge in the worship of Confucian deities. In villages and in other localities they have temples for the worship of mountains, streams, rocks, and the like. The god of the earth in particular enjoys much veneration; in all quarters the people have erected temples or chapels and shrines to him; they regard and worship him as the god of wealth, and the patron divinity of agriculture. And everywhere the people resort to certain State temples in the chief towns of provinces, departments, and districts, and worship the idols there after their own fashion.

This popular worship of Confucian divinities being practised all through the Empire, the images of gods exist by tens of thousands, the temples by thousands. Almost every temple has its idol gods which are co-ordinate or subordinate in rank to the chief god, so that China fully deserves to be called the most idolatrous country in the world. The religion of the State in private houses, many of which have altars for gods and goddesses, to whom, on fixed days, sacrifices are annually presented.

The worship of ancestors is mentioned in the ancient classics so often, and in such detail, that we cannot doubt it was also the core of the ancient religion. It has assumed the form of a most elaborate system of disposal of the dead. Washing and dressing of corpses, colling and burial, and grave-building are matters of the greatest solicitude. The erection of large tumuli for princes and nobles was always the rule in China, and the mausolea built for emperors and princes were magnificent structures. Those of the present ruling dynasty certainly belong to the greatest and grandest which the hand of man ever produced.

The ancestral cult is regulated in the State ritual by special rescripts for all classes of the Chinese people. On certain fixed days the sacrifices in the ancestral temple, where the soul tablets of its older generations are preserved, and where sacrifices are offered to them. In the dwelling-house a part of the altar is set apart for the worship of the latest generations. Sacrifices are offered to the altar for the offerings, which are presented by the family on various fixed days in the calendar, with the father or grandfather at their head. Besides, there is an altar on each grave, which has been built with some outlay, and the mausoleas of the great of this earth have even a temple, containing an altar with the tablet of the soul which rests with the body in the grave. In the first months and years after the burial, certain sacrifices are offered on the grave; later on, another is offered once in every year, in spring, in the Teyn жоаеi season, reserved for visits to the family repairing them. In China, the same is always offered by many other families, too.

No doubt ancestrality is an important and powerful ethical element. The possession of the property of fathers is always a great matter of glory, and the duty of the fathers is always to protect the property of their sons. The protection of property strengthens the ties of family life, as it supplies the descendants with a rallying point in the common ancestral altar. It thus fosters a spirit of mutual help in the emergencies of life, and it has exercised a powerful influence upon Chinese family life and social institutions.

LITERATURE.—See end of next article.

J. J. M. DE GROOT.
CONFUCIUS.-The system which is known in the West as Confucianism is described in China as K'ung Fu-tsu, the philosopher Kung, whose name is familiar to Westerns under the Latinized form of Confucius, Ju-kiao represents orthodoxy in China, all other systems being nominally heterodox, though Taoism and Buddhism have, as a result of long association, been popularly admitted to a place among the 'three Schools.' Taoism is, of course, exotic in its origin; but Taoism is based upon the same ancient materials as Confucius requisitioned. Laotse, or Lao-tze, to whom is attributed the system known as Tao-Kiao, or 'School of the Way,' was a strenuous moralist who boldly applied the teachings which he discovered in the ancient Chinese records to the amelioration of existing conditions, making non-interference and the suppression of personal ambition the keystones of his system. Confucius made no profession of original thought, and confessed himself to be but a transmitter of the manners and maxims of the 'good old times.' What he attempted to do was to apply to the degenerate days in which he lived the best elements of the accumulated wisdom and experience of the past, which he found locked up in the ancient records, and reflected in the time-honoured ceremonials. These he endeavoured to elucidate and explain, in order to guide the great people who flocked to him from all quarters, and to the feudal lords whom he interviewed in the course of his wanderings from State to State, but also by carefully prepared and annotated editions of the early writings for the benefit of posterity. His highest hope was to lead the rulers of the feudal kingdoms, by easy stages, to the gentler manners of the past, and thus to initiate a reign of peace. In order to appreciate the standpoint of Confucius, it is necessary that the political circumstances of their times should be carefully considered.

1. The times in which Confucius lived. The Chow dynasty, established by King Wu (1122 B.C.), was in a declining condition at the time when Confucius was born, and the central authority, which gave its name to the Central State, or 'Middle Kingdom,' as the Chinese call their Empire even to-day, was powerless to enforce its dictates upon the turbulent States which were its nominal vassals. Constant war, with its dreadful concomitants, was the 'Sign of the times.' The soldier was in the ascendant, the schoolmaster unemployed. Agriculture languished for lack of manpower. War, and plague, pestilence, and famine wrought untold horrors upon the feudal kingdoms. In the midst of scenes such as those a son was born (551 B.C.) to an ancient officer of the K'ung family, who had distinguished himself by commanding physical and martial powers in the wars of his line. He was of a retired life in the State of Lu, situated in the modern province of Honan, on the northern edge of the empire. He was the 63rd generation of the family. His mother was descended from Yen, one of the old feudal families of China. The life of K'ung Fu-tsu, or, as we know him, Confucius, may be divided into 3 periods: (1) 500-501, covering his early boyhood, his marriage at the age of 19, and his appointment to the office of keeper of the State granaries, and, a year later, to that of guardian of the common lands; (2) 500-501, when he devoted himself to the work of teaching, and gradually collected around him an enthusiastic band of disciples, at the same time completing his own education and labouring at a new edition of the ancient Odes and Historical Records; (3) 500-486, when, for a short period, he acted as magistrate in his native State, and, as a result of the signal success of his methods, was promoted to the office of Minister of Works, and, subsequently, to that of Minister of Justice, but resigning his office only when he found his counsels unavailing to turn the reigning Duke from the evil ways he had adopted; (4) 486-453, when he wandered over a large number of the feudal States, vainly endeavouring to induce their rulers to reform their manners and return to the ancient ways; and (5) 453-478, the last period of his life, spent in his native State, during which he devoted himself to the completion of his literary labours in connexion with the ancient records, and to the production of his one original work, the 'Ch'un-t'ieh,' or 'Spring and Autumn' annals.

2. The Confucian library. The materials upon which the system known as Confucianism is based are to be found in the various King, or Canons, and the Shu, or Writings, which are attributed to Confucius and his disciples. These have been variously tabulated at different periods of history, but are nowadays divided into the 'Four King,' or 'Five King' (see preceding art., p. 12).

3. The doctrines of Confucius. When the condition of the feudal kingdoms in Confucius' time is borne in mind, it will be seen to follow naturally that Confucius' disciples, who directed his efforts was the tranquilizing of the Empire. The possibility of effecting this aim he demonstrated in three ways: (1) by his redactions of the ancient historical records and poetry, showing, to the princes and to all other rulers by which the great rulers of antiquity, Yao, Shun, and others, had succeeded in controlling and directing the 'black-haired people'; (2) by his personal instructions and counsels to the various nobles whom he interviewed in the course of his journeys through the feudal kingdoms, and to the ardent students who delighted to sit at his feet; and (3) by his own example in the small spheres which were entrusted to him, and where his methods are represented as being entirely successful. This, indeed, was the cardinal principle which he so frequently emphasized, viz., that, if Sage and Sovereign could be combined, in one person, the difficulties of empire would disappear. The force of Confucius' doctrine was that he sought to apply to every exigency; if the lord paramount would but imitate the ancient worthies, the various princes would be excited to emulation, and thus, through every grade of society, the process would be continued until the whole nation was reformed. The stages by which this process was to be completed are thus described in the 'Great Learning' ('Great Study'):

The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the Empire ordered well their own States. Wishing to order well their own States, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated the thoughts of their persons. Weaving to cultivate the thoughts of their persons, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things. Things being investigated, knowledge became complete. Their knowledge was the same as theirs. Such as were born thus in their hearts, their hearts were cultivated. Such as were not thus regulated, were valiantly brought to right thinking, the whole Empire.
sion men to perform certain tasks, and protect them whilst in the execution of them, but, for the carrying out of those commissions, man must depend upon his own unaided abilities, upon that nature, predisposed towards goodness, which Heaven had conferred on him, and to which he himself must allow its full development, in harmony with the observed course of Nature and the examples of the great sages of the past. The gifts of nature vary in different individuals. There are four great classes of mankind: (1) those who possess intuitive knowledge; (2) those whose natural abilities enable them to bear with ease the fatigue of labor; (3) those who, though naturally dull, are able by earnest application to become learned; and (4) those who decline the attempt to acquire knowledge because of natural incapacity and indolence. Yet it is possible for every man, by means of self-cultivation, to reach the highest development of which his nature is capable; and nothing less than this should satisfy the aspirant. Rest in the highest, or 'cease only when thou art manched,' is the key-note of the 'Great Learning.' Confucius himself aimed high; he did not expend his strength in the interests of common men, but concentrated his efforts on the education of those already in office or those who were likely to attain to power, believing that, if he should succeed in implanting his opinions amongst the highest classes, the regeneration of the masses would follow as a matter of course.

There is practically nothing of a religious nature in Confucianism pure and simple. Religion, in the strict sense, existed in China long before his day, and survives even to the present in the sacrifice to Shang-ti, described on p. 17, which the Emperor offers as the representative of the myriad people. Confucius seems to have directed all his energies to the promotion of self-cultivation, adopting an attitude of strict reserve on the question of religion. He certainly countenanced the religious observances of his time so far as they were consonant with the ancient rites, and did not openly rebuke the extravagances which existed, as, for instance, the burial alive of human victims, which was not unknown among his contemporaries, and which was guided by a principle which he enunciated, viz., 'When good government prevails in a State, language may be lofty and bold, and actions the same. When bad government prevails, the actions and the language may be timid and with some reserve.' It may be that he had but little sympathy with the religious decadence of his own times and the abuses which were then prevalent, but he evidently considered it no part of his mission to attack them in any iconoclastic spirit, and he preferred to adopt an attitude of strict reticence towards the question of religion, recommending the observance of the acustomed ritual, but deprecating a too close inquiry into the spiritual nature of things. He evidently regarded the offering of sacrifice as of great subjective value, but professed ignorance of the meaning of the great sacrifice to Shang-ti. He certainly added nothing to the contemporary knowledge of God or of spirits; he had nothing to say with regard to death or the hereafter; the present distress was a sufficient occasion for the exercise of his disciplinary methods; the present life was the only theatre in which he sought to inspire men to act their part. The existence of a moral law was implied through the unceasing struggles of the feudal States, and his great endeavour was to induce their several rulers to suppress their overweening ambitions, and to cultivate that moderation, that harmonious balance, which is emphasized in the 'Doctrine of the Mean'; so that the various parts of the social organism might work together smoothly and with mutual profit, like a perfectly fitted and well-oiled machine, each State furnishing its quota of Imperial service, each ruler and officer occupying his appointed place, and all friction being avoided, so that the Middle Kingdom might become once more a model to the barbarians on its frontiers, and the whole world which no alien combination might venture to impugn.

Confucius was, above all things, a political reformer, but one who founded his political principles upon moral bases. He wished the harmony of Nature to be re-established in the world of men, and hence the very first essential in his system was the cultivation of knowledge, especially natural science. But, by a strange irony of fate, the chapter of the 'Great Learning,' which was supposed to deal with this fundamental question of culture, on which so much remains occupied with the lesser details which appear as branches detached from the tree. The abortive attempts of later philosophers to deal with the phenomena of nature are described in art. 17.

The steps in the process of self-cultivation have already been enumerated: the completion of knowledge leads to sincerity in thought, for the reason that the scholar, once aware that the outward appearance can no longer be deceived by outward appearances or inward imaginings, being thus freed from the deceptive influences of passion, emotion, fear, etc., is able to rectify his heart, i.e., to restrain wayward thoughts, feelings, and tendencies; as a consequence, his outward actions are conformed to the highest ideals of propriety, i.e., the cultivation of the person; and, from this point, he becomes a centre of influence which extends to his officers and associates, and the whole Empire is made tranquil and happy.

This may be said to be the Confucian gospel in a word, and it will be evident that it is based upon the conviction that man's nature is originally good, and may by observance of the laws of his time be restored to its highest perfection. Confucius admitted that 'by nature men are nearly alike; by practice they get to be wide apart.' It follows, therefore, that what is prescribed for rulers should also be followed by the commoners. But this point, he becomes a centre of influence which extends to his officers and associates, and the whole Empire is made tranquil and happy. But, by a strange irony of fate, the chapter of the 'Great Learning,' which was supposed to deal with this fundamental question of culture, on which so much remains occupied with the lesser details which appear as branches detached from the tree. The abortive attempts of later philosophers to deal with the phenomena of nature are described in art. 17.

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not only self-culture, but also the regulation of the family and the government of the State. It may have been for this reason that Confucius was willing to overlook the extravagant attention paid to ancestor-worship, because it served to emphasize his own doctrines of Divine right and the paramount importance of acquaintance in the prevailing ordo benevolentiae.

Equilibrium was the side and correctness the opposite to the influence of Confucius, which had been subordinate to the religious law of society. The doctrine of the Mean, which forms the subject of his discourses with the ruler of the several States he visited and the disciples he gathered. The most popular exponent of Confucianism was Chu Hsi, or Chuenus (A.D. 1180-1290), whose commentaries on the classical books are now generally accepted as the highest standard of orthodoxy. Like Confucius, he proceeded upon the assumption that human nature is originally good, but applies his speculations to the hitherto unsolved problem of the origin of evil. So far as it has been the influence of Confucius upon modern thought in China, that ‘Chuenusianism’ might be substituted for ‘Confucianism’ as descriptive of the later development of the tenets of Confucius and his followers.

4. Secret of the success of Confucianism.—In view of what has been stated above as to the absence of religious motive in Confucianism, it may be asked how the system which is thus denominated could have found so much general acceptance. As a matter of fact, Confucius utterly failed to convince his generation of the value of the methods he so ardently advocated. Outside of the circle of those who formed his school of disciples he appears to have had few admirers. No ruler of his day was prepared to put his opinions to the test; only in the small sphere which he himself occupied, for a short period, in his own State of Lu, was he able to demonstrate their practical character; and even there, after his immediate followers must have been immense, though his family life was unfortunate; but, when his despairing complaint of the non-appreciation of his doctrines and non-recognition of his character which had been sick of social and political dispositions, seemed as if the very memory of the sage was about to perish. Many years elapsed before any national attempt to commemorate him was initiated, but succeeding ages and dynasties have utilized the moral influence of his history, which were admired by his immediate followers, and the sages of his time. There must be 'no contrariety' in the home or in the State; no trespass beyond the narrow and rigorous range of what he considered the duties of his position, and every member of the family, in like manner, must fulfill his part with loyal submission. Amongst the factors which conduct towards the correctness of conduct are included Poetry, which inspires to the aspiring of noble deeds; Cereemoniel, by which the habit of correct action is established; Music, which, if it be a thing, produces an atmosphere congenial to the cultivation of virtue, and gives a finish to character; and Archery, which is recommended as exercising a moral discipline.

From the above it may be seen how little of a transcendental character there is in the teachings of Confucius. The process of self-culture must proceed independently of any spiritual aid, except in so far as the conventional rites of sacrifice may be considered as of such a nature—a supposition which appears to be negatived by the fact that to Confucius they were evidently of little objective value.

The doctrines thus enumerated find illustration in the Analects, or Consuls, of Confucius—a collection of acts and sayings attributed to him by his immediate disciples; and they are represented in concrete form in the person of the 'princely magnificence, who is the subject of his discussions with the rulers of the several States he visited and the disciples he gathered. But the most popular exponent of Confucianism was Chu Hsi, or Chuenus (A.D. 1180-1290), whose commentaries on the classical books are now generally accepted as the highest standard of orthodoxy. Like Confucius, he proceeded upon the assumption that human nature is originally good, and applies his speculations to the hitherto unsolved problem of the origin of evil. So far as it has been the influence of Confucius upon modern thought in China, that 'Chuenusianism' might be substituted for 'Confucianism' as descriptive of the later development of the tenets of Confucius and his followers.

5. Defects of Confucianism.—The failure of
Congregationalism to satisfy the cravings of man's spiritual nature, its attitude of reserve on questions affecting the unseen world, its silence with regard to sin and its remedy, and its equivocal references to the possibility and value of prayer—all of these are the evidences of a way for the introduction of Buddhism, with its doctrines of an All-merciful One, its spiritual aids and consolations, its plans of salvation and theory of a 'Western Paradise,' and its recognition of women's place in its plans for art, Cults (Buddhism in). Here also is offered a field where Christianity, when once relieved of the prejudice and suspicion which now encompass it, will find a place and a welcome, and the true Sage whom Confucius dimly outlined, the true 'Coming One' of whom the Buddha prophesied, will be recognized in Jesus Christ, in whom alone the highest definition of brotherhood is exhibited, and in whom alone fatherhood, in the ultimate sense, is propounded—The Fatherhood of God. Revolution is not limited to the confines of the four seas, but embraces 'all nations of men' who ' dwell on all the face of the earth' (Ac 17:26); in whom also is found that motive power which can compensate for man's weaknesses and counteract the corruption of human nature, and can enable men to attain to the highest perfection—a standard far transcending that which Confucius had in mind when he eulogized his great axiom, 'Honest in the highest excellence.'


CONGREGATIONALISM.—I. The Name.—The term 'Congregationalism' came into general use about the beginning of the great Civil War in England, and contemporaneously in New England, as the distinctive form of Church policy in which the local congregation is the unit of organization and the source of ecclesiastical government (e.g. Richard Mather, An Apology, London, 1643 [written 1639], p. 6, and generally in the literature of the succeeding years). From the last decade of the 16th cent. its adherents had been nick-named 'Brownists,' from Robert Browne (see Brownism). Against this name they protested (e.g. A True Confession, Amsterdam, 2-290, title: An Apologetica, and Defence, London, 1613, p. 24). They were also called 'Separatists,' because of their withdrawal from the English Establishment. The title 'Independency' was attached to the system at about the same time as that of 'Congregationalism,' and was an object of early protest (e.g. An Apologetical Narration, p. 23), long remained its usual designation in Great Britain, though it is now generally supplanted by Congregationalism. In America it was not in use in the Congregationalism, as a list of the adherents of the polity, is encountered in 1692 (C. Mather, Blessed Unions, Boston); and Congregationalism,' in 1716 (I. Mather, Disputation on Ecclesiastical Councils, Boston, p. vi).

As a polity, Congregationalism is much more wide-spread than the Congregational name. The Baptists, the Plymouth Brethren, the Disciples of Christ, the Unitarians of the United States, as well as certain tracts of the Lutherans, are congregationally governed. In this article, however, only that group of Churches to which the name 'Congregationalism' is attached by historic, popular, and official usage, will be considered.

2. Fundamental principles.—Early Congregationalism was a product of the devotion of the Reformation epoch to the Bible. That period exalted the Bible as the only rule of faith and practice. If the Scriptures teach fully all that it is requisite for men to know or believe, and all duties of the Christian life, it was but logical to raise the question whether they did not also contain a complete and authoritative guide as to the nature, organization, officiating and administration of the Christian Church. It was the conviction that the Bible contains such a pattern that gave rise to Congregationalism.

The parties of Church-Government are all of them exactly described in the word of God, and not a thing is added, nor a thing is altered or taken away, as in all other systems of Church-Government (Cambridge Platform, 1648, ch. i.; see also A True Confession, 1596, of the London Amsterdam Church, ch. xx.).

Examining the Scriptures, therefore, in the light of the knowledge of their actual import and in the light of the great inspiration which made every portion a word of God, the Congregationalists of the 16th and 17th cent. denied the existence of national or territorial Churches; and, while holding that the Church can in no wise be 'Christ's Church' in it all the Elect of God that have bin, are, or shall be' (A True Description, Dort, 1559, p. i), affirmed that none but local associations of experiential Christians are visible Churches. Each of these Churches has Christ as its immediate and only Head. Each hath power and commandment to elect and ordain its own minister, as well as to receive in or to cut off any member (A True Confession, chs. xxiii. and xxiv.). Each local Church is therefore a completely self-governing body.

There can be no doubt that early Congregationalism felt a mystical conviction, not now characteristic of it, that Christ is in so real and true sense the Head of each church of His disciples, and they are so one with Him by covenant, that the acts of such a church, though those of human agents, are in vital reality His acts, whether in the appointment of officers, the choice of officers, or the administration of discipline. That which distinguishes between a church assembly of Christian people and a church is that the members of the local congregation are united into church-estate by a 'willing covenant made with their God' and with one another (R. Browne, A Book worm, Mildredburg, 1652, p. 3), 'A company becomes a Church by entering into the Covenant' (R. Mather, An Apology, p. 5). Yet this covenant is not necessarily formal, though it is more desirable that it be so, for 'wee conceive the substance of it is kept where there is a real agreement, and consent of faithful persons to meet constantly together in one congregation for the publick worship of God and their mutual edification' (Cambridge Platform, ch. iv.). The only fit persons to enter into such a covenant, and hence church-members, are those of personal religious experience; but, by a comparison with the Abrahamic covenant of Gn 17, early Congregationalists argued that the children of such covenanting members were included in the parents' covenant and were themselves therefore church-members. The status of such children, when grown to maturity and not consciences of a personal religions

1 C. J. Iverach, In God Knowable, 1854, p. 112 f.
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faith, was a sore puzzle to New England Congregationalism from the middle of the 17th to the end of the 18th century, and it is one of the numerous controversies known as the Half-Way Covenant discussions; but the belief of Congregationalism has always been that the true material of church-membership is to be found only in conscious and purposeful Christian discipleship.

Such a local church as has been described should have no officers but those of NT example—'pastors, teachers, elders, deacons, helpers.'\(^1\) (A True Confession, ch. xix.) The 'pastor' 'hath the gift of teaching,' and 'exercising,' especially in the 'teacher' that of teaching especially.' (R. Browne, A Book which sheweth, p. 32.) Both preached, though the teacher gave special attention to doctrinal exposition. Both administered the sacraments. The 'ruling elder' was a disciplinary officer, reckoned to the ministry, whose 'work is to join with the pastor and teacher in those acts of spiritual rule which are distinct from the ministry of the word and sacraments' (Cambridge Platform, ch. vii.). The business of destruction and 'aptly applying,' especially as the 'teacher' that of teaching especially, was that of the ministers of the Gospel. But the 'ruling elder' who could the ruling elder preach, and in no case could administer the sacraments. All three offices, known as 'teaching,' 'ruling,' and 'pastoral,' were chosen by the congregational elders and, in England, Congregationalism, were ordained by representatives of the congregation. Ordination, being considered but the recognition of a charge in a particular church, was to be repeated at each fresh entrance into office. But by the time that the Cambridge Platform was adopted, in 1648, custom was changing, and ordination was passing from the membership of the particular church to the hands of those already in the ministry. In such churches where there are no nominees, or 'standing committees,' the ordination is not often performed by the elders of other churches.' (ib. ch. ix.) Ordinations by the membership of the local church ceased soon after the middle of the 17th century. Two other classes of officers were recognized as to be chosen by the church. Of these the more important were 'deacons,' whose work was to 'receive the offerings of the church, gifts given to the church, and to keep the treasury of the church.' This was performed with a table where the church is to provide for, as the Lord's table, the table of the ministers, and of such as are in need (Cambridge Platform, ch. vii.). Therefore, we decline, "to minister to the church in giving attendance to the sick' (ib.); but, though an instance or two of their appointment may be found in early English Congregational practice, none held office in New England.

Each local church was from the first free to express its faith in its own language, and to make such tests for admission to its membership as it chose. Congregationalists from the beginning felt, however, that churches had only oracles of fellowship, and one with another, which were generally pictured as those of sisterhood in a common family of God.

'There be synodes or meetings of sundrie churches, which are when the shall churchs secke helpe of the stronger, for they have permiss'd, and seeke out the stronger brethren for them for redesse' (R. Browne, A Book which sheweth, p. 30.).

'Althoogh churches be distinct, and therefore may not be confounded one with another, and equal, and therefore have not dominion one over another; yet all the churches ought to preserve re-recognition one with another' (Cambridge Platform, ch. xv.).

The two principles of local autonomy and fellowship have always been the soul of Congregationalism, and the latter has preserved it from independence. The principle of fellowship gave rise almost at the settlement of New England to the occasional council—a meeting of pastors and lay delegates from such churches as the church seeking advice chooses to summon, called to give advice in such matters as ministar's installation, and dismissal of ministers, cases of discipline beyond the power of the local church to control, and similar ecclesiastical exigenes. Such councils have always been a feature of American Congregational practice, though not employed in Great Britain.

3. Present Congregational principles and organization.—Early Congregationalism, as thus described, has undergone much modification in detail, though it is a close-knit and rather unaltered. Modern Congregationalism, like its prototype, still conceives of the Church as a local company of experiential Christians, autonomous, yet owing fellowship to sister churches. But it does not preserve the fast and fast pattern of the Church in the Scriptures. It would emphasize the congregational as a desirable, rather than as the only rightful, polity. Congregationalism sees the merits of that polity in its denials of the absence of both the elders and pastor and teacher. The 'ruling elder continued late into the 18th cent., and a single example of the 'ruling elder' may be found in the 19th, most Congregational churches, on either side of the Atlantic, had before the middle of the 17th cent. reduced their officers to a pastor and several deacons. These are the chief officers of a Congregational church at the present time. The larger fellowship of the churches is expressed not only in the occasional councils, characteristic of the United States, of which mention has been made, but in a Union for Scotland in 1812, and for England and Wales in 1832. The latter now meets twice a year. In the United States, the first voluntary ministerial 'Association' was formed in Cambridge, Mass., in 1699. In Connecticut, a 'union' of ministers and lay delegates were organized in 1799. The system of meetings representative of churches by pastors and lay delegates was not generally introduced, however, till the early years of the 19th century. It is now universal in American Congregationalism. A variety of nomenclature exists, but uniformity is now being sought, so that the local groups into which churches are con federated shall be known as 'Associations,' and the larger State-wide organizations as 'Conferences.' After preliminary gatherings representative of the Congre...
21 and, Establishment, but were nationalism proposed instead of nationalism, the opposition to war, their denial to Christian disciples of the right to hold civil office, and their criticisms of the Augustinian theology. Congregationalism followed them in none of these things. But they also held that the Church is made up of local congregations of experiential Christians, and that each congregation is self-governing, and is empowered in democratic fashion by the suffrages of its members to ordain and ordain its own officers and administer its own discipline. They held that the Bible is the all-sufficient rule of faith and practice, in these principles Congregationalism was drawn mostly from the ignorant lower orders of the population, though not without a few educated leaders, the Anabaptists were neither denounced by Calvinistic nor Puritanical; and, in the opinion of their opponents, the movement was its apparent frontage in the world. Anabaptists were called, "to establish and maintain by their laws every part of God's word, his pure religion and true ministry." (A True Confession, ch. xxxix.) It was a constitution discharged by the local associations in Great Britain and America is that of certification of ministerial good-standing; and efforts are being made in America to constitute the local Association the regular ordaining body instead of the occasions composed of delegates from the churches, possesses judicial or legislative authority. Their action is purely advisory; but such action, in actual practice, carries great weight. An important function discharged by the local associations in Great Britain and America is that of certification of ministerial good-standing; and efforts are being made in America to constitute the local Association the regular ordaining body instead of the occasions composed of delegates from the churches, possesses judicial or legislative authority. Their action is purely advisory; but such action, in actual practice, carries great weight. An important function discharged by the local associations...
Puritan thought, despairing of securing the reforms desired in England, inclined to seek the New World to which the Scrooby-Leiden Pilgrims had already shown the way. In 1628 the advance-guard of Puritan emigration, under John Endecott, landed in Salem, Massachusetts. On 4th March 1629 the royal charter to the 'Company of Massachusetts Bay' was sealed. The same year the Salem colony was largely reinforced. In 1630 no fewer than 1,000 persons left old England for the new, and the emigration ran full scale till the advent of the Long Parliament in 1640 changed the political situation in the homeland.

To the Massachusetts colony of 1629, Connecticut was added in 1635-1636, and New Haven in 1638. These settlers were Puritans, not Separatists. They were, many of them, less in crest of wealth and position, and they had among them a large proportion of well-educated, influential ministers. Yet the remarkable fact is that, on their arrival in the new land, they organized their ecclesiastical institutions, beginning with the church in Salem in 1629, essentially on the model of Separatist Plymouth. The explanation is that the Scripture model of Church government seemed to them that which Separatism had already chosen, and, under the favorable conditions of new settlements, they created churches of practically the same type as the earlier Separatist congregations. But, as has been indicated in the section on the relations of Congregationalism to the New World, these New England churches became a real Establishment, and enjoyed State support in a manner for which the earlier Separatist never had opportunity, and which it repudiated in principle. The history of Congregationalism in England was largely that of growth in numbers by reason of the slow increase of the population, of a declining religious enthusiasm, and of discussions arising from the development of politics. Education was fostered, and schools were established, both by the founding of Harvard College in 1636, and of Yale College in 1701. There was little doctrinal division, all the churches representing the current Puritan Calvinism, and there was remarkable uniformity in organization, worship, and method. Congregationalism made slow progress in England from its permanent establishment in Southwark in 1616 to the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640. Its chief representatives found refuge in New England. The history of the outbreak of the struggle between King and Parliament, and the return of a number of the exiles, it grew very rapidly. Though the Westminster Assembly, which began its sessions in 1643, was overwhelmingly Presbyterian, it included five determined Congregationalists and several at least partial adherents. The desire of Cromwell and the army for a large toleration was favourable to the spread of Congregationalism. Congregationalists were appointed to many important ecclesiastical and educational posts under the Protectorate, and enjoyed the cordial favour of Cromwell. The Savoy Synod, held in London in 1658, gathered the representatives of 120 churches of the plain, fanatical, and nonconformist Dissenters. The enthusiasm of the epoch of the struggle between King and Parliament and of the Commonwealth was spent, and Congregationalism shared in the spiritual decline of the first half of the 17th century. It was, too, a little chagrin at the slight Arian and Socinian defection that made such inroads on contemporary English Pres-
lyteranism. During the latter half of the 18th cent., it felt with increasing power the stimulus of the Great Awakening in the West, which the Wesleyans and Whitefield had initiated, and experienced a profound spiritual reawakening which led to rapid growth. County Associations were generally estab-
lished between 1783 and 1810. The London Missionary Society, nominally an undenominational organization for carrying the gospel to the heathen, but increasingly Congregational in constituency, came into being in 1795. The Home Missionary Society was organized in 1819, and the Colonial Missionary Society in 1821. The year 1822 saw the formation of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. The period from that time to the present has been one of healthful growth and spiritual fruitfulness.

In Scotland, Congregationalism did not gain a permanent foothold till the last decade of the 18th cent., when it won its way as the supporter of a warm, evangelical type of piety and preaching.

It holds on the Scottish people has been relatively small, but it has proved a vigorous force in the religious life of the nation.

The earlier part of the 18th cent. witnessed a decline in the spiritual vigour of Congregationalism in America as in England. From this condition in America was powerfully relieved by the 'Great Awakening' in 1700-1742, through the preaching of George Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards, and other promoters of the revivals. The 'Awakening' led to division of sentiment, though not to actual separation of the New England churches—the 'Old Lights' opposing its methods, which the 'New Lights' favored. With Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) a great theological development began, essentially Calvinistic in fundamentals, but with little modification of historic Calvinism. This was continued by Joseph Bellamy (1719-1779), Samuel Hopkins (1723-1803), Jonathan Edwards the younger (1745-1801), Nathanael Emmons (1745-
1810), Timothy Dwight (1752-1817), Nathaniel W. Taylor (1785-1855), and others, and produced the most distinctive school of theology that America has originated. In the Revolutionary War the Congregational churches sympathized warily with the colonial cause. The year 1792 saw the be-
ginning, especially in Massachusetts, of a movement that continued to recur at intervals till 1838. By 1800, Congregationalism, which had been practically confined to New England, began to spread westward with the settlement of the country, and the establishment of nearly three-quarters of the present Congregational churches of the United States beyond New England borders.

By 1815 a Unitarian movement, the roots of which ran back into the 18th cent., was felt especially in Massachusetts, and resulted in a separation, which still continues, from the main Congregational body. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized in 1810 to do the work indicated in its title, and was begun by State bodies, commencing with Connecticut in 1774, and resulted, in 1836, in the formation of a Home Missionary Society of national scope. The American Missionary Association, which has laboured chiefly among the Negroes and the Indians, came into being in 1840; and the Congregational Church Building Society dates from 1833.

World-wide Congregationalism has expressed its faith in the International Councils, of which previous mention has been made.

7. Beliefs.—Congregationalism has been a system of Church polity rather than a peculiar form of faith. In its early history it stood, in common with Puritanism in general, on the basis of Calvinism. The Cambridge Synod in New Eng-

land, in 1648, approved the doctrinal portions of the Westminster Confession, which the Westminster had initiated; and in London, ten years later, expressed a like concurrence, except for slight modifications. The 'New England Theology' of the 18th and 19th cents., whatever its departures from earlier Calvinism, belonged to the Calvinistic school. It regarded itself as an improved or 'consistent' Calvinism. The Declaration adopted by the Union of the Congregational Churches of England and Wales in 1833 is distinctly, though mildly, Calvinistic. The year 1822 saw the formation of the Congregational Churches of the United States, held in Boston in 1865, with was with difficulty prevented from adopting a declaration that the faith of the Churches was 'that which is commonly known among us as Calvinism.' The Declaration was frustrated by the determined efforts of those who deprecated any party shibboleth. But the later years of the 19th cent. witnessed a rapid decline of interest in the older doctrinal discussions. The 'Declaration' adopted by the National Council at Oberlin, in 1871, was designed by its omissions to make the way easy for those of Arminian sympathies. The 'Creed,' prepared in 1883 by a commission appointed by the National Council, main-

tains the same high emphasis on the divine in the Calvinism. It will be remembered that these various expressions of belief have the value only of testimonies, each local church being free to declare its faith in its own way. Since the last of them was brought before the Convention, in 1907, the great question in the Congregational churches, in common with Protestantism generally, have been passing through a period of theological re-statement—the result of Biblical criticism, of the wide prevalence of an evolutionary view of history, of the new emphasis on the divine in man's experience, and of a quickened conception of social service as a main aim of the Christian life, whether of individuals or of Churches. No body of Chris-
tians has on the whole been more willing to welcome these newer views than the Congrega-
tionalists, but the degree in which they have been accepted varies widely in different churches. It is not sufficient, however, to disturb their sense of fellowship and of continuity with their historic past, or their sense of identity. The convictions of their conception of the meaning of the Gospel.

8. Worship.—The Congregational churches, at their origin, shared to the full the Puritan objection to ceremonies and vestments which seemed to alienate the services from the Bible. The Puritans in general, rejected fixed forms of prayer. They long confined the hymns of their services to rhymed portions of Scripture. It was not till the first half of the 18th cent., through the influence of the English Congregational hymn-writer, Rev. Isaac Watts (1674-1748), that this prejudice against hymns 'of human composition' gradually broke down. The typical Congrega-
tional service of the 17th cent. began with a prayer in words of the minister's own choosing, followed by the reading of Scripture, generally with comments verse by verse, then the singing of a psalm, the sermon, a second free prayer, a second psalm, and the benediction. This order was slightly modified, very possibly through the influence of the Westminster Directory, so that the sequence became commonly a brief prayer of invocation, reading of the Scriptures, usually without comment, singing, a 'long prayer,' the sermon, prayer, singing, and the benediction. This is the almost universal order till within half a century, and still constitutes an approximate outline of Congregational worship. The last few decades have witnessed a large use of responsive readings, anthems, and other elements at the 'enrichment' of
CONGREGATIONALISM

services, and the individual freedom of each congregation makes possible the consideration of the variety of usage. Opposition to some use of fixed forms of prayer is waning, but Congregational worship is still non-liturgical in its fundamental character. The Lord's Supper has been observed since the early days of this movement in intervals of six months or two months. Till near the close of the 18th century. Congregational worship involved two services, such as have been described, each Sunday, and in large towns a mid-week 'lecture,' which was really another sermon. About the end of the 18th century, the 'prayer-meeting' was generally introduced for the cultivation of the Christian life —by prayer, Scripture exposition, singing, and informal addresses, under the presidency of the pastor, with open participation by the laity.

It has been ever since a feature of congregational worship, but its successful maintenance, save in times of unusual religious interest, is generally regarded as one of the most difficult of pastoral problems.

9. Characteristics.—Congregationalism has always favoured education, both in the pulpit and in the pew. In England many 'academies' were founded after the Act of Uniformity and throughout the 18th century. A number of these have become flourishing 'colleges,' their aim being to train a learned ministry and to provide the higher education for laitymen who would be ecclesiastical tests, now abrogated, the more or less attainable in the Universities. In the United States the Congregationalists have been foremost among religious bodies in planting colleges and fostering schools. The Congregational spirit has not been sectarian, however, and these institutions have been freely opened, and have not been used as a means of denominational propaganda.

Congregationalists have been greatly interested in home and foreign missions. The efforts of the Rev. John Eliot (1604—1690), begun in 1646, for the conversion of the Massachusetts Indians, led to the incorporation by the Long Parliament, in 1649, of the first English Foreign Missionary Society, the 'President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England,' the establishment of the London Missionary Society in 1795 and of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810 has already been noted.

The flexibility of Congregationalism has made it easy to try experiments in methods of Christian work, and these churches, as a whole, have always been ready to welcome novel activities which seemed to promise greater usefulness in Christian service.

10. Problems.—The problems of Congregationalism are those of democracy generally. That which is most pressing is how to secure efficiency without sacrificing democratic liberty. Congregationalism has proved itself admirably adapted to rural conditions among a homogeneous population of intelligence. It has been less successful in cities where contrasts in wealth and education are extreme. Each church being a self-governing, democratic community, there is always danger that those congregations in the more needy parts of a city will be unduly weak in resources both of money and of men of ability. Congregationalism endeavours, with partial success, to counteract this tendency by Home Missions and by the extension of Superintendency. There is also the peril, in city communities, where congregations are gathered largely by elective affinity, that a church may become essentially a religious club. As in all democratic bodies, union for strategic advance is often accomplished at the cost of undue effort, or is not achieved at all. In order to make itself more efficient in these re-

LITERATURE.—The Literature of Congregationalism is enormous, but a substantially complete bibliography to 1879, embracing 2700 titles, may be found in H. M. Dexter, The Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years as seen in its Literature, New York, 1880. The following works will be found of special value—


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12,703 | 1,376,424 | 1,005,417 |
CONNEXIONALISM.—There are many systems of Church organization in which itinerant evangelists link together scattered congregations, and maintain a strong corporate feeling by regular meetings among themselves, when they as a body arrange the sphere of work for each, and oftentimes exercise other functions of government. Such systems are usually styled 'Connexional,' and although that name is also employed more loosely, it is such systems that are here compared with one another. They flourish where a democracy, or an oligarchy, is already in possession of the field, and especially where a revival is promptly and supported by Bible study.

Connexional elements may be traced even in the Apostolic era, when the Apollos allotted among themselves their field of labour, and when St. Paul and his companions travelled widely, and kept in touch with the churches they founded, both by visits and by letters, and by delegates to supervise, such as Timothy, and Tychicus, and Tertullian, who, with the Greek love of independence, and the Third Epistle of John shows at the close of the Apostolic age a local minister revolting against the mere presence of any visiting missionary. This tendency was reinforced by the office of the officers of commerce, appointed primarily to serve tables, and the gifted brethren, including those who were set apart to give themselves to the ministry of the word. The local administrators steadily gained in esteem at the expense of the travelling evangelists, and, when the Montanist movement failed, the reaction within the Catholic Church practically ended the career of the evangelists. They survived only on the frontiers of Christendom, and we shall see that connexionalism flourishes best in the mission stage of a church, and in communities which emphasize evangelism.

While a bureaucracy of church officials developed, on lines suggested by the Roman civil service, there was also a tendency, inspired within a connexional system. But among the laity there arose a new plan of organization, whereby those who were in thorough earnest about their Christian life put themselves under severe discipline as monks, Basili for the East, and the Augustinian for the West, producing bodies of rules to order the community life, and these were widely adopted. But neither the one nor the other contemplated evangelicalism as a leading feature; salvation of self rather than salvation of others. The English monks had a better conception, yet they copiously lacked the faculty of organization, and their foundations were not. But the Roman and the English,—and certain developments of the Benedictine scheme due to these nations show signs of connexionalism. Thus Steiner in 1695 wrote of the Cistercian method, whereby the religious belonged to an Order rather than to a single House. Year by year the Abbeys of the Houses met in consultation, and by theory not only the humblest members, but all the Abbeys themselves, could be transferred from convent to convent. Since, however, no systematic plan of rotation was adopted, or even any rule that rotation should take place, there was no such practice much in sight. And as the aims of the Order did not exalt evangelism, there was no special motive for circulation.

A century later the English Benedictines moved to the same direction, but the Italians evolved farther, producing the Silvestrine, the Celestine, and the Olivetan organizations. Instead of officers being appointed for life, they had fixed terms of duty; a General Chapter chose a nominating committee which selected them. This line of evolution culminated in 1432, with the approval of the Cappellani Universales and the scheme is given by Abbot Gasquet in his Introduction to Montalembert's Monks of the West (Eng. tr. 1861-79).

It might have been expected that the friars would show more facility, that their ideal of brotherhood would express itself in a democratic rule, and that their ideal of service would impel them to steady organized work for others. But the movement was soon captured by the Roman Curia, and the former connexional schemes were given up. The latter were modified, with the slight changes needed for definitely local groups of professed Christians instead of areas within which a professed clergy ministered to a population nominally Christian. Thus friaries and parishes were set up, and all were ruled by a minister-general. The Roman monarchical ideal prevailed in the plan of government.

But a similar movement, originated by Peter Waldo of Lyon, who was not only recruited by the authorities, was free to elaborate its own machinery (Newman, Manual of Church History, i. 571-8). In 1218 a conference was held at Bergamo, when, amongst other matters, the policy came up for discussion by the officials of the order. In Lombardy, when probationers were admitted to membership after long training and testing. They made promises of celibacy, poverty, and readiness to evangelize, quite on the Franciscan model. But, since the initiation was admitted, he found himself a member of a governing corporation, which not only recruited itself and saw to the purity of the whole body, but also required reports from every part of the field, and administered the funds of the community. And during the year, the Lombards, indeed, with the Italian instinct, decidedly preferred a single head, chosen for life; and they favoured a general life tenure of all offices. The Germans, again, upheld the plan of Waldo, that all offices should be terminable, and that there should be no single head, but several rectors. In this matter the two parties apparently agreed to differ, maintaining their own customs and recognizing the legitimacy of each others' officers. But since the Cistercian pattern was adopted, offices of a minor order and the inordinate powers of the major officer were abolished, and they in the appointment of all officers, in allotting to each member his work, and in determining its nature and sphere. To some extent this scheme influenced the Bohemian Brethren and the Moravian Anabaptists, though these bodies
adopted the Italian plan of a single head holding office for life.

In 1527 an important conference was held at Augsburg, from which the Anabaptists were organized on new lines (Lindsay, Hist. of Reformation, Edinb. 1907, ii. 435). All the officers of all the congregations within a convenient district chose a committee of themselves to act for the group, and the committee chose a president. The districts associated on the same principle, and thus a pyramid of committees was erected. To these people, popularly known as ‘Anabaptists,’ is therefore due not only the machinery of a single congregation, which was presently turned over to John Calvin in his Institutio, and put in practice at Geneva, but also the machinery for an alliance of congregations, adopted in France during 1559, and in Scotland next year, and so well known as the Presbyterian scheme. But the ‘Brethren’ had one feature which was dropped by the French, the Scots, and the Dutch—an order of evangelists whose business it was to travel and propagate the faith. It is not quite clear how these were appointed, or how their routes were determined— if, indeed, appointment and travelling were not spontaneous rather than systematic. And, although several conferences were held, the persecutions of the next few years were enough to disorderize any machine.

A year after the fall of Münster, an important meeting was held a few miles away at Bockholt, when the Anabaptists of Lower Germany and England re-organized and adopted the connexional plan of union (Lindsay, Inner Life of the Commonwealth, 88). Each congregation sent delegates to an annual meeting, which stationed the ministers and arranged for the support of those who itinerated, besides aiding poor congregations and providing for the education of the young in the Netherlands and up the Rhine, and, though many divisions occurred,—into Mennonites, Waterlanders, Doopsgezinde, Flemings, Old Flemings, Frisians, etc.—yet each body held to the connexional type. As most of these Connexions held the doctrine of passive resistance, and objected to bearing arms or taking oaths, they found their position extremely awkward during the Napoleonic era; and the renewal conscriptions of the 1814 and 1870s, true to the connexional type in that the annual meeting governs; but, as the numbers have greatly diminished, the vote is exercised not by officers alone, but by all male members.

Recruiting to the Reformation period, we find forty churches in Lombardy and Switzerland acting together; and a special convention was held at Venice in 1550 (Newman, Hist. of Anti-Pedobaptism, Phila. 1886, pp. 327–9). The Waldensian plan was so well known in the vicinity that it had been adopted in general outline, and the government lay in the hands of the itinerant preachers, who associated with themselves candidates under training, and not appointed to all the congregations, but also ordained the local ministers. These churches mostly adopted anti-Trinitarian views, and were persecuted till they left the district; but many members went to Moravia and Poland, where they spread the tenets, that the ‘Socinians’ were indebted to them for hints on ecclesiastical polity as well as on doctrine.

The Reformed Churches took over from the Anabaptists the general scheme of organization, and especially the principle that, whether in a single congregation or in a court supervising several congregations, the power was vested entirely in the officers. Ordinary members might have a voice in adopting an elder, but his ordination rested with the existing elders, who thus tended to become a self-perpetuating caste. Ruling elders were usually local, but preaching elders or ministers were liable to move; in Germany and Scotland the authority of the State was interposed in various matters, extending occasionally to the location of a minister, and thus the autonomy of the Churches was crippled. Owing partly to the high educational qualifications of the Reformed ministry, and partly to the long tenure of a pastorate became customary, and thus one frequent feature of a Connexion was observed. But in theory the whole spiritual government of a Presbyterian church resides with the ordained members, and they have at least an influence in the increase of their number, or on the translation of any minister; nor is his personal preference a decisive factor any more than the wish of a single congregation. While these theories are still upheld, the connexion does not hold, and however little certain powers may be actually exercised. Yet there has been much specialization, so that ruling elders hardly rank themselves with ministers on the ground of their common ordination; and their interests are so closely linked to those of their fellow-members, with a corporate life of their own; still less do the officers as such pursue systematically a policy of extension—a policy which seems closely linked to the vigorous connexionism.

In England, voluntary sects were unable to organize till the general relaxation of government in 1640. Then the General Baptists, who for thirty years had been in close contact with the Waterlanders of Amsterdam, entered on a vigorous campaign of evangelization. As churches were gathered in different parts of the country, they were kept in touch, and the earliest minutes that survive testify to some plan of organization, and the necessity of closely linked stations with the rigid connexionism. By

In 1578, Thomas Grantham published a folio on primitive Christianity, and, when expatiating on the offices of the Christian Church, he put in the forefront the Messengers or Apostles, whose permanent functions were to succeed the original Apostles ‘as travelling Ministers, to plant churches, and to settle those in order who are as Sheep without a Shepherd.’ These, like the Bishops (or Elders) and Deacons, were to be elected by the free choice of the brotherhood and then ordained; and the latter were expressly laid down that the power of ordination is not limited to those who were already ordained, but is shared by all who have received the gifts of God’s Holy Spirit. Then, in discussing General Assemblies, which were proved to be Scriptural, and were therefore
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held regularly by the General Baptists, not only the Messenger and Elders who signed were admitted to the meetings, but also any gifted brethren who came to them. And the office of Messenger was evidently regarded asakin by some. So, from the analogy of Timothy and Titus, it was claimed by Grantham that, while they had a larger circuit, had business in many places, and their duties as those of ministers, yet they had no jurisdiction over other bishops (Grantham, Ancient Christian Religion, 186). Then, in a special treatise, Grantham showed that the actual practice of the Brethren was to ordain regularly. They both in preaching to the World, and setting things in order to remote Congregations, to exercise Discipline by Excommunication of Offenders and ordaining the Penitent; by ordaining them Elders, and dispensing to them the Holy Mysteries or Ordinances’ (op. cit. 169).

Grantham wrote on his own authority only, but probably expressed the feeling of the Fen districts—Lincoln, Hunts, and Cambridges. In the same year appeared the Baptists, near Bucks and Oxon, adopted a Confession, drawn up by Monk, another Messenger, in which Article xxxix.

is very explicit:

‘Assemblies, Conferences, or assemblages, consisting of bishops, elders, and brethren, of the several churches of Christ, and being legally convened, and met together out of all the churches, and all the churches appearing by their representatives, make one Church, and have lawful right and suffrage in this general meeting or assembly, to act in the name of Christ, by being of divine authority, and is the best means under heaven to preserve unity, to prevent heresies, and stop the growth of unbelief or in any congregation whatsoever within its own limits or jurisdiction, etc.’

In a long article, xxxxi., ‘Of Officers in the Church of Christ, we see a slight difference of opinion as to the power of ordination: The bishop or messenger is to be chosen thereto by the common suffrage of the Church, and notoriously set apart by fasting or prayer, with imposition of hands, by the bishops of the same function, ordainably; and those bishops, so ordained, have the government of those churches that had suffrage in their election, and no other ordainably; as also to preach the word or gospel to the world, or unbelievers. And the particular pastor, or elder, in like manner is to be chosen by the common suffrage of the particular congregation, and ordained by the bishop or messenger God hath placed in the church he hath charge of, etc. (Hanserd Knollys Society, Confession of Faith, pp. 159, 160).

While in 1859 the organization comes into full light, and its records become continuous, we find not only this order of Messengers fully rooted in the esteem of the Connexion, but numerous Associations established, each of which was a corporation at least, while all sent representatives to the General Assembly. As everything depended on voluntary consent, the choice of a new Messenger was a matter of careful negotiation between the Assembly and the Association concerned, usually extending over more than a year, and generally the consent was sought of the church where he was a member. Ordination was by authority of the Assembly, or of the Association concerned, and was usually performed by a mixture of elders and bishops. The office was maintained by voluntary subscription, which, however, was not large enough to free the officer from the necessity of supporting himself, often by manual labour. The Messenger not only represented the Church, but also visited all the churches there freely. The order was considered superior to the Eldership, both priority and presidency being conceded. But there are no signs that the Messengers ever met together, as the Elders did. The office no longer seems to be that of a corporate body. The Elders were so far from any system of itinerancy, that in 1696 it was resolved that no Elder might leave his own people and be established as Elder over another people in another place (T. Goodall,

By-paths of Baptist History, London, 1871, p. 244). The funds of the Connexion were vested in lay trustees, on trusts so loosely expressed that the Messengers never tried to assert any legal rights to them. (The Minutes of Assembly are published by the Baptist Historical Society.)

As the Connexion lost vitality during the 18th cent., whole Associations ceased to meet, and the elders of their Messengers died out, while the local churches, in many cases, asserted their independence. Then the foundation of the New Connexion of General Baptists effectually stopped the revival of the Old Connexion, and attracted some of its component parts. In this case, there are about a score of churches, unobtrusively pursuing their way, with their Messengers, keeping up their General Assembly, and showing still this primitive connexional system, though completely developed, which inspires it, the spirit of propaganda.

In the 17th cent. this organization had been copied and developed by the Society of Friends, who were among the more direct competitors of the Dutch Mennonite Congregations. In the year 1642, a group of local Friends formed a church for local purposes, the provision of evangelists was clearly beyond the power of such a group. At first George Fox organized, with the help of the local churches recognized, ministers and certified them as fit to travel; these then shared his responsibility, both gathering converts and organizing them into churches, even appointing the first Elders (ib. 388). By 1681 a regular Yearly Meeting was established in London for the whole Society (ib. 392). As custom became settled, it was agreed that the Travelling Ministers were not official members of this Yearly Meeting, and Fox even applied when the terms of the General Baptists had borrowed from Scripture. The other members were to be chosen by the quarterly meetings out of the local Elders, but these did not always sit with the ‘Public Labourers’ (ib. 404). These Travelling Ministers retained for themselves the right to organize and control their own work of evangelization, which fell entirely into their hands when Fox passed away. They met regularly on Monday and Sunday to travel where they might, and on Tuesday to discuss openings for new work, and the character of those who wished to be recognized as ministers, and they kept a roll of their own membership (ib. 381).

The fervor of the age died down, and propaganda became less important, so that the Travelling Ministers lost their pre-eminence. In 1733 the Yearly Meeting forbade their meeting to control its own membership, and within twenty years they were brought under the direction of Mixed Meetings, in which the dominant element was a new kind of Elder, whose main business was to administer, not to preach. Thus, with the cessation of evangelizing came the transformation from the term ‘Traveller,’ which was used, to the term ‘Apocalypse’, which was used. The pyramidal series of courts remains, but the Travelling Ministers now form a very small element in them, and in the Society.

The general decay of the 18th cent. was met by the vigorous evangelism of Whitfield and Wesley; and, as crystallization took place, it was on the connexional system. In 1744 six clergymen and five lay preachers met, and traced the foundations of the Methodist polity; forty years later, their local churches provided the institutions which settled the government of the Connexion, while in the same year a Conference at Baltimore organized the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. The United Empire Loyalists laid the foundation of Methodism in Canada, while from
England other Methodists spread throughout the British dominions. Questions of Church polity, however, have been fiercely debated, and have led to many secessions in both England and America, which have only partially been effectually dealt with by Conferences and unions; the very principle of these secessions calls in question the connexional scheme. As Wesley organized it, the body with supreme authority in spiritual matters was a Conference of a hundred ministers. These, however, were desired to act in harmony with the whole number of mutually recognized ministers, and his wishes have invariably been respected. Thus all questions of doctrine, of discipline, and of ministerial standing and employment were to be settled by a Conference, consisting of the same ministers as had been chosen for the Church or Parochial Conferences. It was against the exclusion of other members that revolts chiefly occurred, and the resulting bodies, such as the Primitive Methodists and the United Methodists, temper their Conferences with laymen, especially in America. The Wesleyan Methodists now have a Representative Conference, with equal numbers of ministers and laymen meeting first and dealing with all matters of policy and finance. But less is it to be noted that the trust deeds on which chapel property is held ensure that the enjoyment is secured to the ministers stationed by the Pastoral Conference. The Methodist Episcopal Churches have maintained their lines; but both the bishops and laymen retain their exclusive powers, and when met as a body they define the duties of each member. While an increasing deference is paid to local wishes, the supreme authority technically resides in the Conference, and in England at least the Conferences regularly exercise their powers. The itinerant system is being encroached upon by the claims of central offices or by the new system of Central Missions, in which continuity of service is sought. The conference system is also being relaxed, both in the parent body by ingenious constructions of the Deed Poll, and in the offshoots by open legislation.

The title of 'Connexion' was adopted by other bodies, such as the Calvinistic Methodists of Wales, the Countess of Huntingdon's chapels, and the New Connexion of General Baptists. Historically these originated almost independently of one another and of other bodies, and in their gradual growth they have ignored the experience of Methodists and Presbyterians, besides steadily rejecting the central feature of the present Episcopal system; thus they have given new extensions to the term 'Connexion.'

The whole history of the whole movement, especially the nucleus of the New Connexion of General Baptists, had retained all power to themselves at first, and so had the Yorkshire preachers who joined with them; but soon the local officers were associated, and, when negotiations were undertaken with the Lincolnshire churches of the Old Connexion, they explicitly repudiated the office of Messenger as not of Divine institution, although they were ready to discuss its expediency. The first rules were drafted by ministers and laymen advised that the Association should be open only to ministers and elders; but the separate churches made steady efforts to secure local control by the whole body of local members. Thus in 1817 their historian summed up to the effect that they were in their discipline strictly congregational, that each society allowed no foreign control even from its own Conferences or Association, and that the rights of church members were sacred against the encroachments by ministers. The London General Synod, in 1828, of each Synod, was able to capture and transform the machinery of the Church. For many centuries within Christian circles, a steady claim to supremacy has been put forth from Rome by an oligarchy of Pope and cardinals, who have succeeded in rendering nearly every revival subservient to their concentrated rule. Nor is it needful to look outside connexional circles; the corps of ministers most readily arranges to perpetuate itself, excluding the mass of members from the 'list of Evangelicals.' When the influence it reaches beyond the stationing and supervising of its own members, to the control of all activity, on which it can at least interpose a veto. Such encroachments have more than once excited revolt,
and led to the formation of other bodies in which such domination is expressly guarded against. Within the body of active self-governing workers there has often arisen some commanding figure, whose actual influence extends far beyond the nominal position he holds; but such a phenomenon is exceptionally rare. Moreover, the decision of management, and no such leader has proved able, or even desirable, to found a dynasty which may subvert the general principles.

In estimating the permanence of the type, we have frequently found that details of organization are not prescribed in the New Testament, but a few principles are insisted upon as fundamental. None is more urgently reiterated than this: 'All ye are brethren; one is your Master, even Christ.' Again, the primary object of the Church is evangelization: Go everywhere, tell all peoples, enlist the converts, instruct them in the ways of Christ; such are the purposes for which the Church was called into being. Propagandism and brotherhood are thus to be inextricably linked.

Now, as a matter of history, every great revival of religion has been marked by an appreciation of these elements, and has fashioned its system so as to suit them. True, the Franciscans were brought under the control of the Curia, but the very struggle against this, and the rapid degeneracy from the spirit of Francis, show the natural relation of Consangunity to these principles, so that the disappearance of the one imperils the existence of the other. Similarly the transformation of the connexional type among the old General Baptists and the Friends reflects the decay of the spirit of these denominations. But the great Methodist Churches, with their firm grasp on the evangelistic purpose of their existence, and their wariness, hold fast to the connexional system as the best embodiment of their principles.

And whenever a revival takes place, even on a microscopic scale, it seems natural that those who are actively concerned shall meet simply as brethren to consult and arrange mutually as to the division of labour.


W. T. WHITELY.

CONSANGUINITY.—By 'consanguinity' is meant blood-relationship, and more particularly, close blood-relationship. When we speak of a consanguineous union, we mean that the two organisms are near relatives; when we speak of a high degree of consanguinity in a herd or in a community, we mean that there has been much inbreeding or endogamy. It is desirable to know what the biological facts are in regard to the results of the union of closely consanguineous organisms, but it must be admitted that clear-cut facts are few. It should also be noted that, as the range of living creatures expresses a very long range, we must be very careful in arguing from one level to another; and it is of course normal and apparently wholesome at one grade of organization may not be desirable at another.

It seems to have been securely established that some hermaphrodite animals habitually fertilize their own eggs. This autogamy has been proved in some tapeworms and flukes—not auspicious illustrations; it seems sometimes to occur in the freshwater hydra and a few other free-living animals. There are numerous self-fertilizing flowers, though there is no case known where cross-fertilization is impossible. It may also be that some hermaphrodite liver-fluke sometimes inseminates another, so that the habitual autogamy may be interrupted. In the great majority of hermaphrodite animals invertebrates in general, and snails, cross-fertilization is the invariable rule. It is also relevant to recall the fact that in many of the small Crustaceans, in many Rotifers, and in some insects, such as Aphides, there may be long continued parthenogenesis—generations successive without loss of vitality, although the eggs develop without any fertilization. In some of the Rotifers the males are still undisclosed; Reamur kept Aphides breeding parthenogenetically for over three years (though in generations), and Weismann kept females of a common water flea (Cypris reducta) breeding in the same way for eight years. This shows that at certain levels of organization a vigorous life may be kept up for many generations, not only without any introduction of 'fresh blood,' but without the presence of any males.

A number of careful experiments have been made on in-breeding mice for twenty-nine generations, and his assistant Von Guita continued the experiment for seven more generations, but the only notable general result was a reduction of the fertility to thirty per cent. Some other experimenters, such as Cramp, have found that the in-breeding of rats resulted in disease and abnormality, but this was not observable in the equally careful experiments of Richter and Bos. He found in-breeding of rats productivity; for the first four years (twenty generations) there was almost no reduction in fertility; after that there was a very marked decrease of fertility, an increase in the rate of mortality, and a diminution of size. These and other experiments (namely, insufficient to be satisfactory as a basis for generalization, suggest that very close in-breeding may be continued for many generations without any observable evil effects, and, on the other hand, that there are limits beyond which in-breeding becomes disadvantageous. It is certain that, if there be well-defined hereditary predisposition to disease in the stock, then in-breeding soon spells ruin.

'Extensive experiments by Castle and others [see Proc. Acad. Nat. XLII.] In-breeding of the pomace fly (Drosophila anguliflora) led to the general result that 'inbreeding probably reduces very slightly the productiveness of Drosophila, but the productiveness may be fully maintained under constant inbreeding (brother and sister) if selection is made from the more productive families' [J. A. Thomson, Heredity, 1908, p. 393].

Some of the histories of domesticated breeds are so well recorded that they may be ranked as carefully-conducted experiments, and it seems that some successful breeds of cattle—such as Pollard Angus—have in their early stages of establishment involved extremely close in-breeding. When we examine the pedigree of famous bulls and stallions, we find in some cases an extraordinarily close consanguinity. Valuable results have often been attained by using the same stallion repeatedly on successive generations.

From breeding experiments four general results seem to be certain: (1) that progressive results have usually followed mating within a narrow range of relationship; (2) that close in-breeding has a great utility in fixing characters or developing 'propriety'; (3) that close in-breeding may go far without injurious effect on physique; and (4) that, if there be any morbid idiosyncrasy, close in-breeding tends to perpetuate and augment it.
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Darwin paid much attention to the question of in-breeding (see Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication [London, 1868], etc.), and his general conclusions were:

1. The frequency of close inbreeding is often more frequent and more successful than was at first believed, and adheres to the whole body.

2. The term ‘conscience’ is derived from the Lat. conscientia, which meant originally ‘joint knowledge,’ or the knowledge which we share with others. It is the term we mean by concomitant knowledge, that is, consciousness or self-consciousness, and only in later literature had it the meaning which we attach to conscience. Even then it was not exactly what we mean by it now, as it is rather power in right and wrong.

3. This was in use by Plato and the Stoics, and denoted joint knowledge, and with the Stoics it also denoted the knowledge of right and wrong. In Greek, conscientia can be translated indifferently ‘conscience’ or ‘consciousness.’ It is the same with the French term conscience.

4. It is more distinctively in modern times that a radical difference is marked between the idea of consciousness and that of conscience. Consciousness with us is a purely intellectual function, a generic term for the phenomena of mind, or for that concomitant act of mind which Hamilton has well called the ‘common idea’ of the cognitive energies. Conscience is a term with a moral import, though complicated with the intellectual, and implies an emotional content at the same time.

5. Conscience is thus a term for Psychology, and conscience the term of Ethics. Nevertheless, however, that consciousness is implied in the problems of Ethics, while conscience is not necessarily so implied in those of Psychology. Conscience is thus a name for the function of distinguishing between right and wrong, and of enforcing the one or preventing the other. The difference between the ancient and the modern conception of it is determined by the difference between their ideas of morality, and may be said to reflect the whole Greek and Roman (W. H. S. Jones), p. 37. Jewish (M. Gaster), p. 41. Muslim (D. S. Margoliouth), p. 46. difference between their ethical and religious civilizations. The morality of antiquity, in so far as it was a subject of reflection, hardly got beyond the conception of prudence—except, perhaps, with the Stoics. That of modern times involves the idea of duty or devotion to a law which may require sacrifice. There is no doubt a perfect reconciliation between these two points of view when we come to a knowledge of the actual life as the people lived, as they are supposed to apply; but in their abstract formulae they seem opposed to each other. In its conception of rational conduct antiquity sacrificed a proximate to a remote interest; modern ideas assume that there is no such thing as interest, and demand unswerving obedience to law. But when this is carefully scrutinized it often turns out to be a sacrifice of the interests of the present life to a remote interest in a life to come. The Christian system was the originator of the phrases which came to express inflexible obedience to duty; but this system was based on the immortality of the soul, and on the rewards and punishments appurtenant to the nature of one’s conduct in this life. Hence, when they are subjected to analysis, they do not differ absolutely in kind from those of antiquity, but they take two worlds into account where the ancient took only one, namely, the present world. Plato is thereby inferred that as it is a difference, was between a materialistic and a spiritualistic view of the present life, and also between merely intelligent action and such action as involved duty with personal sacrifice.

The difficulty of acquiescing in the conception of conscience with that of the ancients is apparent in the philosophy of Plato. Though he used the etymological equivalent of the modern term ‘conscience,’ this was not the term for one of the main functions of conscience with us.
"Reason" was the function which did service for conscience, and even this was not the motive agency in the direction of the will, but the guide for other influences. The myth of the chariot with the two steeds represents Plato's conception of the moral nature. Plato's distinction was between 'rational' and 'irrational', which meant the distinction between intelligent and ignorant conduct. Irrational action was under the influence of desire and passion, two unruled steeds which in their behaviour never looked before and after, but rushed into action without deliberation or reflection. Reason was the charioteer whose function it was to direct these two steeds or impulses towards an end which represented knowledge of what the subject does, instead of blind passion. In the supposition of this, the idea of light and not power. The motive agency was in the desires and passions, and reason only gave counsel or directed them, without providing any other end than these impulses offered. It took a form of a 'neo-sense-world', which was distinctly different from that of sense and passion, and so to modify the conception which gave rise to the modern idea of conscience. The distinction between right and wrong with Plato and Aristotle, with all Greece, was that between the prudent and the imprudent, between what was best for the individual and what was injurious to him, and the judge of this was intelligence, not conscience in our conception thereof. Ours was the Stoic obedience to law, a law too which sacrificed the impulses and started the reflective mind towards the later Christian doctrine. But it was still an appeal to reason, and to reconcile its opposition to passion by insisting upon traditional ethics in details. But other Greek thinkers conceived reason as the director, not the commander, of the impulses, and so the Greek point of view was not that of the supremacy of reason, but the making prudence instead of law its standard of morality. The emotional element of conscience the ancients did not recognize. The influence which introduced this factor into the conception was partly that of Greek工地 sophistry, and partly the idea of respect for an inner life of law and conduct, suggested by the Stoic ethics, and made effective in the Christian system by the necessity of eschewing politics. This conception was explained later through the ideas of Immanuel Kant, as represented in his 'categorical imperative,' an unending sense of duty, regardless, in some thinkers, of all consequences, and in others of pleasure and pain. Here it denotes not only the consciousness of moral distinctions, but also an impelling motive or influence towards the execution of the right and the evasion of the wrong.

The Furies, or Erinyes (g.v.), are often regarded as mythological representations of the inner voice of conscience. But the interpretation of them is due to certain analogies with the more modern conception of remorse as a punishment for sin inflicted by conscience on the transgressor. The Furies were not inner monitors, but external agencies punishing the individual for the violations of the moral law. Remorse is an inner and punitive. The rationalistic stage of Greek reflection there was a tendency on the part of some thinkers to give a subjective interpretation to the idea of the Furies, but this never seems to suggest to them the modern idea of conscience as a distinct function of the mind. There was no tendency in Greek thought to combine the ideas of reason, and conscience, and conscience for sin as to form the complex idea which has done much service in modern ethics. The consciousness of sin was not a characteristic of the Greek mind.

It was the general character of Christianity that gave rise to the new conception of conscience, and this was because it created a new morality. The Greek mind got away from the secular view of things. When we talk about the Divine, he associated it with the aesthetic and political view of the world; his ethical interests were confined to the present life and its joys. But Christianity extended the horizon of human hope beyond the present, and created the brotherhood of man, a new social feeling and interest. At the same time it brought a doctrine of personal salvation, based upon the idea that the world which he had made was better, and that man's only hope of happiness in the next life was his conformity to duty here. With this new social ideal, the extension of man's horizon of hope, and the strenuousness of his conception of duty and limited probation, the idea of morality was formed with a direct reference to a spiritual as opposed to a material or carnal world. Morality was conceived as possibly demanding a sacrifice of all that the Greek mind valued in life, namely, the world of sense and the intellectual world of speculation—which was only the grosser sense-world a little refined. The transfer of happiness to a spiritual world forced morality to neglect that end hero, and gave a very abstract meaning to duty. It also laid stress on the idea, so little on more intellectual culture, that morality became the important characteristic of the man who was to be saved; that is to say, his morality would not be judged by his actions, but by the consequence of the democratic as opposed to the aristocratic view of social relations involved. In all, however, it substituted moral for intellectual virtues, and started civilization on a new track, which was the most important part of man's constitution, and it was appealed to not only to secure individual salvation, but also as the characteristic in man which reflected his lineage with the Divine.

The early Fathers defined conscience as the director of man's spirit, and from the Cartesian speculation—which was the after-emotion of the soul in regard to conduct. It was not, with Kant, a faculty of judgment determining means to end, or deciding when any particular course was right or wrong, but the faculty which impelled the right attitude of mind towards any course which the judgment made right or wrong. The consequence was that conscience was convertible with the inner sense of duty or the compulsory nature of the moral law.

Bishop Butler's view proceeded that of Kant historically, but was much the same as that of the great German. It did not have the same development, but it reflected the logical consequence of the age toward this view. Butler expands his conception of conscience in his new interpretation of human nature. There is a tendency to emphasize the emotional element, but the intellectual is admitted as essential to it. He says:

"There is a principle of reflection in men, by which they distinguish between their own and divine actions. We are plainly constituted such sorts of creatures as to reflect upon our own nature. The mind can take a view of what passes within itself, its propensities, aversions, passions, affections, as
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respecting such objects, and in such degrees; and of the several actions consequent thereupon. In this survey it approves of one, disapproves of another, and towards a third is affected in neither of the two ways, but is quite indifferent. This principle in man, by which he approves or disapproves his heart, temper, and actions, is conscience (Serres. I. § 17).

He is subsequently called on to insist that the function involves 'reflection,' and distinguishes it from the appetities or natural affections, as the agencies which can give their prompting stability and rationality. The conception at this point takes on some resemblance to that of Plato, with additions from the course of Christian development. But in completing his conception of it he assigns a supremacy to conscience which is based not on its power but on its right to prior judgment in questions of right and wrong. 'Thus,' he says, 'that principle, by which we survey, and either approve or disapprove our own heart, temper, and actions, is not only to be considered as what it is in its turn to have influence; which may be said of every passion, of the lowest appetites; but likewise as being superior; as from its very nature manifestly claiming superiority over all others—inso- much that you cannot form a notion of this faculty, conscience, without the right attitude of the will and reverence for the law. This is a constituent part of the idea, that is, of the faculty itself; and, to preserve and govern, from the very economy and condition of beings in all things to it. Has it strength as it has right; had it power, as it has manifest authority; it would also be so to the world (Serres. ii.).

In respect of the idea of authority, this view is strikingly like that of Kant, but it contains an element of judgment and emotional attitude after the act which does not appear to make a part of Kant's notion, and is started with a law of rational action which is to hold good for all its constituent beings, and makes this an imperative duty which is to regulate conduct without regard to consequences or external relations and conditions. External deeds are with him neither good nor bad. The only good or bad thing in the world is a good or bad will, and any will governed by the 'categorical imperative,' or sense of duty, is moral, regardless of what the external act is. One does not need to know the means to an end or to reflect on consequences in order to be virtuous in this conception. Neither the amount of intelligence or wisdom nor the after-emotional effects of approval or disapproval have anything to do with virtue, but only the right attitude of the will and reverence for the law. The motive or mere sense of duty was sufficient to determine the whole character of conduct, and this motive constituted the nature of conscience.

Both these schools or tendencies resulted in the conception that conscience is a simple and unique faculty of the mind. This was especially indicated in the simplicity of its function in the Kantian system, and in the view that it was not a product of experience, and with the English thinkers it was further favoured by the emphasis placed upon its presence in man as an evidence of the Divine. The Kantian argument for immortality and the existence of God pointed in a similar direction, as it rested on the moral nature of man. Both schools treated conscience as an implanted power and not the result of experience, and accordingly their conception came into conflict with the implications of the doctrine of evolution. This theory attributes a subjective conscience various conditions in man's social nature, and refused to regard it as an implanted and unique faculty of the mind.

The controversy between the two schools was made clear by the relation of the idea of conscience to the doctrine of predestination, and the question of the origin of conscience. Evolution had assumed that it had proved its claims in all other matters, and was ready to extend them to the origin of conscience. It was only natural that it should so treat the question, and it was unfortunate for the theistic view of things that it seemed to stake its claims on the integrity of its argument regarding the origin of conscience.

This controversy, however, is not the best setting for the consideration of conscience. We should first see what we think it is as a fact, and we can then discuss its origin. The function of the controversy has been to consider conscience not as a unique or simple faculty, but as a complex of mental phenomena organized with reference to moral ends. Instead of being made a separate faculty into the 'faculty' Psychology having been abandoned—it is considered as the mind occupied with moral phenomena. This enables us to conceive it as the organization of all that intelligence and feeling which are connected with the actions called moral or immoral of men. It was in their relation to this view in the conception of Butler, but it was concealed by the prevailing interest in other questions. But, taking conscience as a complex instead of a simple function, the present writer would propose to make the following three definitions: (1) The intellectual or cognitive element, which is concerned with the perception of the means to ends, and the fact of some end which we agree to call the good as distinct from the merely true. Other mental functions are called to determine what shall be the good as distinct from the true, but the intellectual judgment and perceptions are involved in determining both the fact of this idea and the necessary means to its realization, and on these means rests a part of the value of the ends or ends and wrong. In fact, right and wrong hardly have any meaning without this conception of means to ends. (2) The emotional element, which is primarily the valuation of facts and things in relation to our welfare, whether they represent retrospective or prospective feelings. Hence they divide into what we shall call the judicial and the legislative feelings. The judicial feeling represents the approval or disapproval of any action in relation to the moral law. The legislative feeling is the sense of duty, or the categorical imperative, and commands of duty as the retrospective feelings pass judgment on acts already done. (3) The deprecative element, or that mental state which may be called reverence, good-will, or conscientiousness, and is representative of respect for law, where the sense of duty represents a sense of compulsion often against the desires. The highest condition of conscience is that in which respect for law is the imperative which feels a struggle against natural desire.

These various elements will include all the social instincts which figure so prominently in the theories of Darwin and Spencer and the evolutionists generally. The important point, however, is that they show the moral nature or conscience to be complex and not simple. The view solves many perplexities in the evolutionist controversy. The difficulty proposed by the older view, in its effort to utilize the distinction between man and the animal in respect of morality, was that evolution could not account for this new increment in the process of creating man, and that, since it was not derived from anything like it in previous organic life from which man was supposed to be developed physically, a special creative act was necessary to account for it in man. But with the analysis of conscience into elements which may be found in all consciousness, animal or otherwise, we may suppose that the process of evolution has only organized or consolidated elements otherwise separate into a systematic tendency to act in the direction we call conscience. In this manner we may admit the uniqueness of the function, and so its distinction from animal life, while we at the same time accept the evolution, if not of the ele-
CONSCIENCE (Babylonian).—As is indicated in the art. CONFESSION (vol. iii. p. 825), the Assyroyan-Babylonians felt strongly the consciousness of the commission of sin and wrongdoing, and herein the idea of conscience appears plainly, and must have presented itself with all its force to their minds. Confession of sin, in fact, can exist in all sincerity only when conscience speaks to a man, and tells him that he is in fault;—when,

Sitting in lamentation,
In bitter musings and pain of heart,
His heart in conscience evil assumes,
He mourns as a dove; tearfully night and day,
To his merciful god like an ox he lows, and
Weeps crooked tears, he constantly.

The Assy.-Bab. conception of sin, however, differed from that prevailing in a Christian community, as the failings of a religious man belonging to the theocratic type, having no king or god to cause which over which he had no control—the effects of the actions of evil spirits, or the ritual uncleanness brought about by acts of forgetfulness or by the effects of illness. The disadvantage arising from this consisted in the disfavour of the gods, or of the king as the gods' representative, and there was a desire to avoid such disfavour in future by refraining from the commission of the misdeeds which brought it about. This, though not the Christian idea of conscience (including, as it does, the feeling of remorse), may have tended to bring about the frame of mind which we understand thereby, or something akin to it.

An excellent example of the heart-searchings of the Babylonians and their remorse of conscience is given by the 2nd tablet of the Surpu-series. Here the afflicted man has not only to ask himself whether he has committed the sins of blasphemy, uncleanliness, bribery (?), or theft, but he must also put to himself searching questions as to whether he has separated father and son (or other near relatives), restrained from freeing the captive, failed to enable the imprisoned to see the light of day, whether, being 'upright of mouth,' his heart was nevertheless faithless, and whether, while saying 'Yes' with his mouth, 'No' was in his heart. As these queries run to about 80 lines, it will easily be recognized that the Babylonian, in his conscientiousness, was exceedingly thorough.

In fact, we may, perhaps, see in the last of the following lines this excellent expressing the idea which the word 'conscience' connotes;—

1. On account of his eye, which is filled with tears, [accept thou his] lamentation;
2. On account of his eyes, [accept thou his] lamentation;
3. On account of his mind (?), from which tears depart not, [accept thou his] lamentation;
4. On account of his hands, which rest spread abroad, [accept thou his] lamentation;
5. On account of his breast, which complains like a receding lake, [accept thou his] lamentation.

In this extract the breast, the seat of the feelings, may be regarded as the inner conscience of a man, and as practically synonymous with the heart, when used in the same sense. In the Laws of Hammurabi, the person who had a complaint to make was recommended to go before Merodach and Zerpamundi in prayer, with perfection of heart. 'Perfection of heart would, therefore, seem to have been an expression equivalent to freedom from the consciousness of sin—a clear conscience. If the fullest sense of the word, therefore, the great gods of Babylon, exacted for their favour, not only that restitude in the sight of the world which every right-minded person desires, but also a good conscience, such as would urge on him, by instance, constraint, reconciliation, and restitution when the interests of his fellow-men were involved.

Numerous inscriptions, mostly of the nature of penitential psalms and litanies, might be quoted in illustration of the above, but very little fresh information is to be obtained from them. Their cumulative evidence, however, shows the Babylonians in a most favourable light, notwithstanding that the objects of their worship were the gods and goddesses of their national theocracy. Religious in the extreme, the constant aim of the believer among them was a clear conscience, without which there was no hope of happiness, but, on the contrary, pain and grief in this world, and, to all appearance, an incarceration in another world to come from the deity whom they worshipped.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the notes.

4 See Jastrow, op. cit. ii. 1-137 ("Klaegelder und Bussgebeten").
CONSCIENCE (Egyptian).—The actual word 'conscience' does not occur in the indexes of Egyptian works—which is a significant fact. For not only must we suppose the ego that the word has no exact equivalent in the Egyptian vocabulary (any more than have the terms 'sanction,' 'morality,' 'remorse,' etc.), but we must also conclude that the literature of ancient Egypt has nothing to say on the subject. Of course, we find numerous writings on propriety, on duty, on everything connected with the vast domain of ethics in general; but there is nothing that bears directly upon the concept of conscience in themselves. Since, on the other hand, we still find most delicate manifestations of what we might call an organized conscience in Egypt, in its literature and religious works, we must presume that the Egyptians had quite a different conception of conscience from ours for both of the senses in which the word is used to-day. Psychologically, they connected it with very different phenomena, and with methods of perception of the ego which are no longer ours. Morally, conscience was regarded as playing a part in concepts grouped in a different way from that followed by our method. Or, rather, Egyptian thought arranged the operations of the moral conscience in a set of independent categories, wherein we make them a unity. It would take too long to investigate whether this fact is due to the general inability of the Egyptians to make abstractive definitions, or, on the other hand, to the method where the Egyptian intellectual formation originally formed the foundations of its knowledge. The latter is probably the more correct view.

These radical differences of terminology explain, at any rate, why the question has never yet entered into modern works of Egyptology. These speak very often of the moral culture of Egypt, but never of its conscience or of the possible formation of the same (the work of Filders Petrie, Religion and Conscience, is the only exception at present; but note also the restriction made in the Literature at the end of this article). In fact, the complete absence in ancient Egypt of definition or treatment of the subject foretold the absence of a conception of the Egyptian conscience by means of the direct study of whatever implicit manifestations of conscience can be seen in the whole collection of Egyptian writings. The inscriptions such as a prayer, a hymn, a biography, or a copy of a legal text or a legal decision or a ritual or a treatise or a papyrus; or even magical incantations may supply a detail here or there; and the sum of such contributions may gradually make it possible to reach a knowledge of Egyptian conscience. This study is necessarily a very intricate one; but it is indispensable for our ultimate understanding of the duties and divisions of Egyptian morality, of which so much has been said. It is any more than any first attempt, of provisional character.

It is a common thing to read that the Egyptians had a conscience superior to that of the other peoples of classic antiquity. Such an expression in the actual meaning of the word has never been ascribed to this nation. The literary expressions employed in the question as to 'whether conscience is the herald of the Lawgiver or the Lawgiver Himself' have no precise meaning here. If we can prove that social morality is the product of the body of individual
Consciences, and show the initial separateness of morality and any given religious system, we see that this separation naturally affects the origin of conscience. Now this separation of morality from religious beliefs has been attempted time after time, since Tylor, in all the religions of uncivilized mankind. Nowhere is this phenomenon more scientifically clear than in Egypt, where, from the time of the prehistoric texts of the Funerary Books to the Roman Empire, the accession of the gods to the domain of morality, the succession of the Right, near the latter period, Osiris was almost the only god connected with a moral idea (Ptah of Memphis is perhaps an exception, if we judge by the latest discoveries, in his temples, of stelae to the name of 'Ptah who hears the plaint of the wretched' [cf. Petrie, _Memphis_, i., Lond. 1908, p. 17ff.]). The other gods neither prescribed nor taught anything of morality. They only punished those who did them wrong, and blessed their benefactors. It may even be remarked, as one of the strongest characteristics of Egyptian religions, that this neutrality of the gods persists throughout the whole domain of ethics.

Thus we base conscience on 'sympathy' seem incapable of explaining its manifestations in Egypt. Not one of the texts of the monuments, e.g., or of the moral or popular literature, makes any mention of, or even allusion to, and nothing is the doctrine of the kānī. In Egypt, to 'follow the dictates of the heart' would lead to very different results from those of a fundamental concept that 'the heart is good. On the contrary, the total impression given by Egyptian texts is that a humblest man be shown up in two remarks which do not favour this system.

(1) We find a great lack of those ideas which are often regarded as indications of the 'sympathetic' origin of conscience. These are the feelings which are usually qualified with 'temporary sanctions,' and are called the pleasure and joy of doing good, and the remorse, regret, and repentance for evil-doing. Indeed, certain chapters of the Pyramid and the Book of the Dead, and certain references of the popular tales, offer lamentable analogies, in point of 'sympathy,' with the present mental status of the very lowest races among those studied in the Congo (cf. _Notes sur la vie familiale et juridique de quelques populations au Congo Belge_, t. ii, fasc. 1 [Brussels, 1909]). (2) The study of 'sanctions' properly so-called (of very different kinds, of course) reveals an organization (i.e., a formation) which shows its connexion with fundamental elements that are quite different, and perhaps even totally opposite.

The history of this will be examined elsewhere (see Ebrus). Here, however, we should note this angle—at first sight inextricable—of the most various fundamental sanctions. The lowest of these are based on violation of 'tabus,' and have no possible connexion with any moral action whatever; the others show themselves as consequences, conceived from a utilitarian point of view (and recognized as such by experience), of incoherent series of actions which are not arranged in any kind of logical group. This is seen to this day in the absolutely persistent incapacity of the Egyptians to compose any kind of reasonable list of sanctions. All that we find in the _Pyramid Texts_, Book of the Dead, Maximus, Proverbs, Instructions, etc.) are lists formed in reference, not to classes of duties, but to the individuals or forces whence these sanctions proceed: the gods, the chief, the dead, the family. Sometimes, indeed, there is a suggestion of a conscious prohibition. But then we find a vast confusion; the career of the individual, long and prolix, the multitude of demands, long list, the gratitude of men, business gains and losses, ethnological considerations, etc. Few documents of this sort cannot, in some degree, give the idea of a moral conscience with any other basis better than that of 'innate goodness' or 'sympathy.'

The innate appreciation of right and wrong, which makes it necessary to constitute the human being as the subject of the moral conscience, seems at first sight a good theory for Egypt. There is probably no other ancient literature so egregiously with ideas of right and justice. Disseveres like the one supposed to be addressed by the king to his vizier on the duties of the guardians of the dead (cf. Newberry, _Rekhmera_, Lond. 1900, p. 33), the statements of ch. cxxxv, of the Book of the Dead, and especially the constant references of the biographical inscriptions tell us how wrong in all its moral and social forms, would seem to picture the very inmost mental state of the race. A critical examination of the texts, however, makes this tempting hypothesis untenable. In exams like the concept of 'retribution' or 'like fortune' or the average of years of good fortune' (cf. Griffith, _Stories of the High Priests_, Oxford, 1900, pp. 41-66) is of late appearance, and the most perfect injustice preceded it, for has been noticed—that is, the 'Negative Confession' confines itself to a magical affirmation without proofs. Finally, the moral concept which it supposes in relation to the actions of this life is not ancient in respect of its insertion in the Book of the Dead: there is no getting over the plain fact that, while we have for several years been in possession of about two hundred specimens of the Book of the Dead of earlier date than the XVIII dynasty, we have not one containing a single line of the moral chapter of this literature. It is the same with the ordinary inscriptions, where the development can be followed from the _nastabas_ of the IVth dynasty.

We turn to the other side of the case, that of the universal system of social and moral ideas, which, in the form of affirmations of the lawful ownership of various goods, or the absence of work done to those things of which the deceased has need—which is quite a different thing. Even reducing it to its most humblest form, we find, in the _ancient_ period, the right of ownership, without the distantounding of a moral idea of right, for any one of the ancient Egyptian cases. On the other hand, it is a new idée fixe that this taken up lately by Leroy (op. cit. 255), which posits at the outset an irreducible innate idea of right, while admitting the infinite and contradictory variety of practical applications. It is an evident paradox to make, from the establishment of a connexion by mental operation, an entity existing by itself. The philological examination of the texts that would apply to this special exposition might arrive some time at the conclusion that the primitive phase of the moral consciousness and utility, and never at an abstract conception of right; such a process would lead rather to conclusions remarkably like that suggested by the examination of the moral ideas of the races recently examined in Equatorial Africa, in the basin of the Congo, or in British East Africa.

Petrie's conclusion is the theory of utility brought to perfection by heredity (op. cit. 58).

The views may be summed up as follows: The conscious idea of right and wrong conforms at its basis with what is useful or the reverse for the community. Passing centuries have gradually done away with this idea, as have imposed on the individual, and thereafter on his descendants, respect for it (if not intelligence); so that the manner of appreciating it has, like hereditary movements, become impossible. In the primitive reasoning of the ancestor has been transmitted to his posterity in the form of a connexion to conscience.

This theory of Petrie's is a remedial form, to suit Egypt, of the conception that we find elsewhere in all sorts of analogous forms; e.g., the 'principles and conscience par herédité' (Béville, op. cit. 276); or the elementary principles are 'Principles and conscience par herédité' (C., Le Bon, _Premières civilisations_, ed. 1905, p. 56). The whole idea seems well adapted to the Egyptian world, so well organized in all its workings for social co-operation and utility.

But this is a narrow basis, and must be broadened. So a system does not explain why Egypt, having the same constitutive element of conscience as the other African peoples, should have developed its moral conscience further than...
they. A more precise and intricate mechanism must be found, and can be found—in the present written opinions—an elaborate examination of Egyptian literature. A total of 500 or 600 proverbs, maxims, precepts, ideas, or thoughts of a moral type, extending from the 18th dynasty to the Christian era, will suffice for this inquiry, the fruit of which will be the idea of duty or its working out (see ETHICS), but to find the elements of formation of what we call conscience in Egypt. The development of the utilitarian and self-interest ideas appear as the result of the combination of two chief elements.

The first consists essentially in the feeling that there is no indifferent action, and that every action has consequences for its author. This idea is by no means the same nature as that of right and wrong. It is not even the idea of responsibility, but it contains the latter in embryo. It also includes the future idea of reciprocity, applied to the door of the action. It thus reduces itself to the form: ‘If I do this, the same will be done to me (or will happen to me)’; then to the form: ‘I shall not do that, so that the same may not be done to me (or happen to me).’ A comparison of the mentality of the black African of to-day with the mentality of certain parts of certain modern people, shows that this idea of the necessary consequences of every good or bad action is a true innate idea, or, if not innate, at least the most primitive instinctive idea that can be found. It does not presuppose, so to say, a delayed perception or experience of its consequences.

And this pessimism, rightly remarked as a characteristic of the African mind, is still visible in Egyptian literature. The action, with its consequences, agreeable or harmful or displeasing to one or other of those immaterial spirits and forces, begets the immediate perception of a good or evil consequence for the doer. This is clearly seen in the case of numerous interdictions of a ritual nature, or in the mysterious vengeance of spirits and gods, as of the Karamoko or Ubangi native conscience. And the idea is spread, men, women and boys, are linked by their death or by their guardian-spirits, to this sum of mysterious forces brought into motion by every action, seems to have supplied the natural means for the extension of this primitive feeling.

Whether the original mental operation in innate or not will not be discussed here. The positive fact is that, in every case, as described as the first manifestation of the feeling of conscience among the ‘non-civilised’ Africans is at the foundation of Egyptian mentality. Experience naturally gave this feeling definiteness and precision, and, low as we may judge it from the moral point of view, shows itself to be composed from the very elements as those of a Karamoko or Ubangi native conscience. And the idea is spread, men, women and follow- men, are linked by their death or by their guardian-spirits, to this sum of mysterious forces brought into motion by every action, seems to have supplied the natural means for the extension of this primitive feeling.

The whole question, then, in the special case of Egypt, turns upon the theory that the idea of conscience must arise out of the efforts made by the Egyptians to cultivate moral sentiment. This question is raised by the EgyptianCalendar, and we have here documentary evidences of this evolution; e.g., in the very frequent references in the ancient texts to the necessity of keeping in view the moral standpoint, filled by the questions relating to water, irrigation, and the struggle against the desert (cf. ch. xxxv. of the Book of the Dead; certain passages in the papyri of the lords of Syut in the 4th dynasty; or of Beni Hassan in the 11th, etc.). The idea of a higher authority and an eternal hierarchy essential in this world, as they are in the celestial world, for the common good, is also a result of a conscience based on the idea of the gods; this vision has likewise impregnated all the literature of the ‘moral’ type.

In conclusion, from the vague fear common to all primitive societies, the nature and climate of Egypt developed the more fertile and definite idea of an arrangement of the forces and beings of the sensible world into regular armies, some of which are allies and preserve over the progress of the world, while others try to harm the world and so lie in order to the future; the consequences was followed by the comprehension of the necessity of social order, the comprehension of social interest, etc. Owing simply to the complex origin, Egyptian conscience never succeeded, in its monadistic conception, the other conception of dialectical philosophy, ‘the all’ turning tabu from the obligation of the moral domain.

These were for the Egyptian two different forms of the necessary co-operation of men for the maintaining of the order requisite to society. A satisfying counter-proof of this view is supplied by a comparison with a certain number of living races in the uncivilized parts of Africa. It might be the degree of organization of the moral conscience in Africa
CONSCIENCE (Greek and Roman).—I. GREEK.—1. Definition.—Conscience operates when the individual passes an intellectual judgment on definite acts, accomplished or purposed, of himself or of others, whether he judges them right or wrong. Such judgments, being self-regarding, are always accompanied by self-satisfaction, or self-dissatisfaction, according as the individual feels he has fulfilled, or fallen short of, the moral law; conscience punishes or approves, deters or suggests. It has an intellectual side and an emotional side; it may be enlightened or the reverse, sensitive or the reverse. Its enlightenment is to be estimated by the moral ideal of the individual; he may obey the moral law through fear of punishment here or hereafter; through hope of reward here or hereafter; or simply in order to realize the ideal self. The most educated conscience is that of the man who has the highest ideal, and who with the greatest confidence in the possibility of which humanity is capable. The sensitiveness of conscience depends partly upon heredity, and partly upon habit and training. Some people naturally feel their shortcomings more acutely than others, which, in the long run, tends to lessen the shame felt at such indulgence.

2. Homer and early times.—Although there is embedded in the Greek language the notion, in later times developed by philosophers, that virtue and sin have an intellectual side (Homer's phrase for 'versed in wickedness' is ἀθέμετα εἰδὼν, 'knowing lawless deeds' [see, for example, Od. ix. 189, 428, xx. 287]), yet the most common moral terms used in early times refer to the moral calm, or the moral side of conscience. In Homer we have: (1) ἀθέμης (ἀθεμώς), used of those who feel reverence towards the gods (H. lxxv. 593; Od. ix. 269, xxi. 28), towards suppliants or guests (H. i. 25, 577, xxi. 24, xxi. 419; Od. iv. 26, iv. 322, xii. 297), as being unable to inhibit their passions in order to realize some higher end (H. v. 352, vii. 93, xiii. 122, xiv. 561, 657, 661, xivv. 44; Od. iii. 24, vi. 221, vii. 172, 224, 450, xiv. 166, xx. 171). The substantive may be rendered 'shame' or 'stigma' of the body or men, 'respect for the moral rebuke of others,' 'modesty,' 'sense of honour,' 'self-respect.' (2) If ἀθέμης sometimes approaches to the 'law-giving conscience' which precedes an act, αἰσχόρασα (Od. xiv. 928, xlviii. 176) was generally represented by the shame (or the fear of it) inflicted by the 'judging conscience,' although it is not always possible to distinguish between the terms. (3) The indignation felt by others at transgression is represented by the word ἄθημα. The moral sanctions of the Homeric Greek were thus (I.) fear of the gods, (II.) respect for public opinion (φόρος ἀθρόων, Od. xlii. 325), and (III.) self-respect (Helen calls herself 'a dog,' H. iii. 356), and a sense of honour which sometimes led to deeds of heroism. Achilles would rather die than fail to avenge his friend Patroclus (H. xviii. 98),—an instance of devotion to duty which Socrates, in the Platonic Apology (28 C D), quotes with strong approval. Conscience, in fact, was acting, although as yet no special word existed to represent it, while the intellectual side was less developed than the emotional.

3. Individual merged in the citizen.—The characteristic Greek respect for public opinion found freer scope as city life developed, and as State discipline became the chief feature of Greek life. The Greek people. The citizen looked upon morality as submission to the will of a corporate body. 'We lie here in obedience to our country's commands,' was the epitaph of the noblest heroes that Greece ever produced; acts and virtues were invested with a peculiar sanctity of its own, and the individual found moral satisfaction in yielding implicit obedience to the powers that be; in modern language, he surrendered his conscience to the general conscience, and was content with his sentence by the latter. Plato (Crito, 51 E) makes Socrates personify the Laws, who point out that every citizen has virtually agreed to abide by them, and not to prefer his own sense of right and wrong. That such was the belief of the historical Socrates is shown by Xenoph. Mem. iv. 4, 15, where τὸ ὑμένιον is equated with τὸ ἐθικόν. It was generally felt that the vast majority of men needed some strong external constraint. Hesiod (Works, 192 ff.) dreads the departure of moral fear from the earth, and the Platonic Protegoras (Prot. 332 B C) calls ἀθέμης and ἄθημα the bonds of political and social life. The language of Aschylus is stronger still. 'Who,' asks Athene (Eum. 699), 'is righteous if he fear nothing?' While in the case of Sophocles (1073 ff.) it is stated that ἐθικὸς and ἄθημος are necessary defence to both States and armies; that only ἐθικὸς and αἰσχόρασα can bring a man safety. Plato, in a yet more telling passage ( Laws, 600 D E), makes ἐθικός and ἄθημος responsible for the Athenian victories over Persia. The
Athenians, he says, had a despotīc mistress in aēsīs, through whom they were the willing slaves of the laws (688 B), and those who would be good must be similarly disciplined.

4. Unwritten laws.—But, in spite of the tendency to merge morality in legality, the Greek was aware that the individual ought to form moral judgments for himself when the laws were silent. The jurymen at Athens were to decide suits according to the laws, but, when these were no guide, to judge the case consciencelessly (γρηγορώς τῷ ἐθνῷ, Aristotle, Rhet. i. 15. 5; cf. Ἀριστ. Epid. 674). Again, the Greek acknowledged certain great laws (ἀκολούθουσα καταφύσης ὁμογενεῖς), in which he had to abide, that the individual must decide for himself; the individual must decide between them. The tragedians are constantly depicting situations in which a character has to choose between the traditional code and some higher moral end. Philoctetes, for example, was a victim of his period, and the individual must face death rather than obey the edict of Creon, and, by leaving her brother unburied, violate the unwritten laws.

5. Decay of State discipline.—It is remarkable that, at the time of Xenophon, was more severely approached just at the time when the morality of the masses began to decline, that is, during the period subsequent to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. The reason is partly that, as the State discipline weakened, the vicious and weaker characters, no longer having so firm a check upon them, grew more immoral, while the stronger and nobler natures (not necessarily the philosophers) learned to obey an inner law of righteousness, but the latter being considerably few, and Plato, in the second book of the Republic, repeats the story of Gyges' ring in such a way as to show his own belief that the many are incapable of being virtuous for the sake of virtue.

6. Decay of State religion.—Not only the State discipline, but the belief in the State religion, had by this time lost much of the power it once possessed. Few thinking men continued to believe in the existence, let alone the providence, of Zeus, Apollo, or any other of the Olympian deities, as Herodotus (vi. 86) of Glauceus and the Delphic oracle illustrates how the State religion had once been, in some respects at least, a good moral influence. When, however, the Divine sanction failed to exert its effect, the individual conscience more clearly manifested itself. In yet another way did the decay of belief in the Olympic pantheon further the development of the idea of conscience: the early Greek had thought, with a strange inconsistency, that the gods both tempted men to sin and punished sin; at first he blamed the gods for leading him astray; then, deprived of this excuse, he began to blame himself.

7. Other components in Grecian religion.—But there were other and more abiding components than Olympian worship in the religion of the Greeks. One should note the ὑστατικός, or scapegoat, mentioned by Hippomax (frag. 4, ed. Bergk) and Aristophanes (Fug. 723), probably Pelagian in origin, as it is not to be found in Homer, especially dreadful of a murdered man's ghost, gave rise to the idea of an avenging deity (ادة), and of blood-guilt (σαμαρέως, περιπάτουσα, ἐσπάγη). The latter might infect a whole family, or even a State (Thuc. vii. 18). Doubtless at first the infection (μῶμα, μωσάω) was regarded as something material, to be cleansed by expiatory ceremonies, or it might even be personal (Pepym. arch, Chor. 1501); but in the time the doctrine was spiritualized.

Xenophon (Cyrop. viii. vii. 18) speaks of the fears that the souls of wronged persons bring upon murderers, and of the avenging spirits (αἰματόμον) which they cause to visit the guilty. While Euripides interprets the Furies of Æschylus as the stings of conscience (Orestes, 396).

Orphism introduced the doctrine that the soul was exiled from heaven because of sin and that in Homer the gods lead men to transgress, but Orphism taught that guilt arose from man himself. Abstinance and rites were the Orphic means of cleansing; but, however decisive, might be the impious hands (Plato, Rep. ii. 364 E), it was possible to give it a spiritual interpretation (ὑπερτερον κακομέτας [Empedocles, 406, ed. Karsten]), and it most certainly helped to foster a sense of the doctrine of ἐφιλοσοφία (becoming like unto God) is Orphic in origin, and gave to the world an idea which increased in moral value as the idea of the Divine nature was purified and ennoble. According to Orphism, man was given moral nature, and the realization of man's dual nature must have tended to develop the individual conscience. In the Pythagorean sect, which owed much to Orphism, examination of the conscience was enjoined (μετέπεισθαι τον ἰδιότητον, a priest, 1883) from early times, and in the Hippokrates of Euripides we have an Orphic who is horrified at the suggestion to commit a sexual offence. In the history of morals the idea of physical impurity generally prevails, and leads up to, the conception of a guilty soul.

8. Morality and the human heart.—Whatever the origin may have been, the 5th cent. witnessed the development of the idea that the human soul (ψυχή, ψυχη, ψυχος) was a more cleanly and more susceptible of cleansing, to the extent of mortification and of vice. Chastity is said to reside in the human ψυχή (Bacch. 314, 315, Hipp. 79, Tro. 987, 988; Thers. 1602, 1603) has a 'mighty shrine of righteousness' in her ψυχή; this may possibly come from the asyndeastic ἐστι. 'My heart is my own soul' (Hipp. 317). Conscience the lawgiver and conscience the accuser are both manifest in these dramas. The countryman in the Elektra is too honourable to contaminate the marriage which has been forced upon Electra; Macaria goes voluntarily and readily to an awful death in order to save her kindred; Orestes is tormented by the consciousness of matricide. Like many other men, he had been forced by a sense of human nature to admit that the individual conscience is more clearly manifested itself. In yet another way did the decay of belief in the Olympic pantheon further the development of the idea of conscience: the early Greek had thought, with a strange inconsistency, that the gods both tempted men to sin and punished sin; at first he blamed the gods for leading him astray; then, deprived of this excuse, he began to blame himself.

The Greek of the 5th cent. was thus fully aware of the working of conscience, and he began to use the special words to describe its work. He laid stress, not upon the emotion which follows a judgment of conscience, but upon the intellectual character of that judgment. One word is ἀνίκητος, 'deep thought' (Eurip. And. 805), which does not appear to have become popular in the moral sense. Another is πιστεύω, 'understanding' by which Euripides described Orestes (Fr. 10, ed. Orestes (Or. 290), by Xenander (fr. incert. 86, Meineke), who says that 'conscience doth make men wiser,' and by Polybius (VIII. xxvi. 8) the idea behind the passage is this: 'There is no more terrible witness, or more formidable accuse, than the conscience that dwells in each man's soul.' But the most
common term is the verb ἐυδοκεῖ, with its participial substanti- 
avos  ἐυδοκίας, etc.) generally refer, not to the law-making conscience, but to an adverse decision of the judging conscience, and to the self-dissatisfaction which accompanies it. Now, it was with the enlightenment of morality that Greek ethical philosophy chiefly concerned itself. As a rule it passed over the shame that accompanies wrong-doing, and never tried to make it the highest moral motive. Convinced that vice is ignorance, both Socrates and Plato devoted their lives to educating the moral sense; and Plato constantly insists that mere conscientiousness, like that, for example, of Euthyphro, is not suf- 
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(1128 b), sometimes as a shrinking from the ugliness of sin (1116 a, 1179 b). Emphasizing as much as Plato the necessity of an enlightened intelligence for truly virtuous conduct, Aristotle did good service by laying the idea of a public virtue, and its elaboration of the idea of duty (φρονήσεως, καθήμενα), and their exhortations to live a life according to the Divine reason implanted in the heart of man, did much to develop the notion of conscience, the name being coined to designate the word ἐνέργεια, but this is more than unlikely. By ἐνεργεία conscience is described in the (of course apocryphal) sayings of Bias and Periander recorded by Stobaeus (Flor. xiv. 11, 12), in Wis 17, in the N. T. (S. Matt. 26, 24), and in the scholia to Aristotle, with its attentuated or lengthened form. Even the later Stoic writers, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, though they constantly mention the action of conscience, seem purposely to avoid the word ἐνέργεια. The fact is that all the Greek works for the most part lay great stress upon an exception, to conscience the judge, and are associated with shame. Pindarch, in his famous description of conscience (Moralia, 476 F), says, in wonderfully modern language, that it wounds and pricks the souls which suffer pains, or rude, increases this; the guilty mind punishes itself. The Greeks, familiar as they were with the working of conscience the legislator, had no special word to describe it, although its emotional aspect is hinted at in aisēs. Now, the Stoics attributed "abundance of emotion" (ἀπειθεῖα) to their wise men; yet, though he would not entertain fear of disgrace (Diog. Laert. vii. 112, 116), he would feel aisēs. It was the legislating conscience, ἐνεργεία, that the Stoics emphasized; but, while Roman Stoicism came to express this by conscientia, among the Greeks it had no generally recognized name.

(4) Epicureans.—Perhaps it was the Epicureans who first coined this idea of a general conscience, and this would account for the Stoics avoiding the term ἐνεργεία. At any rate, Epicurus held that sin is an evil only because of the fear of discovery (Diog. Laert. x. 151), and a graphic description of conscience is given in the 30th phrase of the Epicurean Lucretius (de Rer. Nat. iii. 1014-1023, cf. iv. 1135). Probably, however, whether Stoic or Epicurean, had less influence than the facts of moral experience, which were more and more conscientiously realized by the popular mind. 11. Summary.—From the earliest times the Greeks had terms referring to the emotional side of conscience in most of its aspects. From the end of the 5th cent. συνέσεως and συνείδησις were used to denote the intellectual part of the judge. Orphism had emphasized the dual nature of human personality, while the gradual decay of the State religion and of State discipline, along with the intellectual movements of the 5th cent., forced men to realize that they had a judge in their own hearts. The idea, present from the first, that a man should feel shame before himself grew clearer; the hapativeness of sin was more acknowledged, and is urged with unsurpassed moral force in the writings of Plato. From the first it was felt that man owes allegiance to his better self; that he must obey, not only the traditional code, but the dictates of an inner law. Haced at occasionally in aisēs, this feeling was not crystallized into a special term; but the philosophers laid stress upon educating this better self, and thereby enlightening morality. Of the individualistic schools, the Stoics insisted on obedience to an inner law of reason, the Epicureans on the law of Nature (Laws, 653D), upon the importance of training youth by habituation to love good and to hate evil (Ethics, 1104 b). (3) Stoics.—It has been held that the Stoics, with their individualism, their doctrine of the self-sufficiency of man, their sense of public opinion, and the crystallization of the idea of duty (φρονήσεως, καθήμενα), and their exhortations to live a life according to the Divine reason implanted in the heart of man, did much to develop the notion of conscience, the name being coined to designate the word ἐνέργεια, but this is more than unlikely. By ἐνεργεία conscience is described in the (of course apocryphal) sayings of Bias and Periander recorded by Stobaeus (Flor. xiv. 11, 12), in Wis 17, in the N. T. (S. Matt. 26, 24), and in the scholia to Aristotle, with its attentuated or lengthened form. Even the later Stoic writers, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, though they constantly mention the action of conscience, seem purposely to avoid the word ἐνεργεία. The fact is that all the Greek works for the most part lay great stress upon an exception, to conscience the judge, and are associated with shame. Pindarch, in his famous description of conscience (Moralia, 476 F), says, in wonderfully modern language, that it wounds and pricks the souls which suffer pains, or rude, increases this; the guilty mind punishes itself. The Greeks, familiar as they were with the working of conscience the legislator, had no special word to describe it, although its emotional aspect is hinted at in aisēs. Now, the Stoics attributed "abundance of emotion" (ἀπειθεῖα) to their wise men; yet, though he would not entertain fear of disgrace (Diog. Laert. vii. 112, 116), he would feel aisēs. It was the legislating conscience, ἐνεργεία, that the Stoics emphasized; but, while Roman Stoicism came to express this by conscientia, among the Greeks it had no generally recognized name. 12. Obligation to external, and to internal, law. In early times obligations felt to an external moral law; it was only when the Republic was tottering to its fall, and the State religion ceased to hold the hearts and minds of men, that the inner voice of conscience was heard more clearly. We cannot trace the development of the idea so well as in the case of Greece, because, with the exception of Plutarch and Terence (who adapted or translated Greek originals), there is very little Latin literature of earlier date than the 1st cent. B.C. But it cannot be doubted that much of the change was due to the teaching of the Stoics, especially of Posidonius and Panætius, who exhorted men to follow the deity within them, i.e. the Divine reason, of which a portion has been given to each
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individual. The conception of this deity (Deus), this fragment of the Divine mind, this guide and protector, must have helped to develop the notion of conscience; indeed, Epictetus (fr. 97) speaks of God handing men over to be guarded by ‘their innate conscience.’ Cicero, in speaking of the same deity (Deus) (De Fin. ii. 44) says that he who takes an oath summons as witness God, ‘that is, his own mind’; and the same writer is the first to employ the noun conscientia (pro Rosco Am. 67).

The verb conscire occurs only once (Hor. Ep. i. i. 61), and is there used (with a negative) of a clear conscience. Conscius is often used without any moral meaning, but once in Plautus (Most. 544) animus conscius has the sense of a guilty conscience; this phrase and sentence was probably found with the same meaning in later writers (Lucret. iii. 1018, iv. 1105; Ovid, Fasti, i. 485; Sallust, Cat. 14). Ovid (Fasti, iv. 311) uses conscire morte recti of a clear conscience that laughs at slander; but in Virgil (Aen. i. 604), miser sibi conscia recti probably refers to conscience the guide, which leads men to differentiate between right and wrong.

In the sense of ‘consciousness,’ conscientia is rare, but it is exceedingly common in most writers after Cicero with the meaning ‘conscience.’ The first time it occurs it is joined to animi (Cic. pro Rosco Am. 67), ‘conscientiae animi terrent’—the words are associated with the interpretation of the Pythagoreans, and, as Mulder remarks (De conscientia notione, p. 97 f.), the expressions animi conscientia, mentis conscientia (the latter in Cic. pro Cluent. 159) are intermediate between the vague pectus, animus, me, and the improved conscience, with its full moral meaning on the other.

From Cicero onwards the idea of conscience grows more distinct and more full of meaning. It is regarded as Divine (Cic. Paradox. iv. 29); it accuses and judges (Livy vi. 32; Tac. Hist. iv. 72; Sen. de B. vi. 42); it is a witness (Sen. Ep. 43; Quint. Inst. Or. v. vi. 41; Juvi. xiii. 198).

Bona conscientia, malis conscientia, ‘clear conscience,’ ‘guilty conscience,’ are terms which do not appear to be used by Cicero, but are common enough in Seneca and other later writers. But conscientia (with a genitive case added) not infrequently occurs in Cicero with the meaning of ‘a clear conscience,’ which he calls ‘fruit’ (Phil. ii. 10); on the one hand, and plans a conscientia (with its full moral meaning) on the other.

3. Conscience the lawgiver valued as a guide.—

The Stoic teaching, consisting as it did upon obedience to the Divine reason in the heart, led men not merely to fear conscience, but to value it highly as a director of life. Cicero recognizes conscience as a lawgiver (ad Att. xiii. 20), and so does the younger Pliny (Ep. i. 22), while the idea is especially common in Seneca. Conscience, from Cicero onwards, is considered a better guide than public opinion (Cic. de Fin. ii. 71, ad Att. xii. 28; Livy, xxxiii. 29; Pliny, Ep. i. 8, iii. 29; Sen. de B. vi. 42), though it is difficult to decide whether these are the cases of the judging conscience or of the legislating conscience; indeed, it is impossible to keep these quite distinct, as a judgment on a past act is, of course, a guide to future conduct.

4. Conscience, then, was always accorded a high place, but it took the form of a strong feeling of obligation to a transcendent law that was sanctioned by tradition, religion, and the State. As the influence of these grew weaker, men transferred their allegiance to their own hearts, and realized that they had within them an accuser, a judge, and a guide. The Stoic doctrine of a Divine reason immanent in each individual was a most powerful aid to a clearer conception of conscience; the writings of Cicero and Seneca, who were both imbued with Stoicism, afford the best evidence of the way in which the notion of conscience developed.

The ethical terms used by the early Greeks emphasized chiefly the emotional side of conscience; these used by Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics were to develop into a moral obligation. Among both peoples the development of the idea of conscience was due to the decay of the State religion and of the State discipline, and the consequent turning of men’s thoughts inward. But, whereas the Stoics made little use of the popular term τὸ ἐνεργόν, and devoted their energies to improving the moral ideal according to which conscience judges, the Roman Stoics appear to have adopted the term conscientia, as a moral concept, far more than its Greek equivalent. The Greek word nearly always stands for a guilty conscience; the Latin word, although very often associated with guilt, not infrequently denotes moral self-satisfaction or the inner promptings of conscience the lawgiver. Neither word is associated with the State religion; but, while philosophic religion neglected τὸ ἐνεργόν, conscientia was naturally used as an equivalent of the Stoic ‘guardian,’ the fragment of Divine reason immanent in the heart of each individual. Hence Christianity found in conscientia a term whose fuller meaning it could develop by its doctrine of the Holy Spirit accusing, exhorting, and reminding. The Stoic idea, it should be noticed that the ancients made no attempt to analyze psychologically the conception of conscience, which remained to the last popular rather than philosophic, in spite of its adoption by Roman Stoicism.


W. H. S. JONES.

CONSCIENCE (Jewish).—Conscience is an essential element in the system of Jewish ethics. It is the motive power and the guide of the moral rectitude of man; it is the judge, and at the same time the highest standard by which his actions in his relation to God and to his neighbours are measured. Conscientiousness in the fulfilment of duties is a moral heightening of the principle of duty, and is the necessary preparation for the virtues of mercy and love. The principle of righteousness which underlies conscience may be of a purely legal and ceremonial character, whereas conscience goes beyond simple legal forms, and springs from higher motives than those of obedience to the law and the performance of ceremonies. The motive force is a truer conception of the relation between man and God, and the acknowledgment of the principle that human perfection can be attained only by imitating, as far as human power allows, the ways of God. The ‘hallowing of life’ is the real object of all the laws, and still more so of the moral injunctions and acts of conscience which supplement them. The motive of life in achieving the purpose of making the Jewish nation ‘a kingdom of priests and an holy nation’ (Ex 19). More than once is the sanctification of life enunciated in the Pentateuch, and the reason given is ‘because the Lord thy God is the holy one’ (Lev 19). The life is the ultimate explanation and the laws of cause which man, who had been formed
in the image of God,' to reach a higher standard, and place him almost on a par with the angels (Ps 8). As explained by the Rabbis, the various instances recorded in the Bible of God's direct communion with the Patriarchs were intended to teach their descendants how to act. 'Just as God clothes the naked (Adam and Eve), so should man clothe the naked; just as God visits the sick (Abraham), so should man visit the sick; just as God buries the dead (Moses), so must man bury the dead; just as God comforts the mourners, so must man comfort the mourner' (Gen 21:33). In fact, all acts of charity and benevolence, all those duties which a man is bound to perform, not in virtue of a direct command or a legal prescription, but prompted by his 'heart,' are to conform to the Divine standard and promote the sanctification of God's name. And all the blessings that follow from it—peace, happiness, charity, goodwill, love—make man approach the Divine. The seat of this higher conception of the body of Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon is summed up in the 'heart,' which stands in Hebrew for mind, sentiment, feeling, conscience.1 Hence 'a pure heart,' 'a clean heart,' as mentioned by the Psalmist, means a clean conscience, a noble conception of duty realised without any other motive than the desire of self-sanctification.

In Jewish teaching, however, the legal and the purely ethical have never been really separated, but have existed side by side. For, as remarked above, the justification and explanation of the former were sought in the latter, and both were to lead to the sanctification of life. Thus we read: 'And the heart of David the king of Israel established the Torah and the law. All these ethical principles are summed up in a masterly manner, and show us the workings of that spirit of holiness in the practical walks of life. The other books of the Prophets teem with denunciations against 'harshness of heart,' harsh treatment of widows, orphans, and slaves, and dishonest dealings with one's neighbour. Moral perfection is thus defined by the prophet Micah (6): 'He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justice, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?' 'To do justly' was the particular realm of the mind, the work of conscience for God's sake, the work associated with 'the heart.' (cf. Concordance, s.v. 'Heart'); and the expression 'with all thy heart' (with the whole heart, etc.).

These ethical principles and guides of life, in addition to the legal prescriptions, found terse expression in proverbs and maxims, saws of wise men, and teachings left by venerated persons—a kind of moral compendia like the Books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. The authors of some of the apocryphal books followed these examples, and the Books of Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon, as well as Fourth Maccabees, are nothing other than such moral compendia. Direct reference to conscience we find in Sir 43 and Wis 17(18), which are in the spirit of Jewish ethical teaching. A special place in Jewish literature of this period is also occupied by the works of one Hillel, the great teacher, who lived in the time of the Second Temple, and whose teachings had a vast influence on the rabbinical schools. He taught that 'the way of a man with all his heart, with all his soul, and with all his might.'

Rabban Gamaliel, the son of R. Judah the Prince, said: 'An excellent thing is the study of the Torah combined with moral discipline (derakh eretz), for the practice of both cannot be out of remembrance' (Bi. 25). 'Billed said: "Judge not thy neighbour until he come into thy place"' (Bi. 5). According to R. Eleazar, the good way to which a man should cleave is 'the possession of a good heart,' and the evil to be shunned, 'a wicked heart' (G. 12, 13), where 'heart' no doubt is to be taken in the Biblical sense. R. Eleazar says: 'Let the honour of thy friend be dear unto thee as thine own' (G. 14). R. Jose said: 'Let the property of thy friend be dear unto thee as thine own.' Among those who have no share in the world to come, R. Eleazar the Middateh places the man who puts his fellow-man to shame in the world to come. If he is a moral and not the self-righteous, then he is shunned, and if committed it is to be expelled by 'repentance and good deeds,' as is often repeated here (v. 15). In the Yerushalmi, 'Just of the Jewish Fathers,' (Cambridge, 1807, ad loc.)

Round this collection of maxims grew up a whole cycle of similar teachings, acclamations, and additions from other sources, and examples drawn from the lives of the rabbis. The moral guides, independent of the codes of laws which regulated the strictly formal mode of life. It would be out of place here to discuss the whole range of ethical teaching; hence we must limit ourselves to those passages that refer to 'conscience,' uprightness, moral responsibility, in the daily relations between man and man—references found scattered throughout the literature, however, is imperative for the historical sequence of such teachings, and in view of the fact that ethics had not been reduced to a system, or split up into different parts, the same value of one principle as opposed to another. All stand on the same footing, and demand the same attention. There is no room for eclecticism in these collections. The oldest example is perhaps the author of the Testament of Tobit, which was written in the 2nd century B.C., and which had done in his lifetime, the moral duty of burying the dead—one of those pious duties and works of charity which the law does not prescribe, and neglect of which is not punishable by its letter, but whose fulfillment was held to be incumbent on every pious Jew. More important is the reference (To 14°) to the History of Achiacharh (Ahi'kär), since recovered and restored to its place at the end of the Book of Tobit. This is a collection of wise maxims, which are treated in a higher moral sense, and moral actions, though in the versions preserved it is more in the nature of worldly practical wisdom of not too elevated a type. It interest lies also in another direction; the form of address is 'O my son,' and, as distinguished from the earlier collections, it mentions and venerated the famous collection of the 'Fathers of the Synagogue,' called 'The Chapters' (Pirke Aboth) after they had been grouped together in chapters. They can only be properly understood as such testamentary injunctions, the last wills of the leading men of the Great Synagogue and their successors in the high position of spiritual guides and leaders of the people during the period of the Second Temple. The rabbis grouped them logically, and these chains of ethical maxims served the purpose of being a chain of tradition. In reality they are the principal ethical teachings representing the ethical wills of those sages, and as such values them naturally into their place, whilst the hitherto they had been a riddle. A few examples may suffice:

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Judah the Prince (*Me'asseh R. Yehudah ha-Nasi*), and later on developed into the chapters of R. Judah the Prince (*Pirke de Rebbeinu ha-Raذا*). Another is 'The Will of Eliezer the Great,' or 'The Ways of the Pious' (*Semachat R. Eliezer ha-

This page contains text discussing the Talmudic concept of conscience and its role in moral decision-making, emphasizing the importance of religious principles and the idea of 'discretion of the heart.' It refers to the 'principle of ethics' and the 'discipline of the heart' as fundamental in ethical teaching. It mentions the sanctification of life, the role of conscience in ethical decisions, and the importance of religious principles over legal obligations. The page also discusses the multiplication of examples and maxims, highlighting the power of a pure heart and conscience in guiding and informing moral actions. It concludes with the idea that, while the law is strict and necessary, the heart and conscience are more lenient and forgiving. The text underscores the interrelation between law, conscience, and the heart in shaping ethical behavior.

The page also touches upon the concept of 'conscience' and its role in determining the correct course of action, emphasizing that 'conscience is the ultimate guide,' and that it must be 'elevating' and 'enlarged' to be effective. It discusses the importance of conscience in the face of temptation, highlighting that a pure heart can withstand any test with integrity. The page concludes with a reflection on the role of conscience in shaping the moral character of a person, and the importance of maintaining a strong and steadfast conscience in guiding one's actions.
of Greek, and directly of Arabic, philosophic speculations, the Jews began to develop systems of religious philosophy in which special attention was often paid to the ethical side of the Jewish faith. Whilst, in the older period of Hellenism, Jewish thought was in the category both of natural, and of the Stoics, as Philo and the author of the pseudo-Josephus 'On the Rule of the Intellect,' and were more or less guided by allegorical interpretations of the Bible, the philosophers of later times were mostly under the influence of Aristotle and his Arabic commentators, such as al-Farabi (†1058), Ibn Siná (Avicenna, †1038), Ghazálí (†1111), and Ibn Rushd (Averroës, †1198), while the purely theological deductions from the adherences of the Kalám (the Mutakallimun) also found followers among the Jews.

Before referring to the Jewish philosophers, it is of interest to mention a fact hitherto entirely ignored in connexion with the dissemination of their moral teachings. Such collections of maxims as are mentioned above were also put into verse, and formed terse epigrams or long didactic poems—a form better adapted to render them popular, for it was not caring for their concrete or theoretical investigations, and still less for philosophical justifications of moral conduct. Fragments of the ancient saws of Ben Sira were then collected, and other collections of a similar nature were made. It is in the Compendium of Wisdom about that period (9th-10th cent.) the Book of Sirach was re-translated into Hebrew, as the language of the newly discovered version testifies. It is the period of 'Achicharun' in its modern recession (Lukcarun), containing less a personal than the last of the great Genónim of Babyl., Hai (940-1039), wrote his rhymed didactic poem Músaar Hasqué—also a kind of moral vade-mécum adapted to the understanding of the people, and probably taught in the schools and otherwise learnt by heart. It agrees also with the 'will' of Elccazar, Achicharun, etc. A few examples must suffice.

My son, my first word is: Fear the Lord; and with each of thy deeds give praise unto Him' (Pr. 1: 7). 'Forbid the sin and transgression of thy neighbour, and be ready to accept repentance and regret.' 'Be not treacherous or seek strife, and foster not rebellion' (v. 79 ff.). 'When thou hearest the defamation of thy neighbour, cover it up and pretend not to have heard it' (vv. 58-60). ‘Wisdom is to walk in the path of justice and the fear of the Lord; knowledge of understanding (character) is to avoid evil.' 'Be an honest judge among thy people, and fear not their riches or their poverty; have pity on the poor and miserable, and appoint an adviser and admonisher to thy soul' (vv. 53 ff.). 'Let thy heart be not rebellious against the Lord; do not despise thy neighbour, Come to morrow, when thou canst give to-day; give and do not tarry.' 'Judge thyself as thou wouldst judge others' (v. 79).

His contemporary Samuel Ha-Nagid imitated Hai in Spain, in his Ben Kokeleth ('Son of Ecclesiastes'). On other didactic poems we need not dwell.

To return to the Jewish philosophers, we note that, though they were all bent on finding in Judaism the highest expression of Divine truth, and aimed at leading to the highest good, yet they differed in their definition of the summum bonum and in the means of attaining it. To cultivate all the virtues was the road which led to the knowledge of God, and in this knowledge was to be found the ultimate goal of human perfection, i.e. nearness to God. Hence sometimes the intellect and wisdom are used as synonymous, or from one another. This is not the place to discuss the various systems of ethics evolved by these Jewish philosophers. It may suffice to point out that every system of thought among Arabs and medievally the Spaniards is found among the Jews. Of those thinkers some—like Saadya, Gabirol, Ibn Zaddik, and Maimonides—are more rationalistic, assigning to the knowledge of God and to Wisdom the highest potentiality for good, and considering that the highest aim is to be attained by moderation, by the rule of the intellect over the actions and thoughts of man, while others incline more to the mystical side. To the latter class belonged the man who wrote a special work on the 'Duties of the Heart' (such is the title of the book, Hóboth hó-Lebabóth). He recognizes human conscience as the last arbiter, and the true inward prompter and guide in all moral actions which lie outside the specifically legal injunctions. He lays special stress on the elevating and purifying influence of moral consciousness, and therefore leads up to a kind of religious asceticism. Quietism, by recommending retirement from life, celibacy, meekness, self-denial, means for attaining perfection. Without being morbid, he exhibits a high moral sensiveness, and has had a lasting influence upon succeeding generations. One can trace his influence especially in a whole series of subsequent writings.

These philosophical writings, being almost all composed in Arabic, had to be first translated into Hebrew, and only then could they gain a wider circulation. So were they brought to France and Central Europe, through the medium of the Hebrew anonymous translation which was used by Berechjah ha-Nakdan (second half of 12th cent.) in his two ethical compilations—the Guide of the Pious (Teherut, 1130) and the Maparé, ed. H. Gollanze, London, 1902. He eliminated the entire speculative part, and retained only the ethical, which he augmented with excerpts from the writings of Ibn Gabírol, Bejáy, and Nissim.

Of sin and repentance he says: 'From the passage Hos 14: 10.' 'Return, for thou hast stumbled,' we learn that she should have an inwardly lesson at our guilt, and,' 'therefore, that the sins have proved unto us a wretched stumbling-block' (p. 71, ed. Gollanze). He speaks most emphatically of the 'duties of the heart.' All acts rest upon the heart's intention and upon the secret thoughts; their study must necessarily precede the study of the physical, practical performance of the commandments. And he goes on to relate the following: 'A pious man once said to his disciples, 'If you had no sins whatever, I should be afraid lest you had something worse than sin.' And they asked, 'What can be worse than sin?' He answered: 'Insolent pride, for it is written, Every one that is proud in heart is an abomination unto the Lord.' (Pr. 16: 19). Very beautiful is the chapter 'The Man Devoted to the 'Duties of the Heart' (Ch. iii. in the Guide of the Pious). The author has skillfully collected verses of the Bible, teachings of the Sages, and philosophical speculations, to show that Reason, Law, and Tradition are the three kinds of righteousness. He introduces his actions by which human perfection can be attained, and that man must be guided by an enlightened understanding and a pure heart, i.e. by pure conscience.

Of the same way of thinking as Bejáy was Abraha b. Hiyyah (middle of 12th cent.), although he was more emphatic about fasting and repentance to assure the pangs of stricken conscience, and to serve as the means of avoiding sin. Like Bejáy, he shows points of contact with the teaching of Gažálí and of the Sifít (the pure brethren). Of the Intellectuals, or, better, of those who derive all the moral virtues—charity, piety, energy, loving-kindness, love of God, moral rectitude, etc. —from the knowledge of God, and seek the road to that knowledge in the 'middle way,' the most prominent is Maimonides. He formulates his views in his commentary on the 'Chapters of the Fathers,' in the chapters on the 'Knowledge of God.' in his great Compendium of the Law, in his 'Guide of the Perplexed,' and in other writings. The problem of distinguishing between those that time, and, one may add, the philosophers of religion at all times, was that of human free will, with the concomitant problem of reward and punishment, of virtue and vice, of human perfection and degeneration among the Jews. Man's soul is the seat of know-
CONSCIENCE (Jewish)

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ledge, and from it alone emanates the impulse to action or inaction (Introd. to Aboth, ch. viii.). It is his moral conscience which causes reward or punishment for deeds which are neither commanded by the Divine will, nor forbidden by it (Guide, i, 17, fifth section; Maimonides). 

It is derived from the root 'itik," which means 'to teach.' Thus the Divine sainthood inculcates teaching and denoting the meaning of the Heb. words 'itik ("loving-kindness"), mishpat ("judgment"), and 'itikah ("righteousness"), and says of the last:

"The term 'itikah is derived from 'itik, the root of righteousness. It denotes the act of giving every one his due, and of showing kindness to those who are deserving of it as it deserves. In Scripture, however, the expression is used in the first sense, and does not apply to the payment of what one owes to others. When we are not paid for the hired labour we have rendered, or pay a debt, we do not perform an act of 'itikah. But we do perform an act of 'itikah when we fulfill those duties towards others which we have undertaken, and below to read them in the original language. These books show the manner par excellence of Jewish women; they were translated into the Jewish-German and Jewish-Spanish languages, and parts also into Arabic and Persian, thus becoming real household treasures."

Shabbethai Bass gives his list of over 120 such books in his bibliography (SifteYehoshbm, printed in the year 1680, fol. 150), exclusive of the numerous commentaries on the "Chapters of the Fathers." A few of the more prominent may be mentioned, for example, regarding the conscience, and direct quotations from the older literature, the authors have added some more instructions—personal expressions of their own conceptions of the duty and moral obligation incumbent on every Jew. Here, of course, the notions of the fear of God and the love of God prevail, for everything must be done out of that love and for the sake of hailing His name by moral actions, and thereby sanctifying human life.

Maimonides, in 1267, writes to his son Aaron a moral epistle, in which he exhorts, among other things, that he be modest and humble, and when thou speakest, let not thy tongue be lifted on high (nurum corda), and speak quietly, and consider every man whom thou addressest as being greater than thou art. If he be poor and downcast, be the more scholar than he is, then think that thou art more full of guilt; if he be simple and ignorant, be more patient, unselfishly, and not deliberately. In all thy deeds and thoughts remember Him of whom it is said that His glory filleth the world.

Johann of Gerona (1203), known as the Habad and Kaddish, i.e., Martyr, wrote, in the strain of 'itikah, his famous Shabareh Teshubah, "Gates of Repentance," and Sider ha-Yirah, "Book of the Fear of God," where the feeling of consciousness of the gravity of sin and the duty of repentance are expanded in a masterly manner. He says: "There are people who believe that, if you do not transgress any of the written laws, you cannot commit sin, for it is connected with active work. And yet there is no greater loss for the soul than to imagine that sin consists only in having gone against the laws of active sin; and not also in the neglect of the performance of deeds of charity and of good works. For the highest perfections can be achieved only by effecting an inward change. Thus when one is round the legal commandments, but ethical demands, such as the exercise of free will, love of God, and contemplation of His loving-kindness, the recognition of God's ways in His visitation and, above all, in the sanctification of His name by worship, fear, and cleaving unto Him (Deut. ii. 14, 17). "Do not pretend that thou art able to help God or dead, for, if thou refuseth, thy strength will wane" (ch. 76). "Thou shalt not take a bribe", and "Thou shalt not allow thy judgment to be influenced by flattery," for the purity of conscience will thereby be corrupted."

Almost contemporaneous with these were Yehudah the Flota in Germany (125th cent.), and his pupil Eleazar of Worms (1258), and Yehiel b. Yehuda of Troja (1263) in Germany, and Yehiel of Coucy in France (1253-45), who wrote ethical treatises and guides for a moral life. Some "Book of the Flota," "Sifer Hassidim" (Yehudah); the "Perfection of Human Conscience," Mo'dah
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3. Conscience as a guide to the individual.—So far as the conscience is identical with the moral sense, or instinctive notions of right and wrong, the Prophet's system took little account of it; indeed, its tendency was to make the Prophet's revelations and practice the sole source whence knowledge of right and wrong could be obtained. His followers constantly handed their consciences over to his keeping, being unwilling to set their own opinion against his. The fact that he claimed obedience only in *licita et honesta* shows that he did not really claim the infallibility which logic conveyed to his followers to decode to him. That logic was, however, irresistible; for, if the right of private judgment were once allowed, clearly people could not be compelled to accept Islam at all. Although, then, there are occasional attempts at a reference of ethics to reason or the natural sense of right, these are not really in accordance with the spirit of the religion. The reference is regularly to the Qur'an, the practice of the Prophet, and the sayings of his followers: 'Thou art better to yourself, but me, O Moses right,' is a common saying. The scope allowed to the conscience in private affairs by Muslim writers is similar to that indicated by the maxim *nolite esse oblivige*. So the formula, 'I appeal from you to yourself, O better self,' i.e. occasionally heard.\(^1\) Hence the word *obviis*, 'refusing,' is often applied by poets to a soul which declines of itself to enter humiliating courses.

4. The public conscience.—In Oriental despotism the sovereign does not act as a rule, any much regard to public opinion, and it might be hard to find any case in Muslim history in which the conduct of the sovereign had been of itself actively resented; neither parricide nor fratricide, degradation, nor burning of a robber's body stirred up such indignation among the subjects as to cost a sovereign his throne. The assassination of the monster al-Hakim, the Fatimid Khalif (A.D. 1021), seems to have caused more indignation than the usual cases of murder. Cases are therefore of interest in which concessions are made by the sovereign to the public conscience, to the extent of saving it; for such concessions imply that the sovereign thought it worth saving.

A faction with which we must acquaint Egyptian history more than once is the discovery of buried treasure, enabling the sovereign to build a mosque—there being a doubt whether the Muslims would attend worship in a place which had built of ill-gotten gains. The murder of a brother was occasionally explained in an official document as an accidental death,\(^2\) etc.; but, on the other hand, clever usurpers not infrequently gathered followers by the stirring up of indignation against the monarch whom they wished to overthrow. The Unayyad and Abbasid dynasties both won their first triumphs in this way. It was at times thought worth while to murder a saintly man and make it appear that a sovereign had perpetrated the crime, with the view of getting him dethroned.\(^3\) Similarly, in our time there have been suspicions of atrocities being engineered in the Ottoman empire for the purpose of rousing the conscience of Europe. The best-informed political writers in the East insist on the maxim, 'the people follow the religion of their kings,' and the maxim, 'even in your conscience curse not the king' (Ec 10:8), represents the prevailing practice.

5. Noteworthy manifestations of the conscience.—Although the lives of the Muslim sovereigns, as told by their chroniclers, frequently, if not ordinarily, display absolute ruthlessness, yet in their relations with those persons who played the part of the Hebrew prophets, conscientiousness seems to have been the rule rather than the exception. Cases in which the sovereign, however tyrannical, permitted himself to be rebuked by a saint, and even followed the saint's advice, are quite common.\(^4\) A saint might even denounce the doings of a Khalif from the pulpit.\(^5\) The following anecdote of the Imam Musa al-Sadr, the maxim Nasir ed-Din Stolnicov's judgment on conscientiousness of an Oriental despot. A traditionalist was summoned to repeat edifying matter before the Sultan. The man commenced his discourse before he had pensively asked, and a slave was told to box his ears. The Sultan overwhelmed the preacher permanently deaf. The Sultan was deeply distressed at this result, and offered abundant gifts in compensation; the traditionalist declined them all, saying that nothing but what had been taken from him, the power of hearing. Requests from the Sultan for pardon were met merely with a reference to the final judgment. To this stubborn reply the Sultan answered with an embrace.\(^6\)

There is a considerable literature on the desirability of cleansing the 'inner man,' of which Ghazâlî's 'Scrutiny of the Hearts' may be mentioned as an example.

**Literature.**—This is given in the article.  

**CONSCIENTIOUSNESS.**—Conscientiousness (from 'conscience' [q.v.]) may be described as an attitude within the moral life, a source of virtue, rather than one of the virtues, with its intellectual reference, and integrity, with its emotional reference, are involved, imparting direction to conduct, and tending strongly to the adaptation of habit on the basis of new values.

Developed mainly by the subjective, or in some groups of elements which interact with each other. These are the objective and the subjective, often termed the universal (or social) and the individual (or personal). The former consists of customs and usages, of conventions and laws, of natural, historic, and legal codes, of social and political institutions. All, in turn, are integral to a cultural organization such as a race, a people, or even an epoch. The latter, though inseparable from the former, consists of the peculiar contribution resultant upon the reaction of individuals to the norms of the social unity. So long as this response remains unconscious or unreflective, personal character misses complete distinctiveness, and tends to keep the level of the unconscious. But when, thanks to a subtle admixture of intellect and emotion, men place themselves in a reflective attitude towards the norms of the communal spirit, conscientiousness supervenes, and obligation acquires an enhanced, because positively recognized, influence upon character.  

\(^1\) Conscientiousness, then, is reflective intelligence grown into character. It involves greater and wider recognition of obligation in general, and a larger and more stable emotional response to everything that presents itself as duty; as well as the habit of deliberate consideration of the moral situation and of the acts demanded by it (J. Dewey, *Outlines of a Critical Theory of Ethics*, 1881, p. 290).

In a word, conscientiousness is marked by the following characteristics:

1 E.g. Tabari, iii. 608.  
2 J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 299.  
3 Yaqût, *Dict. of Learned Men*, v.  
presence of a reaiford requirement of conscious, and by the effort to met it. Yet, even so, the condition of moral anxiety, accompanied by habitual introspection, can hardly be accepted as an equable acception of the matter. This view savours too much of temperament, i.e., of moods, associated, say, with such supersitious entities as the 'Con-
nonformist conscience,' the 'New England conscience,' or the like. Possibly the Puritan strain led Emerson to formulate his famous reflective analysis:

'There remain the cases (1) of reflection on past actions of our own, (2) of consideration whether an act should be presently done, and (3) of reflection on ourselves to see whether we do it. In both these cases, the question of the character or state of will which an action represents may be raised with a possibility of being answered. (a) The idea of a rational and moral man may ask himself: Was I, in doing so and so, acting as a good man should, with a pure heart, with a will set on the objects on which it should be set?—or again, Shall I, in doing so and so, be acting as a good man should, goodness being understood in the same sense? . . . The habit of raising such questions about himself as those just indicated, is what we have mainly in view when we speak of 'conscience.' (Fred. to Elt Holocaust, 1836, p. 328.)

But conscientiousness is not to be identified with conscience 'in its extreme form of self-reflextive
ness,' which 'investigates with the searching power of an expert, in order to discover the slightest de
dected fault of its conduct, and to make it good.' It is because of its personal or individual character that it is able to put forward a claim to independence of the State or of any social order' (S. Alexander, Moral Order and Progress, 1889, p. 157 E.). Accordingly, one state transcendental aspect of con-
sciousness readily, and thus minimize the objective reference. If it be reduced to a mere analysis
of internal moods, it may very well indicate weakness rather than strength of character.

The simply ethical temper is related to monastic productiveness as more good taste is to creativeness in poetry and art. With so circumstantial a step it makes no way; and, though it may stand out with their more distinguished, it acquires the habit of fear instead of love—say, above all things, its refusal to be the victim of ignorance, whose shape themselves into negatives, and guard every avenue with the flaming sword of prohibition, "Thou shalt not." In apprehension of possible evil, it dares not surrender itself to any admiration and bring itself to unauthorized action for any haunting end; the admiration must first be scrutinized, till it has cooled and its force is gone; the end in view is traced through a thicket of comparisons, till it is lost in the wood. Nothing, accordingly, is more rare than be character with balanced and powerful, judicial and enthusiastic; and, faultless perception is apt to involve false inspiration "(James Martineau, "Types of Ethics," 1893, ii. 50).

Thus the division of opinion regarding conscien-
tiousness has its roots in the two groups of elements inseparable from morality. If the objective factor have, as is the case with all moral demands, or insight into their nature, is viewed as the dominant feature. If, on the other hand, emphasis be laid on the subjective factor, self-examination, with anxiety about personal moods and feelings, assumes primary importance.

In the Greek world, where our sense of conscien-
tiousness had not developed, but where 'wisdom' (σοφία, σοφεία, not yet σοφιστής) played a parallel role, the community-aggregate of predispositions and tendencies in the realms of values (cf. Plato and the Other Companions of Sophocles, 1865, i. 249) furnished plentiful material which was regarded as neither good nor bad. The 'wise man' was likened to an artist, who shaped this raw stuff in the semblance of a model of a noble and desirable type. For example, Aristotle presents us with the general type of the subtle and shifting problem, the solution of which must be worked out a fresh individual in each particular case. Conduct is good for him is a free and living creature, and not a machine controlled by the cold faculty of reason. In a life is a work of art shaped by the man who lives it (O. L. Dickinson, The Greek View of Life, 1907, p. 157).

Accordingly, paradox though it may seem, virtue was knowledge, in the sense that the superior, and therefore thoughtful, citizen superimposed a con-

scious (reflective) attitude upon the traditional custom of the συνείδησις. In this way the 'higher law' of wisdom was made manifest. But, leaving the imperfect Socrates out of account (cf. Cynics, Casuistry, it bore rather upon group-norms than upon the independent 'conscientious' judgment of the individual. The internal thrust of the prin-

ciple had to wait Stoicism and the Christian con-
sciences.

Nevertheless, the classical moralists of Greece did originate the idea of inward principle, of indi-

vidual resition upon the cultural situation, with the result that, consequent upon profound civil vicissitudes, the Stoic conception of 'conscience,' based on the independence of the 'wise man,' grew up and acquired fixity. In this way, dynamic pro-

gress in morality, as contrasted with static custom, was cultivated and foreseen, without pathological accompaniments, because the restraints of the old society weakened. Despite this, two heritages had been prepared for the Christian consciousness: the conception of inner principle, mediated indi-

dually; and the doctrine that, in the sphere of morality at least, whatever might be said of reli-

gion, this inward principle must be adjudged by the mind. Thus the contrast between the two ele-
ments—the objective or social and the subjective or individual—contrasted, the faculty of con-

sciousness witnessed, if not a struggle, then a lack of balance, between them. At one time, as in the medieval view of 'prudence,' the objective tended to assert itself; at another, as in the Renaissance, the subjective excised prenun. In a word, men con-

structed their description of the source of virtue on the basis of current relative evaluation of the virtues.

The very fact, then, that the Christian conscious-

ness has substituted 'conscientiousness' for the 'wisdom' of the Greeks—and this finally—suffices to show that the internal and individual had won full recognition. The conscientious man must use discernment, according to the inward principle, with reference to the norms of social custom. Moral progress and initiative pivot upon this. On the other hand, this initiative is concerned about these same customs—to discover how they may be pre-

served lively. And yet, of necessity, this process means that, because they are subjects of concern and of consequent new estimate, they must alter.

Conscientiousness, then, may be described as genuine concern, mediated intelligently, for all such values as this cannot be accepted and disapproved; and these attitudes are traceable in part to emotional convictions about an inward ideal. So far as the conscientious man has made this ideal his own, being able to say, 'This one thing I do,' it has become 'the way and the truth' for him. Accordingly, in the issue, conscientious-

ness turns out to be an energetic pursuit of an individual-social ideal—an ideal that appeals to emo-

tion; mainly through objective associations, and to intellect mainly through intelligent per-

sonal reactions to these associations. The con-

scientious man is at once responsive to social achievements and ends, and considerate of the one principle with whose ends are associated or do place in a harmonious whole. He feels that his own goodness is bound up with that of others, hence personal assertion of the norm as he envisions it; he knows that his own progress must depend ultimately upon that of the inward principle. Thus reflective insight, on the basis of affective conviction, grasping and transforming group-norms, constitutes the moral attitude known as conscientiousness. For this reason, while the latter is held to be the source and guardian of virtue. It serves itself the central factor to be reckoned with in an active moral con-

sciences.

But, further, this implies that conscientiousness
CONSCIOUSNESS

is characterized by disinterestedness. Otherwise, it would not include a concrete estimate of the entire import of an action. Self-assertion here becomes a species of self-foreignness. For by this quality the self-reference of consciousness is more or less whole. So, if this quality be emphasized, consciousness may find a place in the list of virtues. It would then stand as the chief of the cardinal virtues, thus becoming more or less identical with 
what modern philosophers have termed and at the 'good will.' This implies that it is the guarantee, not of mental acumen or of aesthetic taste, but of goodness realizing itself throughout the entire circle of a life which, in turn, draws sustenance of the norms of the community. In these norms the conscientious man discovers new stimuli to the inner principle. But the necessity for reflexion rules out suppositions automatic deliverances of an equally suppositions 'internal tribunal'—'conscience.' Briefly, vital interest in the good, as the principle reveals it, at once sets problems, and points the conditions of their solution. Fusion of sober judgment with earnest aspiration, and fusion of restraint, mediated socially, with fervent desire, by passing over in all, constitute the modern counterpart of the Greek 'wisdom.' And this species of ethical apprehension which imports our experience into a moral order, and also perceives that it is originated from a moral order, is true consciousness. It is the re-constituting and accomplishment of any end which moral beings can adopt for the completion of their well-being. Hence its inevitable relation to questions which pass over into the field of religion.

See also CONSCIENCEn, ETHICS (Christian), WISDOM.


R. M. WENLEY.

CONSCIOUSNESS.—What is consciousness? From the dawn of modern philosophy the question has been discussed, and psychology and philosophy have endeavoured to find a reply. The answers given have been very various, but we may not summarize them in this article. To summarize those given from the time of Descartes onwards would be to write a history of modern philosophy, and at the same time present the question is more widely and more inclusively discussed than ever before. Some philosophers and psychologists almost insist on discarding the name altogether, while others make the role of the name a central part of their philosophy. For example, A. E. Taylor writes:

"This is perhaps the place to add the further remark that, if we entertain a naturalistic and logical terminological position, we ought to banish the very expression "consciousness" or "states of consciousness" from our language. What are really given in experience, and that form the basis of our consideration, are the character of the act of consciousness and the character of the act of consciousness and the character of the act of consciousness and the quality of the consciousness and the quality of the consciousness and the quality of the consciousness. We abstract this character and give it the name of 'consciousness,' and then fall into the blunder of calling the concrete processes "states" or "modifications" of this abstraction, just as in dealing with physical things we make abstraction of their numerous properties under the name of "matter," and then talk as if the things themselves were forms of matter. In properly speaking of conditions and things and there are minds, but there are such things in the actual world as "matter" and "consciousness," and we do well to avoid using words when we mean "metaphysics," (p. 79 l.). In the text, with all the emphasis of it, Taylor says: 'But we cannot too strongly insist on the fact that by 'self-consciousness' is meant a conscious state which is its own object, there is no such thing, and it is a psychological possibility that there should be such thing as self-consciousness. No cognitive state ever has itself for its own object. Every cognitive state has for its object something other than itself' (p. 79).

Taylor makes short work of consciousness; and if we took his view, the writing of an article on consciousness might be dispensed with. But, as we are hardly able to conceive what is meant by a cognitive state which has an object which is something other than itself, we may be permitted to go on. It is scarcely consistent with the ordinary use of language, and certainly quite inconsistent with the use of psychological language, to speak of a cognitive state in active relation with an object. For whom is the state, and who is aware of it? But this question may be better discussed at a later stage. Meanwhile it may be safely said that the word 'consciousness' denotes something of our mental life, and that it is not identical with any of the other aspects which we apply to particular mental processes or states. It is not feeling, nor is it willing, nor is it thinking; but these states or processes have this at least in common that they are conscious states. The contrast does not lie between feeling and consciousness, or between willing and consciousness, or between thinking and consciousness. The contrast lies between consciousness and unconsciousness. The characteristic of every mental state, or of every mental process, seems just to consist in the fact that they are states of a conscious subject, and that they are for that subject.

While this is a number of questions of interest and importance arise as to the relations of the subject to its states, as to the distinction, if there is a distinction, between the phrases 'states of consciousness' and 'conscious states.' Consciousness is to be identified with the sum of its states? Can we neglect the reference to a subject, and proceed to a study of ethical principles? The need for this is perhaps best illustrated by the following: A. J. Thomson, The Making Character, 1900, pp. iii.; W. Wundt, Ethics (Eng. tr.), 1901, vol. iii. p. 64; S. S. Logis., Ethica (Eng. tr.) 1901, pp. 60 l., 60l.; G. H. Palmer, The Field of Ethics, 1901, Lect. vi.; Alice Gardner, The Conflict of Duties, 1903, ch. iii. xi.; E. M. MacMacken in The American Life in the Christian Church and State, 1904, ch. viii., pp. 599 l.; A. H. Lloyd in J.U. viii. (1898) 310 l.; J. D. Robertson, The Elements of Ethics, 1898, (with Bk. iv.), 429 l.; J. Royse, The Philosophy of Loyalty, 1908, ch. iv.; T. von Haering, The Ethics of the Christian Life (Eng. tr.), 1909, pl. ii. ch. vi.

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For my part, when I enter most intensively into what I call myself, I always stumble on some particular perception or other, of heat or cold, light or shade, love or hatred, pain or pleasure. I never can catch myself at any time without a perception, and never can observe anything but the perception. This is very true of me. I can never observe or enter into a state of sleep, so long as I am insensible of myself, and may truly be said not to exist. And were all my perceptions always provoked by desire, and could I neither think, nor feel, nor see, nor love, nor hate, after the dissolution of my body, I should be entirely annihilated, nor do I conceive what is further requisite to make me a perfect non-entity. If any one, upon serious and unprejudiced reflection, thinks he has a different notion of myself, I must confess I can read out certain common characteristics of it, that I may be in the right as well as I, and that we are essentially different in this particular. He may, perhaps, per-
It is a curious passage, and the more we study it the more curious it appears. There is the suggestion of a theatre, so often made since by other psychologists, and no sooner is it made than it is withdrawn. Yet it has fulfilled its aim. It has directed attention to the theatre figure, and has so far served its purpose. But a theatre suggests a stage, and players, and spectators. These suggestions, however, are somewhat inconvenient, and raise awkward questions. So we are told that "the conception of the theatre is no mislead nor unsuccess. For it is the "successive perceptions that only constitute the mind." One is compelled to ask, What is a perception, and what is a succession? Above we were told that several perceptions succeed each other, and that their appearance, pass, re-pass, slide away, and mingle in an infinite variety of postures and situations. The perceptions make their appearance—to whom? Hume had formerly spoken of "what I call myself." So it is to what he calls himself that these perceptions appear, and all the passing, re-passing, and other movements are perceived by himself. And yet the mind that perceives, that looks on at the gliding show, is nothing but the bundle or collection of different perceptions. Is the mind aware that it is a bundle? Or that it is a collection? Whence came the bundle or collection? And how does it recognize itself to be a unity? In the passage before us, Hume seems to state his point without the implication, in every sentence, of what he formally denies. He is in the presence of a unique fact—the fact of a succession of perceptions which recognizes itself as a bundle or collection. How is it so? We are careful to state it in his own language, for that language implies the unity of the conscious subject to which all the gliding appearances are referred. It would appear that we are face to face with a unique kind of thing—a thing which seems at the same time to be known and known, actor and spectator, a show and the spectator for whom the show is. For all these passing, re-passing, and gliding appearances, so felicitously described by Hume, had an existence only for himself; and, while we are content with the result of these particular experiences were for him alone. And he was something more than the bundle of perceptions, he was the self for whom the perceptions were. We do not require here to discuss the relations between body and mind, or between brain and mind, or of physiology and psychology. Nor can we dwell on the attempts to deduce the unity of consciousness from the unity of the brain (see II. 17). The relations are parallel. Between the growth of mind and the growth of an organized nervous system. Physiology has often given useful hints to psychology. There are parallels between the evolution of the organism and the evolution of consciousness. But, while that is so, the fact of consciousness remains without parallel, and its nature must only be described and not explained. It is interesting, for example, to follow Herbert Spencer through his works setting forth the Synthesis of Philosophy, fundamental Principles, through Biology and Psychology to Sociology and Ethics. It is of special interest to mark the description of the origin and growth of these, and then to notice how psychology enters in. After he has described the development of the organism, he seeks to correlate the stages of evolution with a corresponding mental growth. How about consciousness? Whence did it come? In its highest development, nor does the mind at first notice of any place where these scenes are represented, or of the materials of which it is composed" (Hume's Works, ed. Green and Grose, Lond. 1896, i. 531 f.). Or again, a little further on: "What we call mind is nothing but a heap or bundle of different perceptions united together by certain relations, and supposed, though falsely, to be endowed with a certain simplicity and identity. It is a curious passage, and the more we study it the more curious it appears. There is the suggestion of a theatre, so often made since by other psychologists, and no sooner is it made than it is withdrawn. Yet it has fulfilled its aim. It has directed attention to the theatre figure, and has so far served its purpose. But a theatre suggests a stage, and players, and spectators. These suggestions, however, are somewhat inconvenient, and raise awkward questions. So we are told that "the conception of the theatre is no mislead nor unsuccess. For it is the "successive perceptions that only constitute the mind." One is compelled to ask, What is a perception, and what is a succession? 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automatically proceeded until the stimuli have learned how to pass through a centre, and to pass in orderly procession all down the whole, consciousness is greatly needed in the system of Spencer. For 'all mental action whatever,' we are told a little further on, 'is definable as the continuous differentiation and integration of states of consciousness' (op. cit. ii. 201). The states of consciousness determined by the states of the organism? Are they part of the integration and differentiation of matter and motion? Or is there only a parallelism between the two? Is psychophysical paralleled the interaction of the whole and the parts of the organism? The consciousness simply an epiphenomenon, a mere accompaniment, or, in the metaphor of Huxley, is it simply the ticking of the clock which is mistaken for consciousness?

Leaving on one side the questions of the origin of consciousness as unanswerable, and the further questions of the relations of mind and body as too large for our proper theme, let us ask, What is really presupposed by consciousness, that subject where consciousness is manifested by consciousness? As we reflect on what happens when we attend to the processes of our inner life, we note three main characteristics: (1) There is the fact of change; without change, or without the entrance of the new fact into consciousness, there is no consciousness. Continued sameness would mean unconsciousness. (2) There is the preservation or reproduction of previously given elements, with some connexion between elements of the earlier and those of the present. (3) There is the inward unity of recognition. In the stream of the inner life there are always present those three factors. Thus synthesis is the fundamental fact of all consciousness. But the synthetic activity of consciousness has always a certain end in view. This will become abundantly clear as we look at the mental attitude towards an object. This attitude is three-fold, corresponding to the three aspects of mental activity. Consciousness is always a relation with some object. It is not needful to define the object for our present purpose. But, be it what it may, (1) it is an object of knowledge; we seem to know it, or to know something about it. (2) It brings to us some pleasure or pain; it affects us in some way. (3) We tend to alter it, transform it, take possession of it, and master it. We desire to have a clearer view of its character, or to make it serve our purpose. An object is thus related to us in the threefold way, but he who explores and describes these aspects of conscious activity—knowing, feeling, and striving, which are three aspects of the same mental state, not to be separated from each other, not to be thought of as successive in time, but elements of one concrete experience. From any of these points of view we arrive at the conclusion of the unity of the subject, which recognizes all these attitudes as its own. Cognition, recognition, or any other name descriptive of the cognitive attitude, presupposes the unity of consciousness. The feeling of pleasure in activity, or of pain in the interruption of the activity, presupposes a central point in relation with which the changing elements of consciousness are brought. Similarly, it may be shown that all evocative consciousness presupposes the unity of the subject, for it is the attempt to bring the object into harmonious relations with the other objects formerly or presently held together in our experience.

Thus from many points of view, as we look at the living, moving, thinking, willing, concrete being, we are presented with the fact of a unitary consciousness, of a real self, capable of a real experience. Yet, it has been impossible for systems to be constructed, theories of knowledge to be promul- gated, psychological theories to be set forth, and views to be argued, from which personalism has been excluded, and all reference to self and the unit of the self avoided. It is worth while to see how this has been possible. The possibility of it has not been without advantage in the interests of science. What does science desire to accomplish? A man of science does not know anything; does not desire to know anything. He desires, in the cause of science, its causal relation to one another. He seeks to look at things as parts of Nature, strives to construct and to model them until he has arranged them in their sequence as causes and effects. He strives to find the linkages, and to link all things together in a scheme which seems to include the whole, he is satisfied with his work. But, in order to fulfil this purpose, he has to make himself a martyr to science. He is no longer a man with his will and his purpose, a living, breathing man with a life of his own; he has become what we may call an abstract spectator, a consciousness which simply becomes aware of the goings and comings and the linkages of the energies of the universe. Such a personality is the subject where consciousness is manifested by consciousness. The standpoint of the spectator involves certain abstractions. He has put aside all interests, all living attitudes, and all the varied manifoldness of his concrete life, and he has converted himself into a means of attaining the whole aim is to understand the ways in which things are linked together. It is so far an artificial attitude, but in this abstraction from all that relates to personal will and purpose lies the enormous strength of the scientific attitude. It enables the unlooker to regard the processes of the world as the outcome of laws, to bring them into relations, to master them, and harness them to the fulfilment of his purposes. In fact, the scientific spectator who desires simply to know and describe the system of the world, abstracts altogether from his own life-interests, even from his own individuality, becomes merely a spectator of processes which are not for this individual or for that, but the same for every one. Further to this he does abstract from all personal interests and from all individual proclivities, he finally comes to abstract from the activity of the knowing subject itself, and to look at the world as a system complete in itself, and that it is the subject who is the knowing knower, who has detached himself from every personal characteristic, attitude, and interest, who merely watches the processes of Nature and registers them, is a useful creature for many purposes, but he cannot be taken as an adequate and adequate representative of what consciousness, or self-consciousness in the fullness of its concrete being, means.

Science has proceeded after the fashion described, if it is to do its work. But we ought to remind ourselves of the limitations prescribed by this attitude. In particular, we are not to put this abstract spectator, who has reduced himself to the stature of a mere spectator, in the place of the living man. The synthetic unity of consciousness, the feeling, may be all that is required for the purposes of describing the world, but this abstract attitude of the subject is not sufficient when we seek to speak of consciousness, or self-consciousness as it is in living experience. In the science of psychology we have also to assume this abstract attitude. Before the psychologist are the perceptions and thoughts, the feelings and emotions, the judgments and volitions, which he is to study and describe. He is well aware that the only key to the understanding of them lies within himself. No one save himself is aware of these conscious states, so far as they are his own. They are for him part of his own individual experience, and no one else has these particular experiences. But he has to take them as typical, and the subject
which has the experience becomes an abstract detached subject, a spectator who stands outside of the skull of everybody, and is supposed to have the manifold life of every conscious subject open to his gaze. It is necessary to make the abstracts; to make them indispensable for the solution of particular problems, and helps us to attain to that mastery of the world which is essential for the fulfillment of the tasks of life. It is not needful to quarrel with the abstract attitude of every science, or to accuse it of wilful neglect of many elements in conscious life; our quarrel arises only when these special scientific aspects are set forth as complete and exhaustive accounts of the world. To neglect the subject and all its individual experiences, hopes, fears, and wishes, is quite right on the part of the physicist, the chemist, and the naturalist; and so to exclude the individual, and that begotten by psychology, is quite legitimate when the psychologist is seeking to understand the process of consciousness in general. But if the aim is to understand the fullness, the manifoldness, the congeries of all that begotten by psychology, it is inadequate. The psychologist looks at the inner life as mere contents of consciousness. This consciousness only becomes aware of what is going on, and from this point of view it is nothing more than a data, a fact, or, rather, they are of value simply because they have a place in the stream of consciousness. But this view of consciousness is of value only to the psychologist, whose business it is to describe and explain the contents of consciousness, and to organize them into a system. When we look away from the peculiar business of psychology, and speak of men in their habit as they live, we are aware of a great deal of what psychology makes no notice of. There is the life which the poet sees, expresses, and interprets; there is the life of which the historian writes, which he seeks to interpret and to understand; there is the world of political, social, moral, and religious intention, the fullness of all of us are in the world—each a separate personality, characterized for solves and others as personalities, with the power of looking before and after, of foreseeing ends, and adopting means to realize them, of forming ideals, and of living a historical life. Again, in every act of ours, in every feeling, every volition, and every thought, we are conscious of a self which expresses itself in aims and meanings. We see ourselves girt about with duties, laden with responsibilities, and we feel that we have a meaning in ourselves, and a place in the world.

We are not called on to explain here the different meanings which the self has for the psychologist, and for all others, such as the poet, the historian, the jurist, the artist. In the world of all these we are in a field of personal will and personal interest; in the company of the psychologist we are merely in the presence of a consciousness which is reduced to the aspect of being only aware of its contents, and has no special interest in, or preference for, any of these contents. Such a potentiality we may leave on one side as we proceed to deal with consciousness. What is it? Well, it is not to be identified with the sum of all its states, or with the sum of all its real or contingent presentations. It is not the stream of changes which goes on within it, or merely the awareness of the contents of that stream. It is not knowing, or willing, or feeling, for outside of it there is no feeling, no willing, no knowing. Consciousness is the condition of all mental life; without consciousness there is no mental life. A psychical fact is simply a fact in consciousness, and it is nothing else. Unconscious knowing is impossible to which there is no meaning. Just as little can we interpret a willing of which we have no consciousness.

Consciousness, therefore, is indefinable. Like all ultimates, we must simply accept it as the condition of the explanation of all else, itself remaining unexplained. It may not be identified with the sum of its states, any more than we can identify a real whole with the sum of its parts. For, after we have summed up the parts, there remains an unaccounted for whole. Consciousness is no more the machine is not the sum of its parts, and an organism is something more than the sum of its structures and functions. This statement, true of every whole, is uniquely true of the whole of consciousness. It is not a faculty in addition to other faculties, as memory is different, say, from imagination; it is implied in all the faculties of the mind. It is an essential property of every process that goes on within the mind. The simplest view is that which regards consciousness as the real mind, the imme- diate experience goes on. We are baffled by the very simplicity of the immediate operation of consciousness. We are baffled also by the fact that out of this simplicity are evolved all the results of the activity of consciousness, the real world and to selves. Sciences, poems, histories, all the outcome of human endeavor, are due to the activity of consciousness. But what we are conscious of at any given moment is simply the mental state of the time, or, rather, the presentations with which they work. What we insist on here is that consciousness cannot be deduced from anything else.

Certainly we cannot be deduced from the play of unconscious forces, or from the elaboration of correspondences between the growth of consciousness and the evolution of a nervous system. It may be well to dwell for a little on the attempts made to deduce consciousness from the play of unconscious forces. 'Latent mental modifications,' 'unconscious cerebrations,' are among the phases used in this connexion. W. James, in discussing the 'mind-stuff' theory, thus deals with the distinction between the conscious and the conscious being of the mental state:

'1 is the sovereign means for believing what one likes in psychology, and of turning what might become a science into a fumbling game for whims. It has no content, and elaborate reasons to give for itself. We must therefore accord it due consideration' (Principles of Psychology, i. 163).

In answer to the question, Do unconscious mental states exist?, James enumerates no fewer than ten proofs,—an almost exhaustive list,—submits them to a drastic criticism, and returns the verdict, 'Not proven. Of one proof he says:

'None of the facts, then, appealed to so confidently in proof of the existence of ideas in an unconscious state, prove anything of the sort. They prove either that conscious ideas were present which the next instant were forgotten; or they prove that certain results, similar to results of reasoning, may be brought out through the intuition of all these which no mental seems attached' (90. 170). The tenth proof may be quoted more fully: 'There is a great class of experiences in our mental life which may be described as discoveries that a subjective condition which we have been having is really something different from what we had supposed. We suddenly find ourselves bored by a thing which we thought we were enjoying well enough; or in love with a person whom we imagined we only liked. Or else we deliberately analyze our motives and find that they contain jealousies andcupidity which we little suspected to be there. Our feelings towards people are perfect wells of motivation, undulations of itself, which introspection brings to light. And our sensations likewise: we constantly discover new elements in our sensations, new presentations containing our sensations. The elements must exist, for we are to them discriminable by; but they must exist in an unconscious state, since we 93

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completely fail to single them out. The books of the analytic
students guide us to this kind. We know the countless
associations that mingle with each and
every thought. Who can pick apart all the nameless
feelings that stream in from the nervous system—muscles,
heart, glands, lungs, etc., and compose them in their
fullness in the shape of memories, thoughts, and feelings,
which are extra-marginal and outside of the primary conscious-
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self, and the pure ego. In the course of the discourse he says that the substantivalist view of the soul is at all events needless for expressing the actual subjective phenomena of consciousness. We have forgotten them all without its aid, by the supposition of a stream of thoughts, each substantially different from the rest, but cognitively the same. And indeed, his thought is really self-evident. At least, if I have not already succeeded in making this plausible to you, then all the more must you understand by this that everything that our soul can know about the unconscious, and with no appeal to reference to any more simple or substantial agent than the present Thought or 'section' of the stream (p. 131).

It is true that this passage relates only to the active subjective phenomena of consciousness as they come to be through the wheel and pencil of our consciousness, and not to the unconscious, and the primitive unconscious, and the power of explanation, as, from the very nature of the case, it is impossible to bring these into clear consciousness, or into consciousness at all. Instead of saying, with Saussure, that the function of the unconscious is to throw light on the conscious, it would be more consistent with the facts to say that the unconscious and the sub-conscious are storehouses of products manufactured by consciousness, and kept in reserve until they are needed. Habits have been described as being literally mental, as the outcome of repeated conscious processes, so often repeated that they have become automatic. Similarly it may be possible to deal with all the evidence of sub-conscious and unconscious activity of the self so as to show that all or most of these activities had conscious beginnings, and, in any case, that they are not unrelated to conscious activity either in the past or in the present.

At all events, it is not from these unconscious or sub-conscious processes that the whole of our subconscious, or unconscious, or unconscious activity is derived, out of which are built up those conclusions which make up the science, the poetry, the history, and the philosophy of the world. For the principles which underlie these achievements of the human intellect are not mind and reason, but the self, and the self-consciousness, and the certainty which they attain to are derived from the conscious and not from the unconscious activity of the mind. The basis of certainty lies in consciousness itself, its affirmations, its intuitions, are the foundations of our experience.

The necessity of thought which is manifested in the certainty of particular acts of judgment owes its distinctive character to the last instance to the unity of self-consciousness. Every particular judgment may be repeated, with the consciousness of the identity of subject and predicate as well as of the act of judgment; starting from the same data, it is always the same synthesis which takes place, and our self-consciousness cannot exist apart from this invariability. Thus our judging, ego, with its own activity, is opposed to particular acts of judgment as a universal, as the same and the permanent which binds together the whole of experience.

With the confidence of the movement in each particular case is connected the self-consciousness of unvarying repetition, of return to the same point. In this confidence there is presented a general law in contrast with the particular act, we are conscious of our judgment as if it were withdrawn from us, the other person, or the world, and we have a subjective choice and are free to bring about alterations; we are conscious of it in the same way as when it maintains itself in some particular act against contradiction. Because this identity and constancy of our action is the condition of our consciousness as one and indivisible, it is also the final and fundamental basis upon which we can fall back (Sigwart, Logia, Eng., tr. 1.87).

It is one of the merits of Sigwart's great treatise on Logic that it brings all the logical judgments into close relation to the unity and identity of self-consciousness. We know no work in which this has been done so thoroughly and so convincingly. Take another passage, dealing with certainty:

'The certainty that a judgment is permanent, that the synthesis is self-evident, that I shall always know this certainty can be forthcoming only when it is seen to depend, not upon memory, psychological explanations, nor upon any hypothesis, but upon the identity of mind as it laughs time goes on, but upon something which is immutable the same every time I think, and is unaffected by any change. This something is, of course, the one hand, the self, and of the other, the sub-conscious, that which is conscious of itself. The unconscious must remain a negative conception. It is simply metaphor, and had metaphor at that, to speak of 'inversions,' of 'rushes' and 'uprushes,' from the lower world, and it vain to seek for explanations of the on-
same way, the certainty of my consciousness that I think this or that is immediate and self-evident; it is inextricably interwoven with my self-consciousness; the one involves the other" (p. 210).

The form under which consciousness exists is that of the distinction of subject and object. As factors in the same act, subject and object may be distinguished. Thus it is possible to be conscious of an object, and the subject which is conscious of the object. The object is for the subject, and is either a state of the subject, or an activity of it, or a quality of external things. If we make the mind completely self-conscious, it is clearly made, there is a clear consciousness; when vaguely made, there is a vague consciousness; when not made at all, there is no consciousness. Each of these forms of consciousness is a kind of consciousness, and we are conscious of that something only as we distinguish it from self, and place it over against self as its object. We are not to enter into the age-long controversy as to whether there exists a purely sensitive consciousness which is neither subject nor object, but consists only of particular feelings. It has been widely contended that a purely sensitive consciousness is possible, and that the reference to subject and object, which all experience exhibits as the characteristic of consciousness, arises out of associated experiences. These are classified as vivid and faint, the vivid coming from the object, and the faint from the subject. Out of these particular feelings association builds up all the rest, a unitary consciousness. But if Hume does not allow any validity to this conception; it is only a fiction of the mind. Herbert Spencer, while he strives to account for the distinction of subject and object by the associationist theory, yet admits, or rather lays stress on, the distinction between subject and object, as a cardinal principle of his synthetic philosophy. But the mere addition of units of conscious feeling could never reach a unitary consciousness. For these units of feeling are each different from all the rest, and, as they begin in time, they perish as soon as they appear, unless they are held together by reference to the self who is the object. States of consciousness can never be without a consciousness of states. If there is to be a consciousness of states, there must be a subject which discriminates itself from the states, can hold them together for discrimination or analysis, and can distinguish all of them as states of itself.

Consciousness may range from the simplest awareness to the closest discrimination. It may be vague and narrow, or it may be clear and comprehensive. At lowest range it may be dim and indefinite, as when we are dropping off to sleep, or when our attention is directed to something else. In fact, many impressions may be made on our senses which rise only to the threshold of consciousness, and perhaps may not rise even to the threshold.

In these cases, consciousness approaches a vanishing point, and often reaches and passes it. The object exists for us only as a vague objectivity without definite significance. They emerge from this state only by a voluntary or involuntary direction of our attention towards them. If, now, we choose to call this state unconscious, and reserve the name of consciousness only for clear or distinct consciousness, we should say that very many mental states exist below consciousness. This has often been done, and the theory maintained that we may have manifold sensations and feelings without being conscious of them. But this is the same as holding vague and imperfect consciousness with none, the truth being that we may have vague and unsubstantial sensations without directing our attention to them; the lower limit of consciousness does not admit of being definitely fixed" (Bowring, "Introduction to Psychological Theory," p. 298).

The truth is, that we are unable to express consciousness save in the form "I am thinking this or that, I am feeling pain, I am doing this act, or I am intending to take such a course of action." It is quite true, as Hume says, that we always find ourselves in some particular state, but in every state, whatsoever it may be, we find ourselves. It is not possible to interview a blank self, or to abstract the ego, so as to have an idea of it as we have of external objects, or of events of a particular kind in consciousness. There cannot be an object completely an object, for, even if that were possible, there is always that subjective activity of the subject which goes on while we seek to make the ego completely subjective. Like this is so, yet the further step which is so often taken, namely, to abstract altogether from the subject, and to make conscious activity only a stream of thought, or a more aggregate, seems altogether illegitimate. Can we have a true form of the single permanent subject of our psychic activities? Even a stream has its identity, and anything which we can call a unity is something more, as already observed, than the sum of its parts. But can we really think of a feeling in abstraction from something that feels, or of a willing without a subject that wills, or of a thought without a thinker? Can we really think of our psychic life in an impersonal way? It is possible to describe, as in fact we do, the psychic life in an impersonal way and in an impersonal way to say "it rains," "it thunders," "it hails," "it storms," "it is dark," or "it is a stormy night." Try this in describing the psychic life, and immediately we feel how incongruous it is. "It thinks," "it feels," "it speaks," "it is full of joy"—we can write so, as we can write nonsense, but the incongruity is too obvious, when plainly put, to allow us for one moment to regard it as an adequate account of the facts.

Even when a stream is subdivided, the phenomena of consciousness to a stream of thought, he is constrained in unguarded moments to speak of our will, our psychic states, thus adding to the stream that factor without which it could not have been even a stream. In the mere statement of the case, this statement which seems at first to eliminate the necessity of a subject—one is forced to imply the subject in every statement. One is compelled to imply a subject. For ideas, feeling, or will are not there in a vacuum; they are, after all, only modes of consciousness. We may neglect a pain which nobody feels, a pleasure which is pleasant to nobody, or a will and a purpose which is the activity of no will. Is it possible to imagine or conceive a perception of these mental experiences where there is no perceiver, a perception which is only the bare object perceived, a mere subjectless feeling? How are we to account for the connexion of all the events of consciousness? Is it possible to make the recognition of the events of consciousness present to all its states, and as able somehow to hold them together, and to group them according to their real likenesses? Can any one think of himself as the sum of the events of his experience, or think of the events of his experience using the events which he thinks them so? Hume boldly calls this a fiction, and Stuart Mill calls it a "final inexplicability," and neglects it as a source of explanation. Is it not the easiest solution simply to acknowledge
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that the ideas of persistence and duration find their simplest explanation from the supposition that we are, and know ourselves to be, identical in time.

While we have thus to postulate continuity of the conscious subject—for on any other supposition we are not able to account for the ideas of change, continuity, or persistence—we are met by many questions which remain for discussion and for settlement. It is almost a matter of course to say that psychical events as such exist only in so far as there is a subject of consciousness; the only distinctive character lies in the fact that they are conscious. A seeing, of which we know nothing, a pain of which we are not aware, an act of volition which takes place without our being able to notice it, is not possible, for the seeing, etc., is only by means of consciousness. While this is true, it is also true that there are different degrees and modes of becoming conscious. When a consciousness has attained to some fullness of self-possession, and is in experience of the results of experience, there is for such a consciousness a fund of experience organized into masses, and any new experience can take up a new feeling or idea into such an ideal mass already formed. The process is so fully described in many psychological books that we need not dwell on it here. Thus, we refer any new experience of colour to the class of colours we already know, and, being in possession of these names, we make the new experience of colour accordingly. But there was no such discrimination of the particular elements which co-exist at every moment, and some note taken of fire not possible, for the seeing, etc., is only by means of consciousness at all.

At this earliest stage of conscious life, the subject is in possession of the wealth of organized experience, the subject is, as it were, lost in the object.

Our immediate consciousness of objects seems at first to be a direct perception of them to the passive subject, to a self that is not in any way occupied with itself, but only with or even conscious of itself at all. The outwardly directed gaze seems simply to adjoin the object of consciousness and to be aware of itself as reacting upon it. But, in the first place, we have learned to recognize that, whether we are conscious of it or not, there is always a perceptual and aesthetic activity of thought, even in our simplest perceptive consciousness; for, without this reaction, no idea of any object as distinct from, and related to, other objects could ever arise to trouble the self-involved sleep of sense. Apart from such reaction, we might say that the sensitive subject would remain for ever confined to itself, were it not that in that case there would properly be no self to be confined to; for where there is no outward, there is, of course, no inward life. It is thus the mental activity of the subject that creates for him a world of objects, or, to put it more simply, that enables him to become conscious of the world of objects in which he exists. . . . In the second place, not only is the subject active in perception, but he necessarily and inevitably has an inchoate consciousness of himself as a subject, in distinction from the subjects which act upon him as objects. To apprehend an effect, as such, is to distinguish it from, and related to, the self that is conscious of it. It is to refer an idea or feeling to that which is other than the self, to reject it from the self and to objectify it; and such a rejection or repulsion necessarily involves, on the other side, a withdrawal of the self from the object. The simplest outward-looking reaction which seems to lose itself in the object to which it is directed, yet recognizes that it is distinct from and independent of the object; and, indeed, all its absorption in the object may be said to be its effort to heal the breach, of which, in the very act of perception, it has become conscious. Again, whenever we come to look that, even in its utmost apparent possibility of perception, the mind is active; and, indeed, the absorption in the existing world, it is conscious of itself in distinction from it. It is true that the subjective aspect of the consciousness of objects are at first latent, or they are not directly presented in an inchoate form. Attention is not specially directed to them, and in any description which the individual would give of his own consciousness, they would generally be always left out. But we see a little, and instinctively for a little, the inchoate thought of it cannot be wanting to one who is conscious of objects as such.” (Edward Caird, The Evolution of Philosophy. Pp. 54–55)

As we know consciousness in ourselves, it has a beginning, a growth, and a history. Thrust into the midst of conditions not realized, slowly learning to find itself, to take the world, and gradually coming to the knowledge that there is an external order to which it is related, the self-conscious being, in intercourse with things, comes, so far, to the knowledge of the world and of itself. The story need not be told here, but there is a story, for the finite personality does come to the knowledge of itself. It learns to distinguish between itself and the world. But consciousness becomes clear and definite when it recognizes that there are distinctions of self and not-self, and as knowledge progresses, consciousness finds itself in an ordered world, and, just in proportion to its recognition of the objects of sense, it is the recognition of itself as the counterpart of the order of the universe. Its own rational principles are realized there, and it becomes more rational as it recognizes the objective value of its own rational principles in the growth of the world. But we may not regard the distinction of self and not-self as if it were identical with the distinction of subject and object. The first may be called an ontological distinction, for it relates to the distinction between the universe that endures and the universe that is, the whole sphere of being, whereas the distinction between subject and object describes a mental function. The contents of the two are constantly changing. At one moment the object may be this table, with its shape, colour, material; and the next moment it may be the mental process which passed through the mind when the table was the object. The object may be things in the outward world, or it may be the state of consciousness, in means of which we deal with the outer world. It may be the thing I see, or it may be the vision through which I see it. The distinction between subject and object is the form under which consciousness relates to the world. The subject and object are a relation within one experience, and they are essential to the reality of that experience.

It may be observed that the conception of self, like all other conceptions, is one of gradual growth, and the time of its full realization is, for us, not yet. We are not to look for the self as if it were laid on a shelf, a thing among other things. It is the subject of all experience, and usually it is the last conception which is reached by the conscious subject itself. This late recognition of the conception of itself may be paralleled by the late emergence, in the history of thought, of the problem of thought itself. Nothing is nearer to us than thought, and yet the problem of thought is one of the very last to be grappled with. Psychology deals with objects rather than with itself, and reflection is hard. Thought hides behind itself; it is so occupied with its processes and problems that it does not reflect on them, and, having reached conclusions unreflecting, often takes these as original data given from without. Knowledge is taken for granted, and the knowing process was for a long time utterly neglected. Nor had knowledge any suspicion of the complexity of the knowing process, nor did knowledge find it necessary to submit itself to an analysis of the process of knowing or to inquire into its own validity. It was
inevitable that in the long run the question of the possibility of knowledge should arise, but it could not arise until knowledge had been at work for a long time, and had attained to some mastery over itself and its work. So is it with the problem of the self. As shown by the preceding pages, the consciousness of the self in the consciousness of objects is at first latent; it may be delayed, but it is always implicitly there. As a matter of fact, it may always be latent and never come into clear consciousness of itself. Self-experience may be the only form in which self-consciousness may assume. The self may be so lost in the process of experience, so absorbed in its feelings, desires, and thoughts, that it may never reflect on itself, and never ask consciously what it is. It may remain on this level all through life. Absorbed in its object, living out its experience of pleasure, engaged in its own pursuits, and interested in the success of its plans, it may never seek to reflect on its own nature or on the order implied in it as simple experience. One may be active, energetic, far-sighted, wise, and yet may have never given a single hour to the thought of that self which has all these characteristics, for in the history of human thought and life in the simplest times most fundamental of all problems are the latest to emerge into the light.

The two factors—subject and object—which always represent the form which experience has, are not, at first, distinguished. Thought and experience may go on all through life without any clear consciousness of the distinction. Yet the two inseparable factors are always there. It is always possible, however, to focus our attention on the one factor or the other, and direct attention on the object or on the subject. The consciousness of self may remain at the level of mere self-experience; it may be so absorbed in the object as never to ask itself about itself. It may, indeed, neglect itself altogether, and may so seek to formulate its experience as to make the subjective factor disappear. Thus it may seek to become a philosophy, and find a sufficient explanation of experience in a something which does not require a subject of knowledge at all. But such a philosophy, though it constantly reappears, is after all inadequate to answer the questions which constantly recur and which we need not here relate. For immediately the question arises, as it did in the very first experience, what is this subject from whom all experience is possible, and, when we ask this question, the answer must be that a self which is conscious at all has implicitly within itself the possibility of a complete self-consciousness. Focusing our attention, then, on this factor of experience, we can regard it as the subject of experience which takes up all particular experiences, rules them, binds them into a system, and makes them elements in one consistent experience. In this event self-consciousness would have attained its ideal, for it would have reached the goal of self-knowledge and self-control. The conception of a perfect self-consciousness consists in the fact that is in possession of itself, and can set the bounds of its knowledge, self-reverence, self—control—in these, and not in finitude or infinitude, lies the conception of a perfect selfhood. But for finite beings, for us men, this ideal is a goal, and cannot be an actual experience. For we do not pass the limits of our own experience; we are subject to irritants from without, we have experiences which are inherently irrational, and we have feelings which are sometimes uncontrollable, and generally there is so much of our experience which is simply given that we cannot be said to be masters of ourselves. Yet the growth of a rational personality is measured by the progress of the mastery which it has over the elements of its own experience, and the power of placing every impulsive and merely emotional element under the guidance of reasonable self-consciousness.

Thus, then, we may regard the self as conscious of itself in all its lawful experiences. Knowledge is possible, because all the objects of knowledge can be brought into relation to the self. Objects out of all relation to the conscious self are for that self non-existent. Whether we look at the self-consciousness of the self, the self-knowledge, or the ethical, the aesthetic, or the religious point of view, the result is to raise our estimate of the self-conscious being to the highest. For each of these affirms that the self-conscious being is the postulate without which truth, beauty, goodness are without meaning or worth. The conscious subject is the subject for whom all objects are; it is also the subject in which goodness is realized, and ethics affirms that the self is that in which goodness is to be realized through a continual process of self-realization and self-determination. The world of beauty has no meaning without the seeing eye and the ideals which the self in intercourse with the world builds up for itself.

We do not require to follow out the results of the analysis of self-consciousness into its further issues, or to enter into the discussion regarding an absolute, all-inclusive self-consciousness, for we have sought to bring into all its consequences may find it fully unfolded in the works of Hegel and his followers, as well as in the works of Green, of the two Cairs, of Royce, and of many others. It may be shown in the most absolute, to describe the totality of things according to the analogy of one self. The Hegelian philosophy is a perfect description of the way in which an inchoate self arises, or may arise, at self-consciousness. It is the highest value from that point of view. But to make it absolute seems too great a demand. For this is a universe of many selves, and the unity of the universe cannot be construed after the fashion of the growth and evolution of one self. While, therefore, the world is indebted to the Hegelian idealists for the analysis of self-consciousness, and for the far-reaching results of that analysis, the attempt to construe the life of the universe after that analogy cannot succeed.

Ere we close, it may be well to notice the argument of Bradley, because it would make all the contendings of this article invalid. We quote his summary:

"We had found that our ideas as to the nature of things—as to substance and adjective, relation and quality, space and time, motion and activity—were in their essence indefinable. But we had heard somewhere a rumour that the self was to bring order into chaos. And we were curious first to know what this term might stand for. The present chapter has supplied us with an answer too plentiful. Self has turned out to mean so many things, to mean them so ambiguously, and to mean so wavering in its applications, that we do not feel encouraged. We found, first, that a man's self might be his total present content; his discoverable character at any cross section. Or it might be the average content we should presume ourselves likely to find, together with something else which we call individuality. From this we drifted into a search for the self as the essential point or area within the self; and we discovered that we really did not know what this was. Then we went on to perceive that, under personal identity, we entertained a confused handle of conflicting ideas. Again the self, as merely that which is for the time and place, not satisfactory; and from this we passed to the distinction and the division of self as against the non-self. Here, in both the theoretical and the practical realm, the essentials of the self had no contents that were fixed; or it had, at least, no more sufficient to make it a self" (Appearance and Reality, p. 101.)

In his own ironical way Bradley had said elsewhere:

"There remains still left a third moral, which, as I am informed, has been drawn by others, that if we are not able to rear with the vulgar, nor to shout in the battle of our great schools,
it might be worth our while to remember that we live on an ideal firmament, and that in this ideal mind, it would not enrich it, nor grow insensible; that nor far from us there lies (they say so) a world of thought, which, with all variety, is neither one nor the other, and which is the best of all. It is the last and unp一系列 philosophy itself against two undying and opposite one shades. And it would not be clear what the vulgar belief is of a philosophy, lastly, which we have all refuted, and, having so cleared our consciences, which some of us at least might take steps towards dissipating it, of the biological St. Thomas.

Perhaps Appearance and Reality is the endeavour to think what the vulgar believe. But there is left in it no shred of belief of what the vulgar believe. Of the whole work set forth with such anxiety, and with which the last notion treatises that very much may be said, that it amounts to a demonstration of the unessentialness of the attempt to interpret experience from a mere abstract point of view. Bradley finds that all the categories and relations of thought abounded in contradiction, herculean, predication, quality, identity, causality, unity, space, and time are full of contradictions. When we arrive at the question of the self and its reality, contradictions swarm more and more. We have already said that no method of using the category of contradiction is there somewhere removed in the Absolute. These contradictions are Appearance, and Reality has somehow absorbed them into itself. But it would be quite possible to show that the same method is used by Bradley to dissociate Appearance and Reality would have also with the Absolute. That is on the supposition that his logical procedure could be carried out in the Absolute. The greatest contradiction we know is the contradiction between the self and its being, logic and naturalism, and the slackness of it as applied to the Absolute. Apart from this, it is not the method of Bradley simply an illustration of a wrong conception of the categories, and of their application.

The self-consciousness of the human interest makes it most unwilling to admit anything that cannot be conceptually grasped. Accordingly it seeks to make ideas all-embracing. At the same time it is clear that this view is a tissue of abstractions. The impression of idea is a pure fiction. All actual ideas are owned by, or belong to, some one, and mean nothing in themselves. We have already seen that the various categories of thought, apart from their formal character as modes of intellectual procedure, get any real significance only in the concrete self-consciousness of the living mind. Apart from this, when considered as real, they become self-destructive or contradictory. The ideality of the type we are now considering assumes that these categories admit of being conceived in themselves, and that they are in a sense the negations of self-consciousness, and, in some way, that we might almost suppose that a personal being is compounded of being, plus unity, plus identity, plus causality, etc. Thus personal existence appears as the outcome, and the product of something more ultimate and fundamental. The logic of self-consciousness comes into its own, and abstractions which already have a meaning turn out, as we have seen, that mean the significance we find them to have in our self-consciousness. In the concrete the terms have no meaning except as it is abstracted from our own personal experience. The only unity we know anything about, apart from the formal unity of logic, is the unity of the unitary self; and the only identity we know anything about is the abstraction continuity of existence through an abstract time; it is simply the self-equality of identity throughout its experience. And the change we find is not an abstract change running off in an abstract time, but is simply the successive form under which the self-equal intelligence realizes its purpose and projects that resolving activity against the background of its self-consciousness. Similarly for being itself, in the concrete it means the passing object of perception, or else it means existence like our own existence, Personalism, pp. 253 ff. Again, "The notion of the self can easily be taken in from self-consciousness.

We are not afraid of what the use we see, is, after all, in explaining the mental life. How does the unity explain the plurality and variety of consciousness?, and the unity, how does it explain, and yet the unity is no less necessary. For the consciousness of plurality is demonstrably impossible without the fact of conscious unity; the consciousness of the manifold, enables us to understand plurality, and hence the plurality must be viewed as an aspect of the unity; but if only we had a vision to be contradicted, but, taken solely, it is the fact of consciousness, and none the less so because the unity for us subjective thought finds it impossible to of itself to construe it" (ib. p. 511).

The unity of consciousness, the identity of the self-consciousness life, the progressive realization of the self in intercourse and in interaction with the world and with its fellows, are thus among the most sure of our belief, and among the most indispensable of our postulates. Many further questions arise which cannot be discussed here, for the adequate solution of any one problem involves the solution of the other. The problem can be solved on a merely impersonal plane, and no category is of value except as a function of the concrete personal life.

Literature. The following is a list of books from the vast literature dealing with the questions: Adamson, The Development of Modern Philosophy, 1908; Bowne, Intro. to Psychological Theory, 1896; and Personality, 1898; Bradley, Appearance and Reality, 1893 (2nd ed., 1897), also Ethical Studies, 1876; Edward C.ard, The Evolution of Religion, 2 vols. 1895; Höfling, Outlines of Psychology, Eng. tr. 1902; James, The Principles of Psychology, 2 vols. 1890, also Varieties of Religious Experience, ed. 1898; vols. 1 (1888); Kulpe, Outlines of Psychology, Eng. tr. 1895, also introd. to Philosophy, Eng. tr. 1891; Lotze, Metaphysics, Eng. tr. 1884; Ladd, Philosophy of Knowledge, 1897; Münsterberg, Psychology and Life, 1895; Shadworth Hodgeson, The Metaphysics of Experience, 4 vols. 1896; Stout, Manual of Psychology, 2 vols. 1898-9; Sigwart, Logic, 2 vols., tr. 1892; Ward, The Psychology in Ebr., also Naturalism and Agnosticism, 2 vols. 1899; Taylor, Ancestral Memory, 1890; Wandt, Human and Animal Psychology, Eng. tr. 1894; W. illa, Contemporary Psychology, 1899; Royce, The Spirit of Modern Philosophy, 1899, also The Mysteries of the Individuation, 2 vols. 1900-1; see also the Histories of Philosophy, such as Ueberweg, Höfling, Erdmann. JAMES IVERACH.

CONSECRATION.—"Consecration," or 'dedication,' may be defined as the solemn setting apart of persons or things for some particular religious work or use. It is the act of separating for God. The ceremony is to be found in the performance, whenever possible, of some act which is typical, or symbolic, of that for which the setting apart or consecration is to take place. Thus the first or in process of time, is naturally accompanied by some announcement to the congregation of what is being done or intended, and by forms of prayer asking for the Divine approval and blessing; but not always free. We have already seen that the various categories of thought, apart from their formal character as modes of intellectual procedure, get any real significance only in the concrete self-consciousness of the living mind. Apart from this, when considered as real, they become self-destructive or contradictory. The ideality of the type we are now considering assumes that these categories admit of being conceived in themselves, and that they are in a sense the negations of self-consciousness, and, in some way, that we might almost suppose that a personal being is compounded of being, plus unity, plus identity, plus causality, etc. Thus personal existence appears as the outcome, and the product of something more ultimate and fundamental. The self-consciousness comes into its own, and abstractions which already have a meaning turn out, as we have seen, that mean the significance we find them to have in our self-consciousness. In the concrete the terms have no meaning except as it is abstracted from our own personal experience. The only unity we know anything about, apart from the formal unity of logic, is the unity of the unitary self; and the only identity we know anything about is the abstraction continuity of existence through an abstract time; it is simply the self-equality of identity throughout its experience. And the change we find is not an abstract change running off in an abstract time, but is simply the successive form under which the self-equal intelligence realizes its purpose and projects that resolving activity against the background of its self-consciousness. Similarly for being itself, in the concrete it means the passing object of perception, or else it means existence like our own existence, Personalism, pp. 253 ff. Again, "The notion of the self can easily be taken in from self-consciousness. We are not afraid of what the use we see, is, after all, in explaining the mental life. How does the unity explain the plurality and variety of consciousness?, and the unity, how does it explain, and yet the unity is no less necessary. For the consciousness of plurality is demonstrably impossible without the fact of conscious unity; the consciousness of the manifold, enables us to understand plurality, and hence the plurality must be viewed as an aspect of the unity; but if only we had a vision to be contradicted, but, taken solely, it is the fact of consciousness, and none the less so because the unity for us subjective thought finds it impossible to of itself to construe it" (ib. p. 511).

The unity of consciousness, the identity of the
the doorkeeper of the church receives the keys of the church doors, the sub-deacon receives the chalice and paten (the vessel of holy), the virgin is veiled to signify her marriage with Christ (or His Church), the lector himself actually receives a copy of those Gospels which he is henceforth privileged to read, and so on. The Greek writer of the first centuries of building (τεμενών; cf. καθολικόν and καθάριον) himself suggests that the idea here emphasized lies at the root of the ceremonies employed.

It is hardly necessary to say that the Christians followed in this practice of thus consecrating, or dedicating, persons or things to religious purposes. Apart from the well-known custom of the Jews (e.g. in dedicating houses, Dt 20, Ps 30 [title] or city-walls, Neh 127; or the Temple, 2 Ch. 5, 6; Jos. Ant. xli. 7, xlv. 16), both the Greeks and the Romans (and other nations as well) observed such ceremonies for their priests and sacred buildings. But for Christians, during a considerable period after the foundation of their faith, anything but the simplest and least imposing ceremonies in connexion with consecration would have been both out of place and practically impossible. This article does not deal (except incidentally) with the consecration of the clergy (see Ordination). We proceed, therefore, to consider the cases (chiefly those of buildings) to which the word 'consecration' is more usually applied in the present day.

As Duchesne (loc. cit.) has pointed out, the church of St. Paulinus at Tyre is a representative of one out of two types of church in the first ages, viz. what we should now call the parochial church of a town or district. Of this type there would sometimes be more carefully restricted to religious purposes, as consecration decreased and the affairs of the Church became more settled. But we can easily imagine that, almost from the first, forms and ceremonies grew up in connexion with the dedication of these buildings. As J. Wordsworth has reminded us, the two primary conditions were probably 'a transference of previous ownership on the part of the Founder, and an acceptance of the trust by the Bishop of the place.'

We have to dismiss as evidence the quotation from Philo Judæus, de Vita Contemplat., given by Eusebius (HE ii. 17. 9) and adopted by Bony (de Rob. Liturg., Rome, 1671, t. xii.) as ἐκ πρεσβυτερίων ἡ ἁγιασματίζων [of the Theopetæae in Egypt] ἐστιν οἰκία λεγον 'δ καλεῖται σημαίνα καὶ μονοστρόφων κτ. τ.λ. because Eusebius's statement is not only unattested, but was not even written in Christian times. The only certain parts of the Christian Society in its new home could hardly be otherwise than magnified than in the Old Testament in which the builders, gathered under the presidency of their chief priest, came together to meet their Lord in his new house, to plead his sacrifices, and to feast upon him.

We have to dismiss as evidence the quotation from Philo Judæus, de Vita Contemplat., given by Eusebius (HE ii. 17. 9) and adopted by Bony (de Rob. Liturg., Rome, 1671, t. xii.) as ἐκ πρεσβυτερίων ἡ ἁγιασματίζων [of the Theopetæae in Egypt] ἐστιν οἰκία λεγον 'δ καλεῖται σημαίνα καὶ μονοστρόφων κτ. τ.λ. because Eusebius's statement is not only unattested, but was not even written in Christian times. The only certain parts of the Christian Society in its new home could hardly be otherwise than magnified than in the Old Testament in which the builders, gathered under the presidency of their chief priest, came together to meet their Lord in his new house, to plead his sacrifices, and to feast upon him.

1 ἁγιασματίζω is another noun, and ἁγιασμὰ another verb.
3 Cf. the two corresponding regulations from the letter of Pope Vigilius, quoted above: 'ōmes basileus missa dedit senum... and milites presbyter missae celebret præcinctum... in sacris ab episcopo locis.' These, though not so early as they claim to be, probably embody ancient tradition (Wordsworth, loc. cit., p. 484), and even the very Roman usage, speaks of dedications without missa publica or publica præcinctum, but these are (according to Duchesne, op. cit. p. 484) 'casus monumentorum, or the dedication of the public church, so that the inaugural missa would be of a quasi-private nature.

4 Wordsworth, loc. cit.

57, no. 100, 'Kal. Aug. Romae dedicatio primae ecclesiae a beato Petro constructa et consecrata,' is unhistorical; 1, and so, no doubt, is the attribution to Enochius (NICHEP. ii. 3), who was the first bishop of Antioch, that James was consecrated first bishop of Jerusalem, and that the seven deacons were ordained in that house in which Christ instituted the Lord's Supper and where the Holy Ghost descended on the Apostles.

It is not till the cessation of the persecution of Diocletian that we are on safe ground with regard to any accurately recorded sacred ceremonies. Eusebius (HE 2) speaks of the restoration of peace at that time being marked by the founding of new churches, and, among other signs, mentions ἑγκαινίων ὑπομνημάτων κατὰ πόλεις καὶ τοις ἅγιοι ναοῖς προσκυνήσαντες ἐφημερίες, a notable instance being the dedication of the Church at Tyre (in the name of Paulinus), which took place A.D. 314, and at which the historian himself preached the inaugural sermon. There was a large concourse of bishops, clergy, and people on this occasion, and the Holy Mysteries were apparently celebrated, but no other distinctly initiatory ceremony is mentioned. This occasion is historically important, because it seems to be the first recorded instance, both (1) of a kind of special consecration of a church with what is now commonly called a 'dedication,' i.e. consecrated under the title of a patron saint, and (2) instances of both sorts become more and more frequent.

As Duchesne (loc. cit.) has pointed out, the church of St. Paulinus at Tyre is a representative of one out of two types of church in the first ages, viz. what we should now call the parochial church of a town or district. Of this type there would sometimes be more carefully restricted to religious purposes, as consecration decreased and the affairs of the Church became more settled. But we can easily imagine that, almost from the first, forms and ceremonies grew up in connexion with the dedication of these buildings. As J. Wordsworth has reminded us, the two primary conditions were probably 'a transference of previous ownership on the part of the Founder, and an acceptance of the trust by the Bishop of the place.'

1 Cf. Mart. Hier.; D'Acary, Spicileg. (Paris, 1652-67) tom. iv. The Church of St. Peter ad Vincula on the Esquiline was dedicated in the name of both St. Peter and St. Paul on Aug. 1, in the episcopate of Felix iv. (432-440). There may, however, have been some church built there before that date.
2 Quoted by him at length (loc. cit. 4). The Gal. Sacramentorum, Oxford, 1884, p. 110 f.) contains 'ornations et preces in dedicationibus basilicae; quum conditor non dededit regulas, et also [missa in ejusdem conditoris aedificiis, etc.]
3 The medieval cathedral at Aux in Provence is said to be dedicated to the Twelve Apostles, and have dedications like the Ascension, Corpus Christi, etc., or even Holy Cross, House of Prayer, etc.
4 Hence what are called the 'stations,' and the 'station days' of early Roman service-books and calendars.
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more numerous than martyrs' tombs, it also became sufficient to have some portion of a saint or some small personal relic of him (pignora, sanctuaría), perhaps only a piece of linen dipped in the blood, or a leaf from the Gospel book of consecrated bread, to represent or symbolize the 'patron' in each case; and eventually this second type of church was adopted, though very gradually, and not so universally as is sometimes imagined, in the second half of the 3rd century. The Roman Church was originally inclined to a severe simplicity in matters of ritual, and that the fuller ceremonies and forms of prayer which afterwards obtained and are still in use in the Roman Communion are largely due to the Gallican influence.1 It seems not unlikely also that these ceremonies in the Western rite which are distinctive of consecration proper are ultimately derived from the East (e.g. from the Byzantine ritual), and that only in so far as they are related to the deposition of relics in the new building is originally Roman. The student cannot fail to be struck, as Duchesne and others have pointed out, with the fact that this deposition of the relic is first given in its fullest form in the two most ancient Ordines Romani,2 parishes distinctly of a funerary character, while the 'Gallican' ceremonies all point to the idea of adapting the Christian baptism of persons to the ancient rite of the lustratio. Hence, as Duchesne has shown, this service is a combination of the two types of ceremony, but in it the deposition of the relics is to some extent outbalanced and overshadowed by the consecration rites proper.

A concise account in detail of the regulations and order of service as now provided in the Roman Pontifical is subjoined, and will be found useful, both because it exhibits most of the rites that have gradually gathered round the occasion in Western Christendom, and also because, since the Reformation, the Bishops of the Anglican Communion have, with varying degrees of exactness, drawn up their Consecration Offices.

With regard to the first point, it will be seen carefully in mind what J. Wordsworth has remarked in the valuable treatise (On the Rite of Consecration, p. 19) to which reference has already been made: 'I conjecture that (here), as usual, in process of time, diverse ceremonies were heaped together without much regard to their congruity.' Wordsworth makes this remark with special reference to the ceremony of the absen
darium (see below), but one feels its applicability to a good deal of the present overserved service. As in post-Reformation forms of consecration, the student will find a list of those 'in use in the 17th century' on p. 27 of the same treatise, and the present Sarum Form on p. 50 ff. (with the masses). This is much the most satisfactory adaptation of ancient forms and uses, Eastern as well as Western, that the present writer has been able to come across with. The S.P.C.K. also publishes the forms authorized for the dioceses of London, Truro, Worcester, Wakefield, and Winchester; and their first three series are on the lines, whilst the last two are based on Bp. Andrews' Form (1639). It may be added that no form would seem to be really adequate which does not provide that the consecration shall conclude the consecration with a solemn Eucharist, either at the time indicated or at a later service. We have, in the Sarum service, a reasonably early hour the next morning.3 This provision is made in the Form of the modern Irish Church, and in that of the Church of the United States of America.

The similar description of the modern Eastern rite, with which this article concludes, will be likewise interesting both in itself and as illustrating much that has been said during the course of our discussion.

i. MODERN ROMAN USE.—1. Preparatory regulations.—(1) Consecration may take place any day, but by preference on Sunday or a Saint's day. (2) The archconsecrator is to give notice of the day fixed beforehand. (3) The consecrator, the clergy, and the people should fast before the service. (4) On the evening before, the consecrating bishop prepares the relics which are to be deposited in the church, placing them under a glass casket, with three grains of frankincense and a written record of the consecration, and laying the

1 See on this point a valuable paper by W. Legg, in no. 330, of Ch. Hist. Soc.'s Tracts, p. 53 ff., and another by J. Wordsworth in no. 22 of the same series, p. 19 ff. (already quoted).
2 Cf. also P. Legay's article on the Ambrosian Rite in Dalz. pp. 1437–9. 'I would venture to suggest that the reason of the absence of the rite from this [English] form of consecration was that the early English and Irish Churches only dedicated their churches to living saints. In this case no relics could be had, and therefore the rite was of necessity omitted' (T. Gaden on the Church, 1905, vol. iv. pt. ii., R. P. and E. B.'s Ecc. Soc. P. 99).
3 According to R. Balden, Brown, From Schola to Cathedral, App. 1 p. 217 ff.
5 Opiniones, and in consecrationes de S. Ilii usus prior maius euripus.
6 No. This is simply a more important part of the Roman rites, seems originally to have been practised by Christians to possess houses rather than their churches (see Duchesne, op. cit. p. 407 [quoting Lib. Pontif. i. 1327]).
7 P. 15, ed. Fliche, Camb. 1896; the collect here speaks of consecrationes in consecratum et in sacrum Petri eum esse sancta sacra deceferimus, and each of the other formularies also mentions S. Peter.

2 On this point see Duchesne, op. cit. p. 239.
4 See Wordsworth's remarks (op. cit. p. 9 ff.).
The second part of the Litany is next said to the end, but with special petitions by the bishop, standing, for the church and its altar now in act of being consecrated. After this the bishop says two collects, the church having fully vested itself, and being attended by another deacon, a subdeacon, acolytes, and other ministers, goes to the place where the relics are reposing, and the seven Penitential Psalms are recited. He then proceeds to the choir stool before the church, and knells there, after an antiphon and collect ('Actiones nostras, quaesumus, Domine,' etc.), says a vespers with the choir the first portion of the Litany.

(2) The next ceremony is the exorcizing and blessing of water, which, being afterwards mixed and again blessed, are made use of in the following manner: First the bishop sprinkles himself and his assistants, whilst the choir sings the usual antiphon, 'Asperges me, Domine;' he then takes a second time to be preceded by two candlebearers, round the outside of the church, sprinkling the walls as he goes, the choir singing an appropriate responsory; each time he reaches the principal door and kneels on a casket and then performs this very ancient and dramatic ceremony:  he stands on the threshold and strikes the door with the butt end of his staff, saying, 'Attollite portas, principes, vestras,' etc. (Ps. 2 18); the deacon, from within (see above) inquires, in the words of vers. 3, 'Quis est iste rex gloriosus?' and the bishop answers, 'Domini fortis et potens,' etc.; at the third time those who stand by call out 'Aperi,' the bishop makes the sign of the cross on the threshold, the door is opened, and the procession passes in, the bishop proclaiming, 'Pax huic domni,' and the deacon from within replying, 'In introitus vestro.'

(3) Whilst the bishop goes to the centre of the building, the acolytes and deacons are employed in the use of second of which is very ancient. 'Zachaeus, festinans descende' (see above). Then, during the singing of the 'Venice Creator Spiritus,' one of the ministers sprinkles ashes in the form of a cross.

1 This is most conveniently the west door, if the structure has one.
2 All this is in accordance with very ancient use, probably Gallican (see Sacramentum of Donicon, Bishop of Metz [820-855], quoted by Duchesne, op. cit. p. 667 ff., and described by Delisle, Men. sur d'anciens sacramentaires, Paris, 1886, p. 186 ff.);
3 Gallican. These crosses are still often to be found in our English churches. 'It is said that the English use differed from the foreign in having crosses both within and without. The Irish use shows its primitive character in ordering the crosses to be cut with a knife, without wooden posts,' etc. (J. Wordsworth, op. cit. p. 16); W. Gell., op. cit. p. 84).
4 Pontifical of Egerb, 1653 (Surtees Soc.); Benedictale of Archb. Robert (H. Bradshaw Soc.); cf. G. S. Soc., 1827; Wilson, 1894). The antiphon now is: 'Adaste, Deus munis omnipotens,' etc. in the 'Benedicamus Domino'; Zaccariae, festinans descende, etc. which now comes later in the service.
5 This is the first of two sprinklings that occur; see note 1 on next col., for comments on the origin of the practice.
6 Gallican, Egh Port., Greg. (722 Mur.), etc. The Irish use shows its primitive character in cutting the crosses to be cut with a knife, without wooden posts,' etc. (J. Wordsworth, op. cit. p. 16); W. Gell., op. cit. p. 84).
7 The earliest word for 'staff' here is canamus (or canabita), 'shepherd's crook, perhaps derived from catus.'
8 The Irish use shows its primitive character in cutting the crosses to be cut with a knife, without wooden posts,' etc. (J. Wordsworth, op. cit. p. 16); W. Gell., op. cit. p. 84).
9 The order of Verona (see note 9 on p. 689) mentions the use at the end of the service, this may be a later innovation.
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benefits typified by it may accrue to the newly consecrated building. The bishop then signs the inside of the church door with two crosses, using his manto, and utters another prayer suitable to the action. Returning to his former position, he invites the congregation to pray for a blessing upon the building, 'per aspersionem huic aquae cum vino, sole et cinere mixtae.'

(6) The consecration of the altar.—The choir begins by singing Psalm 92 (Judicia me, etc.), with the antiphon (Introibo, etc.), while the bishop, standing before the altar, dips his thumb into the water in a Gergorian way and makes a cross first in the middle of the same, then on each of its four corners, saying, 'Sanctificetur hoc altare,' at each time. At the conclusion of the introit, the bishop, having said the prayer 'Singulari thud,' etc., goes seven times round the altar, sprinkling the water, with a branch of bay, whilst the antiphon ('Asperges,' etc.) and Psalm 59 ('Miserere mei,' etc.) are said. 3

(6) All the walls and pavements of the church inside are sprinkled in the manner of three times round the singing of Psalms 121, 67, and 90, with various antiphons. Two prayers (both ancient) and a preface follow, the bishop standing with his face towards the door.

(7) The bishop now goes once more to the altar, mixes some cement with holy water, which he duly blesses, and throws what remains of the water away at the base of the altar.

(8) His next duty is to go and bring the relics solemnly to their new resting-place in, or under, the altar that has been prepared for them. 4 This he does with much ceremony while the choir sings Psalm 94 (Venite, exultemus, etc.), with several antiphons. But, before entering the church with the relics, he calleth down on each of its four corners, outside and within, and delivers a set oration at the principal door, on the duty of treating churches with reverence and on the importance of endowments, after which the archdeacon reads two decrees of the Council of Trent. Then the bishop next addresses the founder of the church as to his intentions in maintaining it and the clergy attached to it, and, on being satisfied with regard to them, asks for the people's prayers on his behalf and that of the religious, the response (Exsultemus et Dominus in Deum, etc.), Gn 28:21-22 is sung. The bishop also signs the outside of the door with chrism, which he has brought down with him from the sanctuary. At last the procession enters the church, and, during the singing of the Psalms 9, 14, and 150 are sung, with various antiphons. After a collect (Deus qui in omni loco, etc.), the bishop first signs with chrism the receptacle in which the relics are to be laid, and then places the vessel containing them therein. 2 While the antiphon (Sub alteare, etc.) is sung, he crosses the relics, and fixes with the cement he has previously prepared (see above) the slab upon the confessio. Further antiphons are sung, and other collects ('Deus qui ex omni habitatione oris contemptus'), are said while this work is carefully completed.

(9) The mensa altaris (i.e. the upper slab) is then censed, anointed, and blessed with a number of antiphons, collect, and Psalms 144, 45, and 89. In this part of the ceremony oculus catachumenorum as well as sanctum chrismum is used for anointing, to typify the right of confirmation as the completion of the initiatory rite.

(10) After this the 12 consecration crosses on the inner walls of the building (see above) are each separately visited to be anointed, censed, and blessed, after the singing of Ps 147, an antiphon, and two responsories.

(11) Incense is specially blessed, and has then by the bishop's own hands to be formed into 5 crosses, placed with holy water, oil, chrism, and wax on the 5 crosses of the mensa, and lighted with antiphons and prayer (Domine sancte, etc.). The ashes are carefully removed and another prayer and preface, and Ps 67 is sung, with an antiphon. The altar is yet again anointed in silence, and, after two more prayers ('Majes-tatem tuam, etc.', and 'Supplices te deprecamur, etc.'), the bishop grasps the slab near the altar and cleanses his hands with bread, while the deacons wipe the mensa with coarse towels.

(12) The other vessels and ornaments of the church and altar are then similarly dedicated with antiphons, prayers, and collects, and, at last, when the altar has been properly vested and prepared, the Missa dedicationis is solemnly celebrated.

At the end of the service the ashes on which the alphabet was traced are removed, and the whole church is cleansed.

ii. MODERN EASTERN RITE.—For this we must take the Orthodox Greek Church as the norm. Here there is a general resemblance to the Western rite; but, since in many places a certain amount of elaboration introduced into the service during the last 200 years, partly, perhaps, in the direction of assimilation to Western usage;—yet it is, on the whole, a simpler ceremony, and there are important differences.

To begin with, there is a short and simple form

1 This is now called 'confessio, i.e. est, sepulchrum altaris.' The term confessio is found also in many early books; it is equivalent to martyrium, and means the hollow place beneath the altar which is still to be seen in some of the oldest Roman churches, and which is the origin of the later and larger crypts, marking the place of burial of the martyrs over whom the church was first raised.

2 The only direction now is that this should be done ' venerabiliter'; but in the Amb. Pontifl. and Pont. Egh., as also in the Greg. (485 Mur.), the rubric requires that a veil should be stretched in front of the altar at this point ("extenso velo inter ecc. etc."). Both the Bened. of Archib. Robl., and the Pont. Egh., characterize a prayer at this part of the service as "votivo post sanctificationem," but it is quite clear whether the word does not here mean 'vested' rather than 'veiled.'

3 What this veil was which Duchesne considers 'Gallican' is uncertain; perhaps it was only the ordinary altar curtain, which there is reason to believe used to be drawn before the altar at the consecration in the Mass (see Wickham Legg, op. cit. p. 9).


5 All these (excommunication, degrees, and address) or any of them may be omitted now.

6 Benedict, of Archib. Robl., Greg. (485 Mur.), etc.
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provided for laying a foundation-stone. This consists of first cleansing the site, the choirs going in procession with the bishop round the foundations, singing the ἀρνητικαὶ τῶν αἰμάτων of the saint in whose name the church is to be dedicated. Then, after a prayer on the site of the future altar, the bishop takes a stone, makes the sign of the cross with it, and lays it somewhat near the foundation, saying, 'God is in the midst of thee.'

In due time, when the church is built and ready for use, the dedication (ἐξώδομα) itself takes place. The following articles have to be prepared beforehand: 4 drams of pure wax, about the size of a small chestnut; 2 vessels, some paper and twine, a litre of finely powdered marble, relics of martyrs with a little silver recepiacle, holy chisels, 10 cutlets of linen cloth, wax, oil, consecrated water, and 4 vessels of coral embossed with the figures or names of the Evangelists, the καταστάσεως and as many ἀρτοίων as the bishop intends to consecrate (see below, p. 52).

Then, on the evening before the day fixed for the consecration, the bishop and clergy meet in the new church. The relics are placed upon the βαθέα (paten) in three parts on the altar itself, and the א. A short service is conducted, consisting of the Blessing, the Trisagion, the Lord’s Prayer, certain τραπέζων, and the Dismissal (ἀπελευθέρωσις).

Next, if the church is to be fully dedicated (i.e. not as a mere oratory or for temporary use), the relics are taken out into some neighbourly consecrated church, and laid upon the altar there; otherwise, this adjournment does not take place, and the vesting of the altar is performed in the new building. Vigil is kept that night in possession of the relics.

(1) There is a special ἀρτοίων (Vespers), with proper δίσημα and three proper lessons (viz. 1 K 85-84, Ezk 435-44, and Ps 98-98).

(2) Later on, again, there is a special ἀρνητικαί (Lauds), in which the Gospel is that of the saint of the dedication; the proper canon, with its nine odes, is attributed to John of Damascus. This service is concluded with the great Duxology.

Next day, on the first Sunday, the bishop and clergy assemble once more in the new church. In one vessel the wax, marble, etc., are all melted together in a fire. In the other water is heated. The μεσον is taken off its supporting pillars, and placed on the altar, in a niche sixty inches high, and as much broad, so as to hold the powdered marble when it is poured in. Thereupon the priest begins the office of the Prothesis, while the bishop proceeds to the old church, where he dons his episcopal robes, and orders the Liturgy to take place. The vesting of the altar is then performed, the bishop takes the outer covering (called εκκοράσια) and unfolds it over the μεσον while they sing Ps 93. Lastly, he takes all the new ἀρτοίων which are to be consecrated, and spreads them out, one on top of the other, on the altar; and on the top of all he puts an ἀρνητικαί which has already been consecrated; meanwhile Ps 26 is sung.

After this, the first altar, then the whole church, is censed. Next the ἀρνητικαί are anointed, where they lie, with chisels and the ἀρτοίτος, and the ceremony is completed. The altar is then opened, and the bishop washes his hands. The bishop recites a second prayer. Finally, the Liturgy proceeds to the end as usual, the Epistle now being He 314, and the Gospel John 10.

The Liturgy must be repeated for 7 successive days, on the new altar, and the new ἀρνητικαί remain there as before. After that they are all regarded as fully consecrated, and may be distributed as occasion requires.

It will thus be seen that at a consecration chief stress is laid on (a) the erection of the altar in the church, and (b) the anointing of the ἀρνητικαί, which can never be a separate service, and is

1. A linen cloth, the length of the Holy Table, forming the middle one of its three coverings.

2. The bottom cloth upon the Holy Table is so called. The natural derivation of the word would be as if it were a substitute (ἀντά) for the μεσον, and this seems to accord with the use of the article; but it is always spoken with, not alone, and seems to be a canting word (Neale, op. cit. p. 180).

3. The following words are used in this sense, which is said to imply the setting up of the bishop’s throne in it, for every church in his diocese is potentially his cathedral, and becomes so for the time when he is present (see Neale, op. cit. p. 1043, note, and Fortescue, Orth. Esth. Ch., London, 1907, p. 84, note 2).

4. This four-legged table usually stands near the ιεραποστάς for the use of the clergy (see Neale, op. cit. p. 1041).

5. For a third time they march round the walls, while the 6th ode of the canon is sung. Then the relics are laid upon the τερματισμὸς as before, the bishop prays, and the τραπέζων is sung. Then, after the closed church doors, the clergy sing Ps 2475, some from within demanding ‘Who is the King of Glory?’ and those without answering. Then the doors are thrown open, and the relics enter. The procession enters each of the 4 doors; the bishop, passing up the nave, solemnly places the relics in their receptacle, pours chisels on them, and prays. The powdered marble and the hot mixture of wax and other ingredients are then poured round the base and at the top of the altar, and the μεσον is securely replaced and fixed thereof. While the cement cools and dries, Ps 145 and 23 are sung.

Then the bishop places in the 10 cutlets of linen which have been provided, and fastens the 2 napkins over his arms, so that his vestments are entirely protected from being soiled in the ceremonies which ensue. After this he kneels down and prays, (this being an unbroken liturgy of prayer in the East) and recites a long prayer of dedication, and the deacon says the litany (εκκοράσια). Then the bishop washes the μεσον, first with the soap and warm water during the singing of Ps 84, next with the wine, while Ps 140 is sung. Then the ἀρνητικαί to wipe it off; lastly, he makes three crosses with the chisels (or oil) on the μεσον, spreading the oil from them all over the top, and also on the pillars, while Ps 153 is sung. The ceremony is complete.

The vesting of the altar next takes place. At the corners of the μεσον the 4 cloths with the Evangelists’ names or figures on them are fixed with the cement; over them the καταστάσεως, with its four tassels at the corners, is spread, during the singing of Ps 152; then, after washing his hands, the bishop takes the outer covering (called εκκοράσια) and unfolds it over the μεσον while they sing Ps 93.

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peculiar to the East. The Syrians, however, are said to use slabs of wood instead of cloths for this purpose, and in cases of necessity permit the Eucharist to be offered on a leaf of the Gospels, or even on the hands of a deacon.¹

See also ANointing, Eucharist, King, Ordination, Priest, Sacrament, Sanctuary.


C. L. Feltoe.

CONSENT.—The usual meaning of the noun 'consent' is voluntary agreement to, or acquiescence in, another's proposal. The verb is used similarly: 'to consent' is voluntarily to accede to, or acquiesce in, what another proposes or desires; to agree, comply, yield. The original meaning of the word (Lat. consentire 'to feel; think, judge, etc., together') is almost obsolete. It is rarely used to denote agreement in sentiment, opinion, or judgment, though this meaning is preserved in the phrases 'common consent,' 'universal consent,' etc. In these senses we find it in Sidgwick's Methods of Ethics² (1901), bk. i. ch. viii. § 3. We are led, he says, to endeavour to set at rest doubts as to the validity of the particular moral judgments of men by appealing to general rules, mainly established on a basis of common consent.

And in Matthew Arnold's Mixed Essays, 1879 ('Equality'), we find the sentence: 'As to the duty of pursuing equality, there is no such consent among us' (p. 49). Most of the primary, and some secondary, meanings of the word have, however, been taken by other words, so that we now speak, e.g., of assenting to statements, doctrines, and creeds, and of consenting to proposals. Examples of this use of the word are to be found as early as the 12th cent. (see OED, s. v.).

A stage logically intermediate between the primitive and modern usages is the employment of 'consent' to denote agreement in a course of action. 'When the wills of many concur,' says Hobbes, 'to one and the same action and effect the concurrence of wills is called consent' (Works, iv. xii.), and in Lk 14:² we read that 'all with one consent began to make excise.' There is no reference to the sentiment, expectation, or judgment of the persons concurring to act.

But in its modern prevalent use 'consent' denotes a type of volition which implies acquiescence in what is proposed by another, an acquiescence, not in the proposer's sentiment or judgment, but merely in his proposal. The state of mind preceding consent seems to include some reluctance to the action proposed. The reluctance may be of any degree, from mere indifference, through definite disinclination (which may be simply lack of light), to decided aversion. In the typical case of consenting, the reluctance is overcome without ceasing to exist. When reluctance ceases, the end takes on a more or less desirable character. An end desired, whatever else be the psychological origin of the idea of the end. It may have been suggested by another because he approved of it or desired its realization; but, while the end is his

only, and not attractive to us, there may be an indifference, at least, if not a more positive reluctance, to adopt it. When it touches us and creates desire or wins approval, it becomes to that extent our own end, and ceases to be what we acquiesce in.

We consent to, that is, voluntarily acquiesce in, an end which is not our own in the sense explained. Consent so defined raises difficult moral problems.

The fact that a deed is done does not do away with the fact that it is will, nor, according to John Stuart Mill (Utilitarianism, 1901, ch. ii.), does it affect the morality of the action. It may affect our judgment of the character of the person who does it, but the will of the volition depends upon the nature of the whole result which was foreseen to depend upon the volition. The apocrypha in selling poison to Romeo said, 'My poverty, not my will consents, but he pressed and ordered the execution of the poisoning proposed by Romeo. He did not wish the poisoning, yet 'the consent, though said not to be of the will, might have been enough to hang one' (T. H. Green, Prolegomena to Ethics, 1880, bk. ii. ch. ii.).

This is the case in certain cases may signify much or very little. It may mean, e.g., anything between non-interference and full co-operation.

Would we give as much credit to one who permits a good deed to be done as to another who actively helps to perform it? Would the volume equally persons who allow an evil to be done, as the consent to, or do it entirely themselves? Salome consented to the proposal of Herodias that John the Baptist should be beheaded, and demanded his head of the king. Herod, however, determined to satisfy the demand of the people to crucify Jesus Christ. Jesus consented to die. The consent of the one showed him to be a weak and unjust ruler; the consent of the other revealed Him as a Saviour of men. It is clear, therefore, that to determine the moral significance of an act of consent, the whole complex result willed must be analyzed into its elements and considered in their relation to one another, and also in relation to the concrete conditions in which the person willing finds himself. The situation is often very complicated. The acquiescence of Jesus in His own death, e.g., was an act of obedience to His Father's will, yet consenting to that will involved the committing of a crime by the Jews and Pilate. Matheson (Studies of the Portrait of Christ, 1890-1900, bk. ii. ch. iii.) thinks that the agony of Gethsemane was largely due to His aversion to allow such a crime, and to doubt what it would be in accordance with the will of God. 'Taking up the cross' for a Christian frequently means consenting to a course of action which he does not desire, and cannot see the reason for, or the reasonableness of; nevertheless he acquiesces, in the belief that he is obeying the will of God, and that the will of God is good.

Submission of the will to authority of any kind amounts, directly or indirectly, to acquiescence in what is proposed by others. Obedience is consent, so is compromise; co-operation involves it. We cannot live in social relations with others without

¹ See art. 'Antinomism,' in D.C.T. 911.

² There is a distinct difference in consequence between the consent of belief and the consent of will. The consent of belief is, in a measure, a forced consent,—it attaches to what stands in the order of ideas whether I consent or not. The consent of will is a forced consent—a consent to what shall be through me (G. Baldwin, Handbook of Psychology, 1891, 'Will and Feeling,' p. 171).
having, now and again, to do things for them which we do not ourselves desire, and in which we have no share (the master judgment.

For it is not easy to know whether the ends which our fellow-men set themselves to realize with our help are, on the whole, good. The goodness of particular ends is, within limits, relative to the individual or society for whose good they are aimed at. An end which is good for one may be bad for another. This is true irrespective of our conception of the ultimate ideal of life. Even if the ultimate good be one and the same for all, it is individualized in a different fashion, i.e., each man may claim the right to realize it in his own way. This seems a legitimate claim, and consequently the good man may feel called upon to regard consent to special ends which he does not desire, and is not in a position to approve or disapprove, as a normal duty. By recognizing the claims of his neighbours to his love and help, he admits also their right to expect him sometimes to acquiesce in their purposes and to trust their judgments. He must act, not on his own insight, but in dependence on that of others. His will must consent to theirs. The appeal of many proposals may depend not so much on their intrinsic reasonableness, as on the persons making them. Therefore the wise man is only partly a legislator, and may be called upon to rescind his consent. Reason can scarcely hope that the ends which his fellow-men seek are always good. Moreover, good men often come into apparent conflict with one another, and co-operation is limited by competition.

A more difficult problem is raised by a consideration of the fact that man’s life is lived in a world over whose course he has very little control. If the world is the result of blind forces utterly indifferent to human ends, the wise man has no ground for hoping that life will ever be satisfactory. He cannot acquiesce in such a world. His mind and heart must protest against it, however useless the protest may be. If these forces form a mechanical system, whose operations can be calculated, the wise man’s intelligence may bow to the inevitable order, and seek to understand it, but his conscience does not consent to such a scheme. The moral will would be inevitably opposed to a merely mechanical causal process. It cannot acquiesce in a world which is not based on moral principles, and which is not ultimately amenable to human ends.

And even on this assumption a completely rational life is an ideal which is scarcely realizable by human beings. This unhappy state of affairs, and that of the impossible world in which we have no share, make it necessary to raise the question whether happiness consists in the intellectual love of God (amor intellectualis Dei). For consent in marriage, see MARRIAGE.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently indicated in the article.

D. PHILLIPS.

CONSEQUENCE.—If a proposition $p$ implies a proposition $q$, but $q$ does not in turn imply $p$, then $p$ is called the antecedent and $q$ the consequent; whereas, if each implies the other, they are preferably called inferents. Logical consequence is thus the relation obtaining between a conclusion and its premises, such that if the premises are true the conclusion is true. The reverse of this relation—the relation holding between the consequent and the antecedent—is logical presupposition. That is, the consequent is logically presupposed by the antecedent; for only if it be true can the latter be true, whereas the antecedent might be false and the consequent still true.

By causal consequence, is meant the relation between an antecedent event and its effect; and the philosophically important question at once arises, Are the two types of consequence the same? For a century it has been believed that Hume and Kant proved successfully that the relation between cause and effect is not that of logical consequence, by showing that we discover causal relations not by deduction, but by observation and experiment, or inductively. But this does not follow from the mere discovery of causal relations is usually made inductively, the relations discovered are logical. Moreover, many causal relations have been deduced, to wit, those inferred in mechanics and mathematical physics. All relations must be explicitly formulated as propositions of the type $p$ implies $q$. Perhaps what confuses us is that the temporal relation between an antecedent cause and its effect is foreign to logical consequence, and that the antecedent event seems to us, for practical reasons, necessary for the effect, and not the effect for it. But the effect is quite as necessary for the cause as the cause for the effect; and, though in a temporal system, such as the world is, events must be related in time, still their relation is formally accidental to the generic relation whereby from the nature of one part of the world-system we are enabled to infer the nature of another part. This generic relation is that of logical implication, and is either the causal relation or a class of which the causal relation is a member. See CAUSE, CAUSALITY.


WALTER T. MARVIN.

CONSISTENCY (Ethical).—In so far as ethics is a theory, we must ask whether such a theory is open to the test of consistency; and in so far as ethics bears upon conduct, we must inquire whether consistency also applies to the practical sphere. In
regard to its theoretical aspect, the question arises whether ethics is simply knowledge of moral facts, or whether it must fashion an ideal to serve as a rule for conduct; whether, that is to say, it merely describes, or also enjoins and judges, if by any mere descriptive, its sole aim will be to discover the characteristic and essential features of morality. The latter view has very largely come into favour in modern times.

Consistency in naturalistic ethics.—Utilitarianism, Eudemonism, or the Ethics of Feeling, proposes to explain the origin of morality. It starts from phenomena; it examines the native capacities of mankind, and even tries to trace the devil necessarily involved a change itself with the psychological analysis of impulses, feelings, and emotions, with man’s relations to his environment, and his dependence upon, or relative independence of, this environment; with his relations to Nature, to other men, to his conscience, and in so far as ethics bears this empirical character, its business is to subject the conduct of men to historical and psychological investigation, to analyze it, to discover, if possible, the laws which actually regulate and determine such conduct, and furnish a standard of value for conduct, and to determine the class of actions most conformable to this standard. For this school, in fact, the only important matter is to draw from the boundless mass of material such general truths as will be valid within this particular sphere. It is impossible on these lines ever to get beyond probability or merely relative points of view. An ethical theory of this sort is inevitably tied down to the relative. Philosophers can find no footing here. All that is required is to bring the manifold data under general categories by induction. Empirical thinkers, and more especially sceptics, who place their mark of interrogation upon everything, will even tell us that the endeavours to introduce consistency into ethics is a mere futility, and really prevents us from doing justice to the facts. A moralist like Bentham, for instance, will have nothing to do with consistency. For, though he admits the general proposition that morality is concerned with the good of the whole, he yet holds that experience alone shows what makes for this good. Laws derived from the facts are only of relative value. A change in the facts will alter the value of any proposition in the laws. Those who favour the historical method give special prominence to the fact that ethical ideas undergo extensive modifications, and that every age has its own particular assortment of such ideas, and thereby quite incapable of being reduced to unity. Efete conceptions—vestiges of earlier modes of thought—still continue to operate in certain circles, or in the general consciousness, at times when other views and ideas, by no means reconcilable with the old, have come to the front. Hence, it is said, the collision of duties and the existence of contradictory views of moral life are just what we might anticipate, and accordingly the demand for consistency is sheer folly. Moral judgments are thus the result of a psychical and historical process—the mere temporary compromise between the competing interests of the day. To look for consistency under such conditions is to look for the facts. A judgment must be passed upon the theory which finds morality in the spontaneity of our nature, which builds upon instinct and unconscious tendency, and which, as wholly averse to rational principles, would trace moral action to the impulse of an inherent goodness in mankind, or of partly conscious, partly unconscionable, propensities; or, again, would even bring in the operation of a natural impulse or emotion, for the theory of emotion is the proper arena for the irrational, for a power quite irresponsible to reason. Here, it is said, we encounter the fact of personality; here the concrete, the merely particular, is to be brought into play—that which in the last resort eludes the grasp of thought. All general principles are therefore left bare abstracions drawn from a limited field of experience, and as divergent as the data they refer to.

2. Consistency in religious ethics.—Frequently, too, even religious ethics gives no more consideration to the idea of consistency than does empirical ethics. The ethics of religion has usually been content to give sacred sanction to a traditional morality, which has grown up amongst a people under the most heterogeneous influences; or it has, at least, industrious direction been given, monomaniacal observances, ecclesiastical duties, and especially works of piety. We need not expect to find a harmonious consistency under such conditions.

We have an instance of this in Jewish ethics, which, of course, presents the same contradictions regarding individual conscience and conduct, and regarding social, communal, and political affairs. The ethics of the Persian religion embraces a vast array of ceremonial and moral ordinances, together with injunctions regarding social duties, such as planting trees, killing noxious animals, and the like; Jewish and Mohammedan ethics, however, are to a degree in receipt of the same name, and all the various regulations into a formal unity, namely, the will of God, as the source of all; and it is this will—what faces the penalty of transgression and the reward of obedience.

A second type of religious ethics is that which admits a dualistic morality. In Buddhism, for instance, there is one morality for the monks and another for the laity. The universality of this religion was not carried to its final issues; thus, woman was placed on the lower rank than man, and the system of caste was left undisturbed; and, while the leading principle of Buddhist ethics was the complete surrender of desire in a life of patience and contemplative wisdom, this was subsequently enjoined in different degrees for layman and monk respectively. The monks might be required not only to renounce the world and abstain entirely from sexual intercourse, to avoid luxury, and to give themselves to meditation, but also to undergo bodily austerities, while the rules of proper were added to moral obligations. A consistently developed ethical theory is thus clearly the exception of the rule.

The same is true of the ethics of Brahmanism. The Law Book of Manu contains an exposition of duties, as well as injunctions regarding the renunciation of the caste system and submission to the Brahmans. On the other hand, there is, as early as the Veda, the Aryan law (Hindu, Early, and Cosmoc) art tham, which bids each find himself in his fellow man; and, while asceticism, solitary meditation, and withdrawal to the forest must for more than family or business life, yet a compromise is made between the two by the regulation that the forest life shall be adopted only after a man has lived in a family and brought up a son.

Consistency is likewise allen to the ethics of Roman Catholicism. For one thing, morality is here made to rest upon the isolated fact of an external authority; for another, a distinction is drawn between obligations and counsels. Moreover, the external moral obligation of external conscience prescribes a sentence of condemnation, while, finally, the moral ethics of the religious is severed from the ethics of the laity.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to imagine that religious ethics must necessarily assume this double form, or that it can be no more than a mere aggregation of contingent and isolated commands, and must in consequence lack consistency.

As a matter of fact, the ethics of Confucius, who put a check upon belief in spirits, sorcery, exorcism, and who read a divine revelation in the natural and social order, exhibits a more homogeneous and self-consistent morality than any of the above. 'The wise man obeys the law and awaits his destiny; that is the sum-total of duty,' says Confucius. 'The hierarchy of moral duties is subject in the subjection of the wife to the husband, of children to parents; in family affection, which is to be nurtured by ancestor-worship; in the relations of the sexes, as providing a 'barrier for the people'; in the subordination of the younger to the older, and of the subject to the ruler.'
The law also declares that this social order shall be represented in the ritual. Kindness to the poor, the friendless, the widow, and the orphan, is counseled, and great stress is laid upon fidelity to the wife. The government is often aimed at nurturing a peaceful, industrious, and contented people. It prescribes that Confucius great store by ancient tradition and history, as exhibiting the disasters of heaven in punishment and reward. Obscenity of this moral order is at the root of human conduct. He maintained that, notwith-standing the anathematized form which this moral teaching tends to assume, nearly everything is dominated by a single thought.

Finally, the ethical principle of Christianity exhibits certain features which not only imply that the entire moral life is brought under one point of view, but also set forth a consistent moral ideal.

3. Consistency in rational ethics.—(a) As the application of an abstract law.—We have attributed the religious, ethical, and social virtues, therefore, either as giving formal sanction to incongruous usages, or as mixing together arbitrary laws, or as separating the moral interests of religion from those of the secular life, tends in the main to dispense with consistency. It is quite different with rational ethics. The fundamental tenet of the latter school is that the moral is grounded in the rational; and, even if a distinction be made, as by Kant, between practical and theoretical reason, the test of consistency holds good in either. When Kant wishes to prove that a breach of the universal moral law is indefensible, he points to the contradictions which such a breach is bound to involve. If we question the validity of a maxim, we have but to ask how it would work as a universal law. Thus, for instance, the refusal to implement a promise, were it made a universal rule, would result in a state of things where no promise was accepted, i.e., the maxim would defeat its own purpose. The criterion applied here is therefore that of logical consistency. Similarly, in his Critique of Practical Reason, Kant resorts to the logical categories as furnishing a more precise test of action. In one form or another, rational ethics makes an attempt to pass from an unconditional to a conditional principle in morality, and it must vindicate the claim of this unconditional and universal principle to be supreme, i.e., to determine everything that comes within its province; in a word, it demands consistency.

Consistency in rational ethics is, primarily, the requirement that the practical side of life in its entirety shall be brought to the test of the universal moral law. This the Stoics maintained that all morality lay in the one supreme virtue, namely, harmony with the law of nature or of reason. From the same standpoint Kant treated morality in a purely formal way, taking reverence for the law as the motive. This law, however, being as yet wholly abstract, is incapable of positively determining the concrete materials of concrete actions. Concrete conditions are brought within the scope of the law; they are not, however, derived from the law, but only tested by it. For example, the institution of marriage is not deduced from the law, nor is its place in the ethical economy assigned by the law; the sole question is whether, marriage being assumed, the universally valid law can take effect in its relationship. Strictly speaking, in such a case we can say only that the law must not be infringed; we cannot determine the actual duties of marriage. It is, in fact, precisely on this account that Kant distinguishes between duties of perfect and those of imperfect obligation. Thus, for instance, the obligation of developing one's natural powers is an imperfect one, because, while the maxim of such effort is undoubtedly a law, the mode and degree of such effort in no way depend on the individual. Even on Kant's view, therefore, there is a conflict of the spheres in morals, to which the consistency of the moral law cannot be extended—a sphere of practical universality, in which particular cases cannot be decided by the law.

Kant's mode of applying the test of consistency in the field of rational ethics is in contrast with that of Herbart. On the one hand, the unifying principle from which Herbart starts is an aesthetic a priori judgment regarding relations of will; and from this judgment proceed the ethical ideas. On the other hand, rational ethics begins with the particular actions of will, group them together, and, on this basis, forms a principle. Closer examination, however, reveals that these ideas are not held together by the thought of a harmony in all the principal relations of will, while a similar universal will may be attributed to the conception of living society, which combines all possible practical laws, and thus holds together individual and social relations of will. Looked at in this way, the ethics of Herbart presents us with a much more concrete ideal than Kant's universal abstract law, and so exhibits a higher degree of consistency.

(b) Consistency in the structure of the concrete moral ideal.—The criterion of consistency is applied even more cogently by those who seek to derive morality by speculative reasoning. Adherents of this school have endeavored to reconcile the moral law with the concrete form. It was on these lines that Plato fashioned his ideal Republic, which he regarded as the highest image of the Good upon earth, though his dualism stood in the way of a perfectly consistent moral theory. Given the theory, he sought to delineate a harmonious act, type of the Idea of the Good; and it was his conviction of the universal supremacy of this Idea that moved him to incorporate in his scheme the concrete conditions of human life and the specific faculties of the soul. In the Laws, it is his belief, he somewhat lowers the Ideal in favor of the existent civic situation, yet this does not so much imply a surrender of consistency as a desire to actualize his ideal State amid given conditions. The idea of the Good which manifests itself in the individual (as virtue) and in the State—the macrocosm of man—is set forth by Plato with the strictest consistency as the unifying principle of morals. This was even more true with Aristotle. With him, the one τὸ σῶμα is supreme in man, laying down just proportions for all emotions and all goods; and, although he gives an empirical tabulation of the particular virtues rather than a classification determined by an universal principle, yet his guiding thought is that the diatonic virtues are concerned with the development of the practical intelligence, while the ethical virtues have to do with reason's mastery of the passions by exercise. In other words, according to Aristotle, virtue is one, viz. the supremacy of reason, which, however, can be adequately realized only in the State—the State itself, again, being founded upon the home. Aristotle also agrees with Plato in laying his doctrine of virtue to the Idea of the Supreme Good, but he concedes a much wider scope to the operation of reason in practical life, and thus carries out his ethical doctrine in a more consistent way.

In modern philosophy, G. F. Hegel and Schleiermacher have urged the importance of unity in ethical theory, and have given complete consistency to the moral ideal. True, Schleiermacher discarded inductive ethics and advocated the descriptive method. In his system, however, he maintained that the moral is empirical or inductive, but rather a speculative, scientific. The moral ideal is not an ideal of obligation, but it is described as the ideal by which men act—duty; or in terms of the faculty which manifests itself as law—virtue; or in terms of the result of action—the highest good. In all this Schleiermacher applies the ideal with such rigorous consistency as to demand that every man, with due allowance for his individual nature, shall construct and realize his ideal completely and in full detail. He gives no place to the distinction between perfect and imperfect obligations, or to the collision of duties, since at every moment only one mode of action is ethically possible—that, namely, which in the circumstances best furthers the entire moral process. Morality being an integral whole, every action is in its degree a reflection of this whole. The distinction he draws is that of a symbolizing and organizing action he admits to be right only when it is the other in smaller compass; the same is true of the universal and the individual factor. Each ethical province therefore in a measure embraces the other, and, when combined, they constitute the highest good—a unity absolutely complete in itself. The ideal has no gaps, and, consequently, nothing
is purely permissive. The ideal embraces the entire range of human conduct; in fact, even the mode of action in any given situation is determined by fixed rules.

According to Schleiermacher, reason is a power which moulds nature to new issues; and among modern thinkers it is he who has most consistently developed the thought that the whole spiritual life of man is ethically determined, no phase whatever being left to mere chance. His "Theorie der göttlichen Zwecke" bears this same character. It simply describes how the religious impulse—the Divine spirit operating as the intensified power of reason—works as the constraining motive in the determination of moral action. He founds the first rational action (as it is called in his Philosophical Ethics) without running counter to it or altering its content. The man who is in harmony with the Spirit of God is, in thought and feeling, an integral concentrated force, which manifests itself in the moral ideal, and effects the highest good. This concrete form of the ideal exhibits a far more strict consistency and uniformity than does the abstractly hypothetical knowledge of the ethical idea.

c. Consistency in the historical development.—We can scarcely look for a more exigent standard of consistency in ethics than that of Schleiermacher, but we may give more consideration to the idea of a consistent Hegelian ideal, which is really timeless. No doubt he holds that the speculative view of ethics may be brought into relation with historical science and practical life by means of critical and technical studies, and he follows Locke in the full extent of the individual's place in the Kingdom of God; he even grants upon the ideal the laws by which the whole course of conduct must be directed; but, nevertheless, he practically overrules the factual moment in the speculative consciousness. In his "Kritik der bisherigen Sittenlehre" he submits the history of ethics to a searching investigation, but from a purely critical point of view. This defect was made good by J. G. Fichte, and notably by Hegel and afterwardly also by Chodkiewicz, Harnack, and von Hartmann. These thinkers took account of the successive stages through which morality had passed, and contended for consistency in the ethical idea. As an example we may take Hegel's Weltrechtsphilosophie, which also comprises his ethics.

In the history of moral experience Hegel sees a logically necessary process of development. He argues that the component factors in the moral idea are exhibited in the several stages of the developing moral consciousness; that they are all contained in the highest unity of the embracing unity of the moral organism. From the moral condition of the natural life, with its impulses, out of which, in process of time, grows a system of values, Hegel differentiates the stage of abstract law, in which man is subject to an external arbitrary norm, expressed primarily in the regulation of property and contract. Next, consciousness passes, by an inner necessity, from this purely outward phase of freedom to the stage of morality, which lays stress upon inner being, to an abstract and one-sided way. Advance is then made to the stage of Stiftsrecht, or established observance, in which moral thought aligns itself with an objective content embodied in the moral community. This content manifests itself first of all in the family, which forms an expression of natural feeling, and in which individual property becomes family property; it then appears as civil society, with its system of wants, police regulations, and corporate institutions; finally comes the State, which assimilates the results of the whole development. The State is the common family and civic society, in which the individual finds his satisfaction; it conserves the inner disposition, which now acquires a concrete ethical content; it concerns the abstract law, and the life of natural impulse together with its system of wants.

Now we may possibly take exception to some of the details of this sequence, but we cannot well ignore the Hegelian view that the man advances from a state of nature to a state of average morality characterized by statutory law; that, passing from the stage of positive enactment, he formulates the law abstractly as good disposition; and that, finally, he transforms this abstract morality into a concrete established observance, thus arriving at a Supreme Good which recapitulates in itself all the preceding stages. The idea of consistency in ethical knowledge is thus extended to the process of development, and at the final stage we are brought to a provisional harmony in which the consistency of the ethical idea is revealed as the economy of the moral organism.

(d) Consistency in the relation of Ethics to the ultimate end of Philosophy.—Of course, the moralists, however, carry consistency to still further lengths. Not only do they assign to ethics, as a special science, its proper place in the system as a whole—as even Kant does, in his distinction of theoretical and practical reason—but they either trace it to, or deduce it from, an ultimate unity, a supreme integral principle, thus fitting it organically into a complete philosophical rationale of the universe. Such is the procedure of Plato, who holds that the world of moral ideas is the highest that is known, the Good, and Beautiful. These Ideas Plato deems to be realities, so that the True and the Good and the Beautiful are one. The subject-matter of metaphysics or dialectics, which embraces the knowledge of being, is identical with the Good and Beautiful; and, as this highest Idea is Deity, metaphysics, religion, and morality are in the last resort one—just as truth, goodness, and beauty cannot be discovered. Plato's solution of the differentiation of consciousness is due to the fact that the good and beautiful of the actual world is only a copy of the real—a mere representation in material form, since the world is the sphere of becoming.

Although Aristotle and the Stoics likewise aspired to place ethics in its right connexion with philosophy as a whole, yet their endeavours after unity, their ideas of consistency, were not carried out so fully as Plato's, the reason being that their interpretation of experience and of the human was greater than his, and so far deranged their philosophical views. On the other hand, we have a striking instance of consistency in the work of Spinoza. Even his mathematical method, which in reality is logical rather than metaphysical, supplies an illustration of this. He regards metaphysics, ethics, and religion as constituting an integral whole; and, further, his theory of the parallelism of thought and extension enables him to incorporate physics into this unity. Here, therefore, we have an attempt on a grand scale to connect ethics organically with the entire system, and to enforce the principle of consistency to its extreme limit. A similar course is followed by the Absolute Philosophy of Germany, as exemplified by Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, and, as they take the historical process into account, their system is even more comprehensive than that of Spinoza. Hegel looks upon man's whole moral experience in its several gradations as a phase of development in the self-manifestation of the Absolute, or the Idea, which actualizes itself in moral life in order to attain, in aesthetic intuition, in religious conception, and, finally, in philosophical thought. In this sense, moral life is thus an aspect of the Idea, a stadium in its development. Here consistency reaches the acme of rigour. Schleiermacher, too, endeavoured to bring ethics into organic connexion.
with his whole philosophy. For him, as for Schelling, the highest principle was difference, i.e., the absolute unity of opposites. This principle is confronted by the world, where, in virtue of the underlying unity, the several opposites of thought and being, real and ideal, manifest them- selves as the double of this very unity. The interfusion of real and ideal, if the former preponderates, is nature; if the latter prepon- derates, it is reason. Reason and nature, how- ever, tend towards a state of mutual adjustment, reason becoming nature general good and nature reason, likewise labouring to become reason. Thus ethics becomes physics, and physics ethics. Still another opposition confronts true scientific knowledge. Our thought is at once speculative and conditioned by experience. Hence the science of reason and the science of nature have each a speculative and an empirical side. The speculative science of reason is ethics; the empirical is history. The speculative science of nature is Natur-philosophie, while the empirical embraces the special natural sciences. Ethics and history are linked by technical and critical studies. Such is Schleier- macher's way of making ethics an organic part of universal science.

4. General Investigation.—It appears from the foregoing synopsis that moralists differ very greatly in regard to consistency as applied to ethical theory, the main cleavage corresponding to that between the empirical and the rational interpretation of morality. Generally speaking, morality is regarded as merely a means to the greatest possible good, then reason itself must be similarly interpreted, and, on this view, consistency comes into consideration only in so far as it is conducive to the single end. This general view, it is alleged, is best served by obedience to rules which have been inferred from experience. But absolute laws, laws permitting of no exception, are scarcely within the scope of such a hypothesis. General rules are deduced from limited empirical bases, subordinating his personal interests to those of others, this law will be recognized by him only so long as he finds it to his own advantage. Thus ethics, if it be but a means to a relative end, cannot itself get beyond the relativity of consistency.

The same result follows when a purely empirical theory of development is applied to morality. Altered conditions or the progress of civilization will necessitate a change in moral laws. Since, on this theory, ethics merely summarizes the best directions for human well-being under given circumstances, and since the variability of such directions and maxims is held to prove the relative character of the science, strict consistency is put out of court. As correlative of this view, it is alleged, in particular, that ethics must needs keep within the limits of the attainable, and that it is impossible to apply the idea of consistency at all hazards. If we bear in mind the way in which such maxims are formed, the way in which impulses, feel- ings, and passions are adjusted by the psychical mechanism, and in which we become conscious of this adjusting process, we can formulate rules which, so far from remaining mere ideals, take account of our actual capacities and circum- stances, and are therefore capable of being put into practice.

But even the most extreme empiricism must allow that morality emerges only when certain demands are made in obedience to the data of experience—demands which this school finds so little self-explanatory that it has recourse to all manner of 'sanctions' to establish their authority. Without the sanification of an ideal confronting the data of experience as a regulative law, morality is impossible. It may, indeed, be said that this ideal is simply the resultant of our empirical value- judgments, a purely consistent ideal. This, thus, for instance, the law of altruism, as against egoism, may be traced to the experience that other-regarding conduct brings an increase of satisfaction. But the question then arises whether this generalization is universally valid; and, again, whence the faculty by which such generalizations are made. The truth is, this faculty of abstraction is that by which we coligate the manifold in a unity, on the assumption that it is amenable to law. The ideal set up by the moral reason is something more than an aggrega- tion of rules, derived by abstraction from value- judgments; it is in reality reason's own craving for unity, which it seeks to realize in the ethical judgment it applies to the fact-ideal. The unity which is not overtly given in our various impulses, feelings, and passions is demanded by reason, and the demand cannot be met by anything relative. It is a fact that a number of moralists take their stand on the uniqueness of the faculty of morality; and this fact can neither be explained nor explained away by the empirical school. Reason cannot rest till it has moulded the man- fold into a unity, and in the ethical field this means not only the ideal end, but also, that its ideals are consistent. It is, of course, true that different epochs have different ideals, but this by no means implies that the ideals of any period were defective in the matter of consistency. Reason has built itself into the intellectual form; it has in ever-increasing measure incor- porated therein the various spheres of conduct; and, by defining the mutual relations of these spheres, it has attained perfect symmetry in its ideal. Indeed, there has at length reached a point where it can survey the whole historical sequence of ideals in a single view, and where it seeks to grasp the process of development by which the approved element of each依次 to the present time.

In short, if by an inherent necessity the moral reason is to carry out its task of ideal-making, and if its demand for unity is put forward unconditionally, then the entire task of voluntarism must be subjected to its authority, and its ideal must seek to effect the complete organization of moral life. In ethics, therefore, consistency is an unconditional requirement. Since the whole spiritual life of man is touched by the will, it must of necessity fall under the moral ideal. It has been said, indeed, that the concept can never reach the concrete, the particular. But, while this is the case, we can nevertheless form the concept of the particular, and assign the particular to its proper place in the ethical system, subordinating it to the whole in such a way as to make it an organic part thereof— a component which, so far from causing any dis- location, really works in with all the others complementarily, and is thus brought into the harmony of the whole. If it be deemed pedantic thus to bestrew the whole way of life with man- traps of duty, it must be frankly conceded that there are sections of life where movement must be free, as, for example, the sphere of recreation, of sociality, of imagination, or the aesthetic sphere. But the moral ideal encompasses these tracts in such a manner as to permit a certain freedom therein, provided the limits laid down by the moral system as a whole. Here, therefore, we have no exception to
the moral law, but simply an application of the ethical principle that each sphere shall be dealt with in its own way, while ever remaining a consistent entity of itself, and lost.growning within its own bounds. Here too, therefore, the unifying normative reason may manifest itself in constructing ideals.

Further, consistency, to be effective, must be complete. No doubt, it is present a prevalent view that a narrow and one-sided policy achieves the best results. An oppressed class, for instance, demands its rights; these are not to be won, it is said, by deliberations as to how that particular section of society is to be fitted into the social organism; nothing but the ruthless enforcement of its claims can secure for it improved conditions of life, though eventually, of course, such emancipation may benefit the whole. Again, it is asserted that a State attains prosperity not by enthusiasm for the ideal of humanity, but by a self-centred struggle for a recognized place in the council of the nations. Or, again, the individual who has formed a new religious views must, he held, not walk solely make compromises, but must carry his views into effect ruthlessly, i.e., consistently. Mankind, in short, makes progress only by the one-sided pursuit of narrow aims. Society is so constituted that, while one man is carrying out his inescapable task, the very inducements of his actions are being circumscribed by the interests of others. The whole process culminates in the mutual adjustment of interests. Thus the striving of reason for unity at length attains its end uncomplect, although the ethical ideal seems to be inharmoniously distributed. Progress is secured by mutual conflict. It is wrong, therefore, to lay the burden of this final adjustment upon the individual; all that we can expect from him is consistent, in his particular sphere, and in the advocacy of his special interests.

Plausible as such a theory may seem, and numerous as are its champions, it is nevertheless unconsistent. Were it consciously put into practice, it would forthwith plunge nations, classes, municipalities, and individuals—in fact, human society at large—into embittered strife, without a single reconciling element. Passions would become rampant, and animosities more virulent. We must proceed to the other and more vital side: viz., that the individual shall recognize the rights of others; that each class, each group, shall feel itself to be an organic part of the larger whole, the State; and each nation a section of the human race; and that in the conflict of opinion particular spheres shall take pains to apprehend what is good in the view of others. As a matter of fact, it is not laid upon men to prosecute their individual aims with relentless consistency, but rather to realize those aims in a manner compatible with the ideal, so that personal interests may be advanced without detriment to the larger whole. Such a mode of apprehending the moral task demands, without doubt, a high degree of intelligence. But a consistency which is merely sectional is no consistency at all, and is incapable of securing true progress, for it carries within itself the seed of reaction, which will sooner or later germinate. Moral development proceeds from mere simple conditions to the more complex; but, for that very reason, the prime necessity is to gain control of these complicated conditions by taking into account the various relevant elements which they contain, and by subordinating them to the unifying and moulding power of reason. Our object is to systematize the whole ethical data in harmony with the ideal, for only such an issue can adequately meet the unconditional demand for unity which reason makes.

5. Consistency between the moral ideal and practice.—The more perfectly consistency is attained in the formation of ideals, the less possible it is to escape from the ignoble and despotic questions. That there is an ideal and the actual moral situation. When the reality is compared with the ideal, it appears incongruous, contradictory, one-sided, narrow, circumscribed, rent by antitheses—in a word, bad; while the ideal itself seems but a futile and impracticable demand. In particular, it is rational ethics, with its special insistence upon a logically constructed ideal, which is mainly affected by the discrepancy, so that its boasted consistency would here seem to be lost in the confusion. Plato traces the defects of the empirical world—as compared with the Idea—to matter, and thus edition in dualism. Spinoza deduces not only the inadequate ideas and allusions, but also the adequate ideas—not only human servitude, but also human freedom—from the same mathematical necessity, and can therefore make his ideal avail at most only for the favoured few. Nor could Hegel dislodge this discrepancy: for, though he held the antithesis to be the very mainspring of progress, and as such to be subject to logical sequence, the contradiction was not thereby removed. Above all, Kant felt the opposition between the practical reason and the natural propensities so intensely that he went further than his predecessors. As his task was to recognize a difference between the speculative moral ideal and actual moral practice, and accordingly he introduced—in his Christian Ethics—a "purifying activity," which was in reality a confession of the fact that the moral ideal could not be attained within the sphere of moral action being in the end simply an anomaly to the will, which finds no satisfaction in any moral result. Here the antagonism is carried to such a point that moral action is made a means to its own ultimate abrogation. From this it would appear that the consistent formation of ideals, as thought by the utopians and anarcho-moralists, comes to grief upon the incongruity between the ideal and the actual.

Now this would undoubtedly be true, were the construction of ideas the final task of ethics. Such, however, is not the case. Nature, especially human nature, is so constituted that it must have recourse to reason as a means to its own harmony and perfection. The first stage, therefore, is the idealizing activity of reason, the outcome of which is the rationally harmonized image of nature. But this is only the first stage; and, when once consistency has been realized here, a further advance is made, for now practice is to be moulded into conformity with the ideal. Thus the contradiction above noted is simply a necessary point of transition—necessary, that is, if we are to have ethical life or action at all. In other words, if moral results are to be achieved by the rational activity of the soul, then the end, the task set before us, must first of all be known; and only when it is known can we proceed to the task of realizing it. The antithesis between the rational ideal and human nature, as it is, is not an absolute one. The truth is rather, that life, as we know it, awaits us for the soul in the medium by which it is to be harmonized and transfigured. The initial, or idealizing, stage of the moral process of reason is therefore responsible for no more than the harmonious, consistent for-
CONSOLATION, COMFORT (Christian)

Consolation, comfort is a complex emotion induced by means of consolation, or the act or process of comforting; but, although it is to be classed among the emotional states, it has certain well-defined presentational aspects. In its fullest, and especially in its religious, sense, there is the consciousness of a person whose presence, words, or acts are the source of the feeling of comfort, and constitute the consoling element. Although there are several weakened uses of the term 'comfort,' and it is often employed in an abstract and derived sense, the personal (or quasi-personal) source is always implied. The immediate effect of comfort will be a sense of peace or soothing, restraint from agonizing or neurotic effort, and the inhibition of excited acts. The subconscious effect is that of a tonic, and the will is braced thereby for healthful exercise. Whilst the consciousness of a personal presence and influence is the dominant feature in religious consolation, there is always, in the background at least, the presentation of something that produces pain.

1 See W. James, Varieties of Religious Experience, p. 566.
distress, or anxiety. Probably in most cases the cause of the painful feeling is at first the focus of attention, but the process of consolation forces it into the background as the comfort is experienced. The conscious but unnoticed support is the positive element in the case, whilst the negative is the sense of relief and mitigation.

As consolation and comfort play an exceedingly important part in the Christian consciousness and in the offices of religion, the connotation of these terms in devotional literature is in general identical with Scripture usage, from which it is derived. The Heb. word קפור (Ps 119:29, Job 6:26) has its roots in the act of breathing paitingly or sighing, whence it appears that a pathetically feeling on the part of the consoled. It especially refers to God as the Comforter of His people in their affliction, calamity, or persecution, or even in their repentance. In most cases, as in Ps 119:29, comfort is given to the righteous, as such, in their tribulation, but in some other instances, as in Is 49, the comfort follows upon repentance, and Jahweh is represented as having caught up from His state of wrath to that of pity and compassion for His people. The richest form of comfort in the OT is probably what is often designated 'the motherhood of God' (Is 66:13.),1

The NT conception of consolation and comfort is essentially the same. Scripture refers rather to the persecution, distress, and tribulation to which the faithful are exposed. The word most frequently employed is παρακάτις, whose primary significance is that of the ministrations of one called to comfort, and which (1 Cor 14:16 only) refers to comfort given by word or speech, whilst παρακάτις (Col 4:18 only) brings out the aspect of soothing. The presence of God is the dominant feature in Christian consolation, together with His love, a word that is often repeated in various contexts, and the grace of sympathy, tenderness, and gentleness with other sufferers, together with patience and fortitude. 'Tunc non est medicinal quam patientia, et abnegatio mei in voluntate Dei' (a Kep. [1 Cor 9:22]). The classic example of this form of consolation is that of St. Paul's 'thorn in the flesh,' and his comment thereupon, 'Most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my weaknesses, that the strength of Christ may rest upon me when I am weak, then am I strong' (2 Cor 12:9).

(2) Anxiety, perplexity, and care.—Here the Christian needs the assurance that he is in the hands of an All-wise and All-loving Heavenly Father, and that, so long as he makes God's cause and kingdom his chief interest and aim, all that is necessary for the effective discharge of his duty and the accomplishment of his work will be secured to him (Mt 6:33). As God is in the whole environment of one's life, so shall those who are under His direction, as they are beneath His protecting hand.

(3) Depression and spiritual desolation.—The best consolation under these conditions is the exhortation to the assurance in the prayerful and consistent discharge of duty and Christian work, and to wait patiently for the revealing of God's face and favour, and especially not to rely too exclusively upon one's feelings. Von Hugel points out the need for the 'sober and stable, consistent and persistent, laborious upbuilding of moral and religious character, work, and evidence,' instead of yielding to 'fierce and fitful, 'wayward and fleeting feelings,' in the hours of darkness and isolation of soul (The Mystical Element of Religion, i. 54.). The exercise of faith strengthens the Christian in the consciousness that prayer for light and joy will sooner or later be heard, and that the inner witness will be given.2

(4) Difficulty in Christian work, opposition and persecution.—Here the conflict of wills comes into play, and the determination of the heart against God and in defiance of the gracious influences that are brought into operation. This is particularly distressing to the Christian, as in the sense of persecution, the opposition assumes an aggressive form. Christians are exhorted in the NT not to grow faint-hearted or weary in bearing their testimony even though they may have to seal it with their blood.

1 The Arabic signifies the act of 'being kind to,' or 'patient with' (a person), and consequently 'comfort.'
They are encouraged to take comfort in the prospect and promise of the ultimate triumph of the truth and the all-conquering power of love which refuses not to suffer and to die. Moreover, they are to regard their sufferings borne in love on behalf of others as the means whereby the hearts of the persecuted are prepared, and they are taught to pray and hope that the opposition will be ultimately broken down. The line of consolation adopted by the Fathers in encouraging the Churches to endure persecution was in general to remind them of the predictions of our Lord and the Apostles (Irenæus, adv. Heer. lib. iv. c. xxiii.); to point to the notable examples of martyrdom, from the death of Abel to the passion of our Lord (Cyprian, Ep. lv.); and to seek to win the hearts of the faithful by closely related is the dying saint to his Lord, that St. Paul speaks of him as among those who are asleep in (or through) Jesus (διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦν, 1 Th 4th), and as dying unto the Lord (I Cor 15). This thought is also carried out by St. John in the Apocalypse: 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord' (v. 14). This relationship ensures to Christian believers the hope of heaven, eternal life, and a glorious resurrection.

A number of sermons here summarized call for consolation, and that consolation is found in the promises of Scripture and in waiting upon God, there is always an implicit reference to the Divine Being Himself as the primary source of comfort. Thomas à Kempis clearly expresses this when he says: 'Unde potes, amica mea, plene consolare nec perfecte recerari, nisi in Deo, consolatore puirorum ac susceptorum humilium' (de Imit. Christi, lib. iii. c. xlvii.). In a secondary or derived sense, the words of God, His attributes, His gifts and His promises are often referred to as being in themselves comforts, just as, in ordinary affairs, material things are designated 'comforts' if they minister to our well-being, not being luxuries on the one hand, or necessities on the other. Also it is one of the duties and privileges of Christian believers to be the means of communicating the comfort they have received of God to others, by sympathy and tenderness, and by the support of collective faith and intercessory prayer. In the exercise of this function of consolation, the reflex action is experienced, which, in no slight degree, brings a sense of satisfaction, and even of joy, in being of service to suffering humanity.

Further, comfort is realized by Christians in the consciousness of community with their Lord in His sufferings, in being partakers with Him in the work of redemption, in drinking of the cup from which He drank, and in being baptized with His baptism. In tribulation incurred in the service of humanity, and incidentally to the accomplishment of His work, there is, as St. Paul expressed it, the filling up what is lacking of the afflictions of Christ (Col 1:24). They have been accustomed to direct the attention of the persecuted to the cross of Christ as the chief source of consolation, especially where sufferings have resulted from devotion to His cause. In contemplating the cross of Christ, and the sense of desolation that He endured upon the cross, they have realized that they were one with Him in bearing reproach and ignominy, even though they could not suffer as He did in expiation of human guilt. Moreover, the thought of the transcendence of Christ's sufferings inspired a feeling of gratitude and an inspiration to the believing soul to endure 'the contradiction of sinners' without complaint or impatience. John Newton, in his well-known hymn, 'Blest are the Meek', shows this thought—'Did Jesus thus suffer, and shall I repine?'. These considerations inspired the hymn of John Keble, in The Christian Year, for Good Friday, that the meek soul's eye should turn 'with softer power for comfort' in earth's darkest hour than on any bright day.

The full meaning of Christian consolation is not exhausted apart from the conception of the mystic union of Christ with the believer. There is a sense in which the Church has ever been conscious that, as Christ is the head of the body of believers, He suffers not only for their sins, but in all the sorrows and tribulation that God's people have to endure. What God's consolation is in these difficulties is the realization of Christ's presence with us in all life's painful experiences, in His humanity and His eternal priesthood. The realization of God's presence in Christ bears the promise of ultimate triumph, and, although Christ's mind that of the tribulation in the world, their final conquest is secured and guaranteed in His victory over all.


J. G. JAMES.

CONSOARATION (Greek and Roman).—In Greece the germs of a literature of consolation can be traced to ancient times. The dead were commemorated in threnodies, which were designed also to console the bereaved, and a great vogue was enjoyed by a threnos of Pindar, in which the ideas of the Orphic eschatology were drawn upon for consolation. The classic form of this pseudo-Platonic dialogue Ateichos. In Athens it was customary, probably after the Persian wars, to engage a rhetor to deliver a funeral oration—like that, e.g., which Thucydides puts into the mouth of Pericles, regarding the Athenians who had fallen in battle; and it was usual at the close to address the relatives in consoling terms. Several of these
orations are still extant; one, the epitaphios of Hyperides, is known to have been delivered in 322 B.C. The grounds of consolation are set forth in the epitaphios of Antisthenes and the Creec may have suggested what Xenophon makes Socrates say in the Apology. Aristotle's dialogue 'Eudemus on the Soul,' and the 'Callithenes on Mourning' of Theophrastus, were also well stored with consoling sentiments. But the standard work of the kind was that of Crantor the Academic (c. 270 B.C.) 'On Mourning,' which was sent by the author to a friend whose children had died, and which Cicero calls 'auraeos et ad verbum elisnisenus libellus' (Loud. ii. 133). As it treated of sorrow not as a reproducible emotion—in the manner of the Stoic—but rather as a natural impulse, requiring only to be kept within bounds, the book found many readers; and, when Cicero, in 45 B.C., essayed the composition of a work of his own concern, he showed that Crantor's work the basis of his own, while he reproduced its ideas a little later in the Disput. Two, (esp. i. 19-72). Plutarch does the same thing in his life, or in what he calls 'The Pleruchis.' He there shows how he had elaborated many comforting sentiments, as he was specially concerned to deliver men from the fear of death; so sought to convince them of the painlessness of dying; and of the absolute cessation of all the affections when the body is taken away. He also shows how he had been the center of all the popular superstitions about the terrors of the under world (Lucret. de Rer. Nat. i., with Heine's com.).

No less had the rhetoricians neglected the consolatory oration, and in the Hellénistic period—perhaps even from the time of Isocrates—they had framed for this species of composition certain rules, which in their later form are found in the μηθοδείαν του ρητόφου of pseudo-Dionysius and the προ κατάμνησις of Menander (4th cent. A.D.). These rules are followed not merely by heathen, but even by Christian, funeral discourses (cf. F. Bauer, Die Trostreden des Gregor v. Nysson, Marburg, 1892). It is specially worthy of note that the plan of the consolatio oration, as given by the rhetoricians, was taken over by poetry, the most outstanding instance of this being the Consolatio ad Liviam which bears the name of Ovid, and which is neither a fabrication of the poet himself, for it is said that he had fired from the plan of consolation given by the rhetoricians, under Seneca's influence, from the later school of rhetoric, but a poem actually presented to Livia upon the death of Drusus in 9 B.C. The rhetorical scheme had also an influence upon the work of Statoius (esp. Silier. ii. 6; 'Consolatio ad Flantium Ursum').

Among the elements of a consolatory oration a special place is given to the praise of the deceased. A constant feature of the detailed rules for the 'epitaphios' was this permitted of great amplification. The discourse likewise described the way in which the departed would be received by his ancestors and the heroes of antiquity. The bereaved were also shown the good fortune which might befall the widow, that not only individuals but whole kingdoms had perished, that life is simply a trust from the Deity, and that excessive grief can profit neither the mourner nor the dead. Instances were also given of miracles, which, had they happened, would have happened if they had happened earlier.

A distinct species of this literature appears in the 'consolations' addressed to those who had been banished, as, e.g., Seneca's letter to his mother Helvia, and Plutarch's 'προ φροσκή.' In these, as in works of consolation generally, special use is made of the ideas expressed in the popular distrope of the Cynics, emphasis being laid upon the thought that life is not a particular city but the whole world. Here, too, the writers drew extensively upon the examples of celebrated exiles, such as Antenor, Evander, and Diomedes.

Larnerav.--K. Buresch, Leipziger Studien, ix. (1886) 1; A. Gercke, in Tireorica Philologica (Bohun, 1883); Skutsch, 'Consolatio ad Liviam,' in Fawen's 'Disp. 45; E. Giesecke, De philosophorum veterum ad eum obitum epistulae (Leipz., 1891)."
to love men and to labour for their good, to make one's life valuable to humanity. Such purposes admit minor changes, such as pride, and lie behind some forms of constancy. In order to maintain a vitally important consistency, superficial inconsistency is often imperative. There cannot be a righteous adhesion to opinions the falsity of which has been demonstrated. The 'constancy in mistake is constant folly.' Would not a resolution never to vote differently, never to espouse another faith, imply that in youth infallibility had been acquired? A man may hold to truth necessarily tates changes in beliefs, habits, and allies. But serious men cannot alter easily or without pain. The lower consistency is abandoned for a higher, and the abandonment is often accompanied by loss of what is dear, without any apparent compensating gain.

(4) The conditions of constancy.—Failing the predominance of one idea or affection, the ideas and affections must be of a kind to work together with a good measure of harmony. 'A double-minded man is unstable in all his ways' (Ja 1:8). Serious and deep contradictions are ruinous. A commanding purpose (or purposes that harmonize with one another) will consolidate and organize the impulses, so that when they are converted into a army. Noble aims will gather about themselves the strength and warmth of the lower impulses; and after a time the habit of beating down sensual and unsocial impulses will cause the soul to move more and more easily on the higher than on the lower paths. Courage will be required, and sacrifices also. Devotion to the interests of persons can survive the discovery of unworthiness in those whom one loves; and the cause espoused can still stand, or be maintained, and gain popular approval; 'many waters cannot quench love' (Ca 8:26). Generally there is the sympathy of some companions whose support helps to keep the fires of zeal burning. Especially is constancy promoted if the general plan of life or some particular design or way is believed to have the favour of heaven; for then there is the assurance of supernatural assistance, and all the rills and streams of one's purposes seem to be directed by God. 'All the ways of God will is never so firm as when it thinks itself to be merged in God's, and great confidence possesses the aspirant to sanctity who reads, 'This is the will of God, even your sanctification' (1 Th 4:9).'

*CONSTANTINE.*—I. Life.—Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantius was born on 27th Feb. of a year uncertain, generally given as 274, but probably a little later.1 The place was Naisus (Nisch) in Dardania (Servin) (Anon. Valesii, 2; Constant. Porphyrogenetus, de Thematibus, ii. 9 [in Migne, PG cxii..]). The fiction of his birth at York, current in all medieval English historians (the silence of Bede, HE i. 8, should be noted), arose from a misunderstanding of the phrase 'illic oriendo' (Panegyr. vi. 4), which refers to his accession, not his birth. Constantine's father, M. Flavius Valerius Constantius (the surname Chlorus is not found until late Greek writers), was a noble Dardanian soldier, whose mother was the niece of the emperor Claudius. His mother, Flavia Helena (b. about 250; Enseb. Vita Constantini; iii. 46), was the daughter or servant (Ambros. de Offic. Theodolst. 42) of an innkeeper of Drepunam in Bithynia, a city rebuilt by Constantine in 327 in her honour and re-named Helenopolis. Her marriage to Constantius was probably irregular (Anon. Vales. 1; Zosimus, Des Gerardum.); messages should not be pressed as more than morganatic (see Digest. xxv. 7) until after the birth of her son (cf. Constantine's legislation, infra, V. i. d (2)). When Constantine was about 14, his father was promoted by the son of Caesar (1st March 293), with the government of Gaul and Britain, on condition that he divorced Helena and married Theodora, daughter of the emperor Maximian. Constantine did not accompany his father, but was left in Italy, in Nicomedia, possibly as a hostage, until the growing jealousy of Galerius, after the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian (1st May 305), compelled him to a memorable ride across Europe to his father's camp at Boulogne (Lactant. de Mortibus Persecutor. 24; Anon. Vales. 3, 8), where he arrived in time to share his father's victories over the Picts (Eumenius, Panegyr. viii. 7).

The death of Constantius at York (25th July 306) was followed by the humbling proclamation by the army of Constantine as 'Cesar' (Zos. ii. 9; 'Augustus' in Enseb. HE viii. 13, VC i. 22, though this higher honour was not ratified by Galerius until the following year [Panegyr. vi. 5; Zosimus, Des Gerardum; Ecodes, Panegyr. MP 25]). His seat of government was Trèves, which he embellished with many buildings. In 307 he strengthened his position by his marriage at Arles to Fausta, the daughter of Maximian. The Empire was thus divided between six rulers: in the East, Galerius, Licinius (Valerius Liciniunius Liciniius), and Maximin Daza; in the West, Constantine (Gaul and Britain), Maximian, who had re-assumed the purple, and his son Maxentius. But after Maximian, after a crafty intrigue against Constantine, was captured and forced to strangle himself in Feb. 310 (Lact. MP 29, 30; Eumen. Panegyr. vii. 29), while the death of Galerius at Sardica (Anon. Vales. 5, 8) in May 311 led to the division of the Empire between Constantine, Licinius, and Maximin Daza. The three refused to recognize Maxentius, whose tyranny in his province of Italy, Africa, and Spain, gave Constantine an excuse for the invasion of Italy (Enseb. HE ii. 9; VC i. 26; Nicetas, Hist. copt. ii. 14 says Maxentius was the aggressor). He

1 Seeck, Gesch. d. Unterpräf. d. antik. Welt, i. 435 n., gives 279 as the date, but his reference, CIL 1.3 p. 305, seems inaccurate.
2 Hereafter cited as VC.
3 Hereafter cited as MP.
crossed the Alps (Sept. 312) either by Mt. Canis or by Mt. Genèvre (see the contemporary [A.D. 333] Rim. Anon. Burdigalense, ed. Geyer in CSEL xxxix. 5), and at Vara, and within 58 days of declaring war defeated the sluggish Maxentius at Saxa Rubra, about 9 miles N.W. of Rome. The drowning of Maxentius in attempting to escape over the Milvian Bridge (Ponte Mole) completed his triumph, 8th Oct. 312 (Anon. Vales. 4, 12; Lact. MP 41; Enseb. HE ix. 9; there is a full account in Seeck, op. cit. i. 109-157).

Constantine's victory was followed, early in 313, by a conference at Milan with Licinius, and by the marriage of Licinius to his sister Constantia. The defeat of Daza by Licinius near Adrianople (30th Apr. 313) and his death in August at Tarus left Constantine and Licinius in sole possession—the ex-emperor Diocletian dying probably that same summer (Seeck, op. cit. i. 435 f., following as his source Idatius, Consulares Fasti, dates 3rd Doc. 316) at Salona. But the concord of the two was hollow. The first civil war between them was culled by the triumphs of Constantine at Cibalis (Vinovia in Hungary), 8th Oct. 314, and Marcellus in Thrace (Anon. Vales. 5; Zos. ii. 18-20), after which a truce was patched up, Constantine leaving Licinius in possession of Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. Constantine now devoted himself to the final settlement. He was called away by the war with the Goths and Sarmatians in Illyricum and Dacia (322) and the final struggle with Licinius. The victories, in spite of Licinius's superior forces, of Adrianople (3rd July 323) and Chrysopolis (Constantinople, 324), still furthered by the humiliation and enforced death of Licinius in 324 (Soc. HE i. 4; Enseb. FC ii. 18; Zos. ii. 28; Evrop. Brev. x. 6) and the re-union of the Empire under one head.

The capital of Constantine was a new capital (4th Nov. 326 [Anon. de Antig. Constant. i. 3, in A. Banduri, Imperium Orientale, Paris, 1711]; see Burckhardt, Die Zeit, etc. 415; but de Broglie, L'eglise, etc. i. 440-1, dates in 328) at Byzantium is one of the great events of history. In reality it continued Constantine's policy of ruling from Nicomedia. It was dedicated on 11th May 330 (Gibbon, ed. Bury, ii. 157 n.), under the title of New Rome. The removal of the seat of government was completed by the execution of the last emperor, the new absolute monarch of Diocletian which had taken the place of the old principate being consolidated and systematized (see Seeck, op. cit. ii.). Constantine's last years, though years of peace were unfortunate. In 337, his character deteriorated (Evrop. Brev. x. 7), his expensive building operations drained the Empire of its resources (Zos. ii. 32, 33, 38; Schiller, Röm. Kaiserzeit, ii. 229), his habits became effeminate, and his jealousy of a rival made his family miserable. His eldest son Crispus, the off-spring of an early irregular marriage with Minerva, had shown great ability in forcing the strait of Holles-pont against the superior fleet of Licinius (325), yet he was executed (July 326) at his father's command (Anm. Marcell. xiv. 11), though the reason for this act is obscure. This was followed, possibly a year or two later, by the execution of his wife Fausta on the charge of adultery. In 335 Constantine was forced to attack the Sarmatians, who had encamped near the Danube. His victory—for his supposed defeat is a curious error of Gibbon (ii. 217)—was the last of his successes. He died near Nicomedia on Whitsunday, 22nd May 337, though only apparently for four months (until 9th Sept.) after his death.

1 For detailed investigation of this domestic tragedy see Giersch and Seeck, 'Die Vorwurfsmaterie Constantia des Grossen,' in ZFT xxx. 1857; 343 ff., xxxiii. 1859.] 623.

In spite of the claims of Rome, he was buried at Constantinople in the great church of the Trinity (later called ' Holy Apostles'), which he had completed for the purpose the previous Easter. At Rome the hearse was carried among the gods (V. Schultze, Untergang d. gr.- röm. Heidentums, 1887-92, i. 66), though the marble struck to commemorate this was made of a Christian type (King, Christian Numismatica, 1873, p. 390). In 1269 his tomb was desecrated by the Latin crusaders on their capture of Constantinople.

Constantine's life, like that of Charles the Great, has become legendary, and was one of the chief sources of the medieval Church. On these see the critical studies of E. Heydewert, esp. 'Constantin der Große in den Sagen des Mittelalters' in Zschr. f. Geschichtswiss. i. [1890] 9, 12.

II. Extent of the Church at the time of Constantine's 'conversion.'—At the outset of an inquiry into the great change brought about by Constantine, it is of importance to understand the extent and influence of the Church and its attraction for any statesman.

(a) Numbers.—Materials for forming an estimate of the strength of Christianity under Dio- cletian will be found in Harnack's elaborate survey (Expansion of Christianity, Eng. tr. ii. [1904] 240-456). From a careful study it would appear that in the East the Christians, except in a few towns, were for the most part in the majority, or at the most—one-ninth or so of the whole (H. Richter, Westström, Reich [1885], p. 85)—and in the West they would be considerably less. Unfortunately we do not know the population of the Em- pire. The figures of Gibbon, derived by the Latin author of the world is, is absurdly large; J. Beuchinger (Bevölkerung d. gr.- röm. Welt, 1886) gives it under Augustus at 54 millions, but this seems too small. If we take it at 80 millions under Nero, the great famines, etc., in the middle of the 2nd cent. would greatly reduce, to slightly less under Constantine. At the out- side, therefore, the Christians would scarcely number five millions (Gibbon's proportion, 13, but [i. 65], thus comes to the same result), or less than the Jews, who numbered over six millions, of whom one million were in Egypt. In Rome in 250 we calculate from Ensebich, HE vi. 43, 11, that the Christians numbered between 40,000 and 50,000 in a city of nearly a million, i.e. 5, though this is exaggerated, as the Empire was at the time of Constantine. In the country districts the Christians were far less numerous than in the towns.

(b) Influence. —But what the Christians lacked in numbers they made up by their organization, unity, wealth, and driving power. In these matters only the Jews could equal them, but Judaism was hindered by its Law from ever becoming an international religion. The Chris- tians, shut off from the pleasures of the world, had grown immensely rich, while their morality, sobriety, and enthusiasm would attract any states- man who looked deeper than popular rumour. For any statesman anxious to infuse new life into a dying world Christianity had no rival except, possibly, Mithraism, for Neo-Platonism, etc., had no value for the vulgar; nor must we overlook the value to the statesman of the Christian doctrine of immortality (Burckhardt, op. cit. p. 140).

III. Personal relation to Christianity.—The personal relation of Constantine to Christianity is a subject of much importance, as upon its decision many questions, both theological and ecclesiastical, depend. As to the date of his conversion, the latest of the scholars is E. Lactant. Instit. Div. vii. 27, a work finished before 311, would be conclusive, but the passage has been shown by its editor, Brandt (CSEL xix. 698), to be an interpolation. Equally
conclusion would be sentences in the letter of Constantine to the bishops at Arles in 314 or 316 (Optatus Milev. Mon. Vet. [CSEL xxvi. 268]), but these probably reflect merely the opinions of Hosius (see infr. IV. b).}.

2 To the tu Julian, [1881]ing paganism. His whole conviction is ascribed to the deliverance of Rome from his tyranny and vices (Euseb. HE ix. 9. 2; VC i. 35; Panegyr. ix. 4; Julian, Cas., ed. Hertlein, pp. 406, 422), and the Christians as such were tolerated (Optat. Milev. ii. 6). As regards Constantine's religious policy, the Milvian Bridge opinion will always be divided. In our earliest authority (Lact. MP 44, written in 314, probably by the tutor of Crispus), Constantine was warned in a dream on the night before the battle to draw the monogram of Christ ( sprz) upon the shields of his soldiers.

3 Spain, where persecutions abounded, was not, as is often stated, in his government, but was under the charge of Diatius, an officer of Maximian.

4 For the martyrs in Britain—St. Alban (very doubtful), Aaron, and Julius (more doubtful still)—see Bede, HE, ed. Plummer, i. 17-29; Haddan-Stukeley, Councils, Oxford, 1863-73, I. 6; Harnack, Expansion, ii. 410, n. 4.
We are told (Euseb. HE ix. 9. 10. 11. VC i. 40) that Constantine erected at Rome a statue of himself, with the spear he usually carried in his right hand shaped like a cross. As evidence the VC is almost valueless, and Brügger thought that the passage in HE vii. 18 was an interpolation. But Eusebius mentioned this statue in a speech at Tyre in 314 (HE x. 4. 16), and this seems to decide its existence and the general belief in the East in 314 as to Constantine’s position, though the popular Christian rumour might be a correct interpretation of the artist’s work. The spear-cross was probably designedly ambiguous. A more important evidence of Constantine’s favour for the Christians is his handing over to the Roman bishop (before Oct. 313; see infra, p. 79) of the ‘domus Faustina,’ a palace possibly of his wife, formerly belonging to the Lateran family (Gregorovius, Rome in Middle Ages. Eng. tr. 1894 ff., i. 88), which became the residence of the Bishops of Rome (Lib. Pontif., ed. Duchesne, p. 178), of which the church of St. Peter is commonly attributed to him (Lataner, St. Peter’s). It is probably a little later, if we may judge from the fact that they were built with pagan spoils (Greg. op. cit. i. 92), though the small St. Paul’s (suaerit sancta) is probably the true seat of the See. Faustina’s church, usually attributed to Constantine, would come under the head of the oratories restored after the edict of Milan (Duchesne, op. cit. i. 178, 196; Lancelian, op. cit. p. 150 ff.; Greg. op. cit. i. 109). On the whole, the evidence of Constantine in Rome (the list of which in the Lib. Pontif. is very exaggerated) is inconclusive as to the date of his conversion.

(c) Between 312 and 323.—After the victory of the Milvian Bridge, Constantine and Licinius promulgated at Milan in the spring of 313, a second edict of toleration—free liberty to choose that form of worship which they consider most suitable—and restoration of forfeited churches and property.

For this edict see Euseb. HE x. 5, and for its original Latin form, Lact. MF 48. Note the non-committal religious references—Quidquid est divinum in se est.—This edict was seconded by that of Galerius, to which the ‘hard conditions’ (apercita) of i. 4 refers. Mason (Persecution of Diocletian) of this period explodes the older idea (see held Dov i. 635) that Constantine issued a second edict of toleration at Milan, before the Milvian Bridge, and that this was the third.

But, until 323, Constantine kept a balance between Christianity and heathenism, though inclining more and more to the former (see infra, IV. (c)). About 317, he selected the Christian Lactantius to be the tutor of his son Crispus (b. 306?); Jerome, de Vir. Ill. 80). From 315 onwards, pagan emblems (Mars, ‘Genius Pop. Rom.,’ Sol) disappeared from his coins, and indifferent legends (‘Beata tranquillitas,’ etc.) took their place. This period of neutrality was ended by his conflict with Licinius in 319, Licinius had begun to oppress the Christians, especially in his army (Workman, Persecution in Early Church, 1906, p. 187 n.), though without much bloodshed (Euseb. HE x. 8; VC i. 40; Greg. op. cit. i. 157; for a clear exposition see E. Goser, Die Linic. Christen- verfolgung, Leipzig, 1875, esp. p. 29 ff.); this persecution seduced the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (see O. v. Gebhardt, Acta Mart. Selecta, 1902, pp. 166–181). This foolish move gave Constantine the opportunity of appearing as the advocate of the Christians (323), who were really far more numerous in the Christian’s domain than his emperor’s. The struggle thus became a crusade, and the legio was stamped on most coins (Euseb. HE x. 9, VC ii. 6–12; Schiller, op. cit. ii. 211; Madden, Num. Chron., 1877, p. 53 ff.).

(d) From 323 to his death.—After his conflict with Licinius, Constantine, according to Eusebius, put his hand seriously to the work, forbidding pagan sacrifices in general (see infra, p. 81), and building churches (VC ii. 44–46). But, on the whole, his attitude to paganism was cautious, though his aversion to the old faith would be increased by his unfortunate reception in beaaten Rome in 326, which led to his abandoning it for Constantinople. After this he seems to have increased the privileges of the clergy (Soz. HE i. 8, 9), and he rewarded towns that turned temples into churches (Soz. HE i. 18; Soz. HE ii. 5), in several cases because of immoral rites (cf. Euseb. Laud. Constant. s). Many temples were also despoiled for the foundations of churches, but only by his expressed wish new the city was free from organized heathenism (Euseb. VC ii. 48). At the same time the existing temples of Byzantium—Cybele, Castor and Pollux, etc.—were not destitute of pagan emblems; of Christian connoted to Tyche (Fortuna), though without temple services (Soz. ii. 21; Schultz, op. cit. ii. 281; for this Tyche, Bury refers to a study of J. Strzygowski, ‘Die Tyche v. Constantin,’ in Anarca Graecosien, Graz, 1895). By this time his official series of churches in Rome (the list of which in the Lib. Pontif. is very exaggerated) is conclusive as to the date of his conversion.

Though not even a catechumen, Constantine delighted in preaching sermons, in Latin, to the applauding crowds; one of these has been preserved to us by Eusebius (VC iv. 296), which at the same time his abdication from Catholicism towards Arianism was increasing (see infra, p. 80), helped probably by the death of his mother Helena (c. 330) (Euseb. VC ii. 47); buried at Constantinople (Soz. i. 47). The fact that he did not take any steps either to become a catechumen or be baptized until he felt near to death, may be explained as due either to political balancing, or to lack of decision, or, more probably, to the belief that baptism, like the heathen initiations, ensured the remission of sins, and to the growing dread of post-baptismal sin. He was finally baptized by the Arian bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia (Euseb. VC iv. 62–63; Jerome, Chron., ann. 2350 [in PL xxvii. 690]). In the Greek Church he has possibly been canonized by the title Isertnder, ‘Equal to the Apostles.’

Into the large question of the advantage or otherwise to the Church of Constantine’s adoption of Christianity in the East and of the character of his conversion must be left. The first is at least possible in Cyril of Jerusalem (b. 315), Ep. ad Const. 3, the genuineness of which is, however, doubtful.
Christianity as the State religion, we cannot enter. The familiar lines of Dante (Inferno, xi. 113),
which have often been quoted in the fadism, and the judgment of Mill (Essay on Liberty, ch. 2) deserves to be pondered: 'It is a bitter thought how different the Christianity of the world might have been, had it been adopted as the religion of the Empire under the auspices of Marcus Aurelius, instead of those of Constantine!' For a contrary judgment cf. Newman, Arias, 1871, p. 218.

IV. Constantine and the Church. (a) Relations of Church and State. — Nothing was further from the intention of Constantine than to abandon to the Church any portion of his Imperial prerogative, and this determination would be increased by the sympathies of the Court clergy. Into his adoption of the new religion he carried all the old Roman ideas, for his 'conversion' was not a revolution in the political genius of the Empire. Whatever crudity there may have been about his religious opinions, his views as an official were clear. To the edicts which Constantine issued as an official of the civil service, the consequences of this are apparent in the after history of the Church. The Emperor, it is true, could not be the Pontifex Maximus of the new religion—this title, retained by the Caesars, was dropped by Constantian (Zos. i. 36), and in time lapsed to the Bishop of Rome—but the new anarchy founded by DIOCLETIAN and himself (on this see Gibbon, ch. xvii., with Bury's appendix) made this of less moment than the fact of Constantine's assertion of his spiritual sway. The official title of the new monarchy was the higher 'deus' (Schiller, op. cit. ii. 33, 34). In consequence, in the Eastern Church the Emperor was always the supreme head, as his modern representative, the Czar, is to-day; but in the West the abandonment by Constantine of his new capital gave the bishops of Rome their great opportunity. Thus Constantine and his successors, while giving the Church Councils full liberty of discussion, insisted that their own consent was necessary to confer validity on the canons; and they regulated the business by Imperial commissioners, often laymen. So, at the Council of Arles, Constantine deputed Bishop Marinos to preside (Ep. 24, 4). Again, at the Council of Nice, Bishop Hosius of Cordova (on this complicated question see DBB i. 168, and, for the Rom. Cath. view, Hefele, Concilia, Eng. tr. 1857, I. 37 ff.); while at the Council of Tyre (335) he appointed Donatus as commissioner (Euseb. FC iv. 42; PL xii. 362). The doctrine asserted by Constantine was never wholly lost even in the Roman Catholic Church, and was of great influence as late as the Council of Constance (cf. also Articles of the Anglican Church, no. 21).

(b) Constantine renews the heresy. — To the Roman magistrate religious recusancy was tantamount to political disaffection. Constantine and his successors were therefore hasty, attempting to get the ink on the decree of toleration dry, to deal with heresies and schisms within the Church itself. To allow the Church to be rent into diverse parties would be to destroy the very solidarity and unity of Christendom ('extensorum spiritus'), which Constantine regarded as the politics of all other religions as destined to become supreme. Hence the anxiety of Constantine to secure the peace of the 'legitimate Catholic Church' (Euseb. HE x. 5, 29).

Constantine's first intervention was in regard to the Donatists (q.v.). For Constantin and the Donatists we have Optatus Milv. De Schismate Donatist. (written about 375). 21 ff.; but Optatus is neither complete nor altogether trustworthy. We also possess a valuable collection of anonymous documents, Decom Monum. Vet. et Epist. Donatist. hist., p. 92. First pagination: [31]. These are collected up with Optatus (best ed. of both by C. Ziesa in CSEL xxv. 1892; also by Duchesne, Proc. Soc. of Euch. and Migne, Patrologia Latina, Vol. xliii., p. 565—568, and L. Duchesne, Le Dossier du donatisme, Paris, 1889.

In answer to the appeal of the Donatists (15th Apr. 313) forwarded by Anulius, proconsul of Africa, Constantine summoned CINCIUS, bishop of Carthage, and the ten accusing bishops to appear at Rome before a synod over which he instructed Pope Miltiades to preside (Euseb. HE x. 5, 18; August. Ep. 83, c. Crescon. iii. 81). At the same time, prompted by Anulius, bishop of Cordova, he gave Cæcilius certain marks of his esteem (Euseb. HE x. 6). The synod met (2—4 Oct. 313) in 'the casa of Fanusta on the Lateran,' and the decision was given against the Donatists (Opatt. op. cit. i. 22—24; Aug. contra Ep. Parm. i. 10; Ep. 43, 5 (14)). On the further appeal of the Donatists, Cæcilius was detained at Brescia (ib. i. 26), and two bishops were dispatched by Constantine to Africa to make inquiries 'ubi esset Catholica.' As they reported in favour of Cæcilius, the Donatists pressed the appeal, and Constantine ordered the case to be re-tried at Arles (Euseb. HE x. 5, 21; Opatt. op. cit. i. 20; Decom Mon. Vet. iii. iv. v.), 1 about the same time (Feb. 15, 315) a commission was appointed by Constantine for the guilt of bp. Felix of Autumni. 2 Of the decisions of Arles we have only fragmentary evidence (F. Massaen, Quellen des canon. Rechts, Graz, 1870, p. 188 ff.), and its date, 1st Aug. 314 or 315, is uncertain, though it probably marks the final acceptance of the Donatists were still satisfied, Constantine heard their appeal at Milan (10th Nov. 316; August. c. Crescon. iii. 16, 67, 82, iv. 9, ad Don. 19, 33, 50), and confirmed the decisions of the Councils (August. c. Crescon. iii. 101, 160, 188, contra Ep. Parm. i. 11; cf. PL viii. 750). Constantine thereupon issued edicts persecuting the churches of the Donatists (August. Ep. 105, 2; 9; 88, 3), though within a few years (5th May 321) he adopted a policy of toleration or indifference (Optatus, Dec. Mon. Vet. viii. 13; Brev. iii. 40, 42; cf. Aug. ad Don. 56, Ep. 141, 9).

(i.) As regards other heretics, Eusebius (PC iii. 65—65) tells us of his zeal against 'Novatians, Valentinians, Marcionites, and Caelestians.' The Pontificate of Paul of Samosata, those 'who are called Cataphrygians' (i.e. Montanists) and the confiscation of their meeting places to the Catholic Church. Thus, as Eusebius puts it, 'the savage beasts were driven by the consular mark to the heretics' of the privileges granted to the Church became part of the law of the Empire (Cod. Th. xxvi. 5, 1; Cod. Just. i. 5, 1; in 526).

(iii.) To the greater Arian difficulty which distracted the Eastern Church [see art. ARIANISM, vol. i. p. 777] the attention of Constantine seems to have been drawn about the year 319. As a majority of the bishops of Asia appeared to support Arius' cause, Constantine, in the hope of ending the dispute, first sent his confidential adviser, his bishop of Cordova, to Bishop Alexander of Alexandria and the presbyter Aris, with a characteristic letter begging them to lay aside 'this insignificant subject of controversy' and cooperate. 3 If no. v. is genuine, it was either dictated by Hosius or shows interpolations. It does not seem to the present writer that it can be safely used with reference to Constantine's character and Christianity at this period. 4

2 This is the correct form, not Aptasugi. For the text of this trial see Dec. Mon. Vet. i. ii., in CSEL xxvi. 197, and for its date L. Duchesne, op. cit. p. 614.

3 So Seeck, op. cit.; but Duchesne, op. cit. p. 640, argues for 314; and for these see also to the synod of Trier in the later date. For the decisions see Dec. Mon. Vet. iv. (CSEL xxvi. 206), also in PL viii. 615; August. Ep. 43. For the council see PL viii. 415; Hefele, Concilia, Eng. tr. i. 193 ff.

For Constantin and the Donatists we have Optatus Milv. De Schismate Donatist. (written about 375). 21 ff.; but Optatus is neither complete nor altogether trustworthy. We also
with him in restoring unity (Eusc. VC ii. 61-72). As this failed, Constantine, on the advice of Hosius (Sulp. Severus, Chron. ii. 40, ed. Halin in ChroN. Hebd. and Coment. episc. i. 13) met at Nicaea (18th June-25th Aug. 325). The 'ecumenical' (οἰκουμένικος, i.e. 'of the Empire,' cf. Lk 2' and CIL, passion) character of the Council—about 10 bishops from the West, and 308 from the East (Athanasius, ad Aegres, 2; cf. Soc. HE i. 9)—and its importance alike mark the beginning of a new era for Christianity. Its controversies do not concern us; but for our present purpose it should be noted that the influence of Constantine for peace was considerable (Theod. HE i. 11), that the Council was summoned in his name (Eusc. VC iii. 6), that Constantine presided at the opening (ib. iii. 10 ff.) and addressed it at its close (ib. iii. 21), and that he communicated its decision to the Church of Alexandria (Soc. HE ii. 9). But in 328, there was a change of policy. Whether owing to the influence of his sister Constantinian, the widow of Licinius, who had herself been influenced by Eusebius of Nicomedia, or because Constantine was now more in touch with the speculative East than in his earlier years, he sought a less stringent enforcement of Nicene doctrine. The Ariazing Euschius of Nicomedia, who had been banished at the close of the Council, now reappeared and gained the influence of the empress. The result was seen in the deposition of Athanasius (cf. vol. ii. p. 169, or W. Bright in DCB i. 186) by the Council of Tyre (335), his banishment by Constantine (336) to Trèves, the rehabilitation of Arinas by Constantine (338), and the death (336) of Eusebius, who should have been restored to a more harmonious position, but was never received back into fellowship at Constantinople (336). The death of Constantine left the Arian trouble to his successors, under whom Arianism became more identified with Court circles.

2. Donations. The Eusebian or Constantine's whole policy, as regards heresy and unity fastened upon the Church for sixteen hundred years a policy of intolerance. The result was soon seen in the case of Priscillian (see PRISCILLIANISM).

(c) Endowments.—The supposed 'Donation of Constantine,' all-important historically as this falsehood proved, need not detain us. It carried with it the story of Constantine's leprosy, and baptism by Sylvester at Rome.

Eusebius, HE iii. 25-578. Its date was probably the 5th century. In 1259 two men who ventured to doubt its genuineness were burnt at Strasbourg, and as late as 1583 it was still held. Its disproof and the development of the doctrine of the Melanchthon, Aeschar, Aeg. 1888, iii. 508 n.). Its overthrow by L. Valla (in Donat. Const. Decrees, in Brown, Plut. Rem. Exspond. [1606] i. 129) was one of the first results of the Renaissance.

The benefactions of Constantine were, however, considerable. For instance, he created, Cessalian, bishop of Carthage, 3000 foldes (500ÆAe), or parishes, i.e. nearly £18,000 (Eusc. HE x. 6; cf. VC iv. 28). Great sums were also spent on the building of churches (Eusc. HE x. 2, 3, 4), especially at Jerusalem (Holy Sepulchre [Eusc. VC iii. 34-40]), Bethlehem (ib. 43), Nicomedia (ib. 50), and Rome. Of his benefactions to the great basilicas at Rome we possess a list that seems authentic (PL viii. 803 ἐκ, though many of the gifts mentioned are later accumulations (Duchesne, Lib. Pont. 1 Introduct. p. 152). Of great importance from another standpoint is his order of fifty copies of the Scriptures 'legibly described and of a portable size' (Eusc. VC iv. 36).

V. Influence of Constantine's establishment of Christianity upon legislation.—The following are the most important evidences of the growth, during the Constantinian era, of specifically Christian laws or of the influence of Christian sentiment.

(i) Morals.—(a) Slaves.—There was no abolition of slavery; this was not a burning question in the Early Church. But slaves condemned to games or to the mines must not be branded in the face, 'which is fashioned in the likeness of the Divine beauty' (Cod. Th. ix. 40, 2, March 315; PL viii. 315, 2). In the case of female slaves must not be separated (Cod. Th. ii. 25, in 331; PL viii. 376). Masters must not kill or wantonly torture their slaves (Cod. Th. ix. 12, chs. 1, 2 in 319 and 320; Cod. Just. ix. 14; PL viii. 316). But the wording of this last law left many loopholes of escape, while fugitive slaves must not only be given up (Cod. Just. vi. 1, 4, in 317; PL viii. 150), but could be examined by torture (Cod. Just. vi. 1, 4, 6, in 317 and 333) or slavery; but deprived of a foot (ib. vi. 1, 3, undated). The abolition of crucifixion (SOE HE i. 8) and the breaking of legs (Aur. Vict. Cxs. 41) would chiefly apply to slaves. But the illegality of Christians being held as slaves by Jews (Eusc. VC iv. 27; Cod. Th. vi. 9, 1, 2, 4, xvii. 8, 6; PL viii. 10) was witnessed rather to the growing hatred of the Jews (cf. Cod. Th. xvi. 8, 1; Cod. Just. i. 9, 3; PL viii. 130, in Oct. 315).

(b) Gladiators.—Gladiatorial shows were prohibited in 325 (Cod. Th. xx. 121; PL viii. 253; Cod. Just. xi. 41; cf. Eusc. VC iv. 25; Soc. HE i. 18), though the law was certainly not enforced in Italy. That at Constantinople there were never any gladiatorial shows may be ascribed to the influence of Christianity, or the bloody slaughters at Trèves in his early life (Eunen, Paneg., 12).

(c) Adultery, etc.—(c) Concubinage was disallowed for married men (Cod. Just. v. 26 in 326; cf. Digest. 22). He should be severely punished, the woman, even if not a consenting party, by disinheriting; abettors, by slaves, by burning, or by banishment (Cod. Th. ix. 23, 1; PL viii. 153-158, in April 320).

(d) Children. Children of the Church were forbidden to kill their infant children, the care of whom was henceforth to be an Imperial charge (Cod. Th. xi. 27, 1, 2; for Italy first in 315 [PL viii. 121]), then for Africa and other provinces in 322 (PL viii. 236). The Christian sentiment of this law (cf. Laetant. Inst. vi. 20) is more obvious than its correct political economy. Exposure of children was not forbidden until 374 (Cod. Just. viii. 51, 2, ix. 16, 7). The growing poverty of the Empire again was responsible for Constantine's allowing the sale of infant children by poor people (Cod. Th. v. 8, 1; v. 7, 1, in 329 and 331; cf. Cod. Just. iv. 13)—a practice forbidden in 296 by Diocletian (Cod. Just. i.c.). (2) Illegitimate children were legitimized by a new and more liberal view of marriage. (3) Prisoners were not to be confined without air and light, or with 'chains that cleave to their bones,' or to be imprisoned before trial (Cod. Th. ix. 3, 1, 2; Cod. Just. ix. 4, 1, 2, in 320 and 326; PL viii. 199, 299).

II. CLERGY AND CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.—(o) The 'Catholic' clergy were freed from the discharge of civil duties (Cod. Th. xvi. 1, 2, in Nov. 313, Oct. 319; PL viii. 102, 180), but in July 320 the abuse of this led to its rescission (PL viii. 200), as was also the case in June 326 (Cod. Th. xvi. 2, 6; PL viii. 314). (b) Exception was made to the Lex Papian Poppea against celibacy in favour of the clergy, thus allowing them to inherit (Cod. Th. xvi. 2, 4). (c) Public works and the sitting of the courts were forbidden on Sundays, 'dies solis' (Cod. Th. ii. 8, 1; Cod. Just. iii. 12, 2, in July 321; PL viii. 224; note the balanced 'dies solis,' which would suit Mithrasism also). (d) Manus curious were permitted to be solemnly made in
churches as well as temples (Cod. Thx. vii. 2. 4, iv. 7. 1; Cod. Just. i. 13. 1, 2, in 316 and Ap. 321; PL viii. 2141). As these munificentions were made on Sundays, and especially at Easter, Christianity became accepted in the public mind with the release of slaves.

iii. PAGAN WORSHIP AND RITES.—(a) Prohibition of pagan sacrifices in general (Euseb. VC ii. 45, 118, 19, 25).

There was a law which might be inferred from Cod. Thx. vii. 10, "law of our divine Father," but it was certainly not carried out. The progress of Christianity was slow (S. Dill, Roman Society in the Last Century of the W. Empire, 1898, vol. i. ch. 1; cf. A. Beugin, Histoire de la destruction de l'Empire Romain, 1855, vol. ii.). However, Christianity was more than once proclaimed libel to the pagans to reject certain passages in Eusebius, VC ii. 34; Græc. Ev. Oct. 10. Anonius, Episc. xiv. 4). The question is well discussed in de Broglie (ed. J. C. F. B. Beugnot, op. cit. 1. 100) the takes the prohibition to refer to nocturnal and private sacrifice only.

(b) The re-enactment, Feb. and May 319, of the law of Tiberius against divination (Cod. Thx. vii. 16, 1, 2; PL viii. 155, 162). In Dec. 319 the conscription of haruspices was allowed when public barca was struck by lightning (Cod. Thx. vii. 202).

Literature.—(a) SOURCES.—The estimate we form of Constantine depends chiefly upon the value we attach to the contemporary sources. As far as these sources may be considered frequently be read in Migne, PL viii. "Opera Constantia;" but, as this is both incomplete and unsatisfactory, additional data must be used with care, especially as regards Constantine's correspondence. For the Life of Constantine we gain our main information; The Passages relating to the orations delivered on state occasions, but with a valuable residuum of fact. Two, delivered in 307 and 315, are of unconnected authorship, three are probably by Eusebius (cfr. 310, 311), and one by Nazarius (221); in Migne, PL viii. 450 f., or, better, Ehr. Fünfte Pars (1842), to which edition references have been made by number and chapter. Another work of special pleading, though from a different standpoint, is the Vita Constantini of Macarius, PL viii. 249 f. (by J. Brandt, in CSEL xxvii. [1877]). This work, ascribed in the MS to an unknown L. Cecilianus, was attributed to the close of the 5th cent. (e.g. by Jerome in 392 [d. Vitr. Illust. 50], to L. Cecilianus Firmianus Lanecastus). The genuineness of this ascription has been assailed by his editor, S. Brandt, MGH Inst. ii. 1829), and justified by Bury (pp. 631-532). The date is probably 315. Of the works of Eusebius of Caesarea, the HE, published early in 236, is of great value, but the Vita Constantini (VC) in four books, written between 337 and 340, is a porous edifice (see Socrates, HE i. i) rather than serious history (best ed. of Eusebius by Heinrichs [1868-70]; good Eng. tr. by McNeill and Richardson [New York, 1890]). Of contentions of much importance relating to Constantine's secretary Entropius, Brevierien ab urbe condita (ed. F. Ruelle, 1897), and H. Droysen in Gesch. ii. [1873]). A most valuable source is the series of letters first printed by M. Milz and later, as Aeneas, called Anonymus Valerii (best ed. by Mommsen in Chronica Monacensia, i. 311-7). As the clerical languages in this have been shown by Mommsen (op. cit. pref. p. 6) to be interpo
dulations from Origen, it is probable written before the establishment of the Church's discipline. The valuable contemporary pagan history of Fraxagoras is known to us only in a brief summary of Photius (in C. Müller, P.F.H. xii. 2 [Paris, 1823]).

Of later writers we may single out Euphranes of Samos (347-414). His History (ed. C. Müller, th. iv. 7-66) was one of the main sources of the anti-Christian zeolites, whose History (ed. L. Medelhohson, 1857) was written towards the close of the 5th cent., and is of great value in spite of his bias. The Orations on Constantine of Julian the Apostate (ed. F. C. Hervey, 1876-82) is always of value for what it concedes. Anamnuis Marcellinus (Th. 320) in his great work Rex Gentis (ed. V. Carthausius, 1874, Eng. tr. F. Holland, 1889), though a pagan, treats Christianity without bitterness. Another important source is the Chronicon Paschale in its various forms in MGH ii. 500 f. (1891). Of the Christian historians, Socrates (HE) and Soazon (HE), who both write from the standpoint of the Church, add little to Eusebius, while the later Greek chroniclers may be neglected. For Constantine and the Domitae see supra iv. b. 1, p. 79.

The data be obtained from the earlier sources, must be studied in the Codes of Theodosias and Justinian, especially the former. As the Code of Theodosia is very bulky (ed. Cod. Thx. viii. 4, 7-17, 19, 26; D. Schinz and E. Kuhn u. a. also ed. Hinkel, Bonn, 1842), the student may content himself with a list of excerpts in Migne, P. 1171 f. (600). For the Code of Justinian references should be made to the ed. of P. Krüger (Berlin, 1877). Almost as important as the written sources are the documents and inscriptions of Constantine's time and media. The value of these has been well brought out by Scholier (op. cit. infra). For further study reference may be made to the well-known works in commentary, 6 vols. 1874-85, and also ed. Hinkel, Bonn, 1842, the student may content himself with a list of excerpts in Migne, P. 1171 f. (600).

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utility is limited by the simple desire of consuming them. As this desire becomes satisfied, the pleasure in consuming diminishes, and with it the utility of the commodity, till it vanishes altogether, because the desire is satisfied.

(b) Similar considerations are apparent when we ask what we are willing to pay for different commodities. It depends, of course, on our desires. But the interest of the question is that these are in competition, since we cannot satisfy them all even if we had the means; and the special economic interest of the question is that our means are limited. It is the question how a given income is spent. And in terms of the general law we have these two answers: (1) every one seeks to secure the greatest Total Utility from his income, and (2) he does this by looking to the Marginal Utility of his various purchases in order to make it equal in them all. The first statement is obvious, but the second needs explaining. By marginal utility is meant the utility of any commodity, or quantity of it, that a buyer is just willing to take at a certain price. His debate with himself is always whether he could do better with his shilling now or in the future; and, if he buys and regrets, it is always because he might have had a greater utility for his shilling if he had bought something else with it, or if he had kept it. To spend well is not to buy the same degree of utility with every shilling, for infinite or necessary utilities are usually cheap. The difference between the price for which one gets them, and the price that one would be willing to pay for them, is called the Consumer's Surplus. These notions of surplus utility, total utility, and marginal utility are most clearly presented in diagram. For every commodity there can be drawn a curve representing all three. The shape of the curve is different for different commodities and for different consumers; but in accordance with the general law of diminishing utility it shows in all cases a more or less regular fall in utility with every addition to the quantity bought. Annexed is the general diagram of any commodity. On \( OX \) are marked the units of quantity bought, and so of the price paid; and the diminishing areas drawn on them represent the diminishing utilities, the first being infinite, representing the infinite and marginal utility. The most having equal losses, their difference may be represented by their height, and a curve drawn as in the figure. If a consumer buys 7 units, the marginal utility is that of the last portion, and he makes this his marginal purchase, because for the same unit of money he expects a greater utility of spending it on something else than on an eighth unit of this commodity. The total utility is represented by the total area \( AB \), and the surplus by the area \( AE \).

Taking all his purchases into account, it is clear that he will have nothing to regret (except, of course, the nature of his desires) if his marginal purchases have all an equal degree of utility. For he will thus have the greatest total utility from his income.

(c) A commodity has a different marginal utility for different consumers, the difference being due to the difference in their incomes and their desires. Hence with every price at which a commodity is offered there corresponds a certain demand; and, in general, the greater the price the less the demand, and the less the price the greater the demand. It is in expectation of a sufficient demand at a profitable price that commodities are produced, and it is on the correctness of his expectations, and not on the cost of production, that a producer relies for his price and profit. This is the essential consideration in the familiar law of supply and demand. It is fixed for all values that are fixed by competition (q.v.).

2. As the ultimate aim of economic effort is to consume what is produced, the practical questions regarding consumption may run into great detail; and their answers exist in one or other of the above three, the questions are not systematic. This is seen in the conflict of popular opinions about the spending of the rich. It would be hard to say whether people approve more of the rich man who spends much and so spends his wealth, or of the rich man who spends little, and appears, therefore, not to give work to others. And whatever may be thought of the spendthrift, the miser, and the philanthropist as individuals, and the diversity of opinion about the first two, and some about the philanthropist, as members of the body economic. And not all professional economists appear to have reconciled the truth in the two opposite statements that 'demands for commodities is not due to richer labour,' and that 'work of want of work is due to under-consumption.' The aim of economic organization and effort is, under conditions, to produce the greatest total utility; and, if we ask how economic progress is to be estimated, we ask the conditions on which this total utility depends. First it depends on the quantity and quality of wealth produced, and so on the full and the most efficient use of the labour and the natural and acquired resources of a country. And in looking at the economic progress of a country we are apt to look no further than at the amount and quality of wealth that is thus produced, and at its distribution with a view to further production. But the amount of utility wealth depends on the intensity and variety of the desires for whose satisfaction the wealth is consumed. This is the head under which all practical questions of consumption find their place. It is convenient to divide this question into two by considering, first, the satisfaction of desires that all seek to satisfy, and then the satisfaction of other desires. Regarding the former, it is apparent that the total utility from a country's produce is greater when the margin at which the very per centage of utility is extended, and the margin of others is contracted so as to exclude waste and glutontry. A country of great houses and vile hovels is so far not making so much of its wealth as one where the houses are less great and the hovels less vile. But it is when we turn from more or less necessary desires that we see the complexity of the question that may be organized from the point of view.
of consumption. It is here that there is the nearest connexion between Economics and Ethics. The ideal is that of complete living, and requires a character having variety and depth of interests or desires, quite as much as one having these in unity or system, and so in harmony. In economic progress there must be this variety and depth if the wealth is to be distributed with the increase; and an obvious point is that many desires—most of the higher desires, intellectual, aesthetic, and social—are very little destructive of utility. The cost of creating them, e.g. by education, is greater than the cost of gratifying them, and therefore must the more enter into the more important consideration. The most destructive desires need no learning.

It is also obvious from the nature of consumption that no comment on an economic system can be safer for the most part serious, or even letts, the poor grow poorer while the rich grow richer. The comment is often made, but it is made mainly on the erroneous ground that the gain of one must always be the loss of another. It has not been true in the last 100 years. If it will be a very wealth of life. But, the contrary, the saving in mere hardness of toil has been one of the best fruits of invention (see PRODUCTION).

While there is ground for charging defects in consumption not to thriftlessness merely, but to the bad distribution of wealth and to the struggle to have rather than to enjoy, there is a source that is at least as serious. So long as individual wealth is devoted to the service of a few desires, its increase must be consumed with diminishing utility. Luxuries, vices, ostentation, and luxury are not spared any of the severity and exhaustion of muscular work that he had before the revolution in industry. For nothing tells more against a wealth of life. But, the contrary, the saving in mere hardness of toil has been one of the best fruits of invention (see PRODUCTION).

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The statistics of consumption that have most practical interest are concerned with the expenditure of small incomes. There are two methods of obtaining data for the so-called 'intensive' method, makes a minute study of individual families and their mode of life. It is most completely represented in the work of Le Play (1806–1882) and his school. Examples of him—though not so minute—are to be found in Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (1889–97); Rowntree, *Poverty* (1901); and in *Family Budgets* (1896), collected by members of the Economic Club. The other, the 'extensive' method, looks rather to the quantity of his facts, and was Ernst Engel (1821–1896), who formulated a law, usually called Engel's Law, of which the main part is that as income rises the proportion of it spent on food diminishes. And later statistics from various countries give a general support to his view that this proportion may be used as a comparative measure of well-being, viz. the higher the proportion of earnings spent on food, the poorer a community, and requires a character having variety and depth of interests or desires, quite as much as one having these in unity or system, and so in harmony. In economic progress there must be this variety and depth if the wealth is to be distributed with the increase; and an obvious point is that many desires—most of the higher desires, intellectual, aesthetic, and social—are very little destructive of utility. The cost of creating them, e.g. by education, is greater than the cost of gratifying them, and therefore must the more enter into the more important consideration. The most destructive desires need no learning.

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common to all languages (cf. carcer, cruz, patibulum, fæcâ [Mt 5:29], mœch [ib.], dog, 'eum', 'cullion' [Shakespeare, Taming of Shrew, IV. ii. 20], 'geek and gall' [Twelfth Night, v. i. 531], 'John-a-dreams' [Hamlet, ii. ii. 959], 'zed' [Lear, ii. i. 89], of the Eastern street dog is a type of all that is cowardly, lazy, filthy, treacherous, and contemptible (HDB, s. v. 'Dog').

Both in the Heb. of the OT and in the Greek of the NT the verbal forms expressing various degrees of scorn, derision, or disesteem are remarkably rich. In the OT we find ns and ɔs [original meaning dukt]; ɔw with the root idea of rejection; γν where the idea of scorn is connected with the ministration of a foreigner's speech; and πεν, 'smile.' In the NT we have ἐπικινδύνω, πληροῦσθαι, ἐξευθενίσκεσθαι, καταφέρεσθαι, περιφέρεσθαι, διαγγέλειν, and the expression ἐκπεινηθῆναι (Lk 16:25; 'turn up the nose at'). The mimetic or descriptive verb is as conspicuous in exhibiting the feeling of disgust as in other cases (cf. 'dor,' 'nuisance'); and the word ἐκπεινηθῆναι recalls Shakespeare's 'I will bite my thumb at them' (Romeo and Juliet, i. i. 44. f.), a contemptuous action for bringing a quarrel; 'to give her the avance,' i.e. to send her away contemptuously (Henry VII, i. i. 10); or the verbal expression (2 Hen. IV. v. iii. 124), 'Figg me, like the bragging Spaniard' (thumb thrust between first and second fingers as a mark of contempt and insult). The word ομηρεύεται (2 P 3, Jude 1) is also a more obviously external act or gesture than καταφέρειν (Ac 13:18). It may be noted in passing that contempt takes in literature the form of satires and that of caricature in art. 'Satire in EIB and Caricature in EIB 39.'

From Lucilius to the present day scorn is an ingredient of satire. 'Facit indignatio versum,' said Juvenal (Sat. i. 79); and it was a wholesome balancing of duty and motives that inspired such a satire as the Sixth, his 'Legend of Bad Women' (Mackail). The content of satire is fierce and bitter; but it can also be genial, as in Don Quixote, where the follies of medieval chivalry are held up to censure in a similar distinction in the art of the caricaturist.

2. Psychology.—The psychological analysis of contempt has not often been attempted. It obviously belongs to the category of what Wundt calls the objective emotions (Outlines of Psychology, ed. 1908, p. 197), and is generally to be classified as a species of anger, finding a place in what the same writer distinguishes as the 'excitation-depression' series of emotions, or in what Royce prefers to call 'the restless and quiescence' series (Outlines of Psychology, 1903, p. 175). Macdougall, in his Introduction to Social Psychology, draws a distinction between scorn as a binary compound of anger and disgust, or a tertiary compound, if positive self-feeling is added to these, and contempt, which he regards as a 'binary compound of disgust and positive self-feeling, differing from scorn in the absence of the element of anger.' In ordinary usage, however, scorn and contempt are used interchangeably; and, while some kinds of contempt are notably free from anger and suggest serene self-esteem, e.g. the attitude of the educated towards the illiterate, there are other forms in which one may detect the element of indignation, e.g. the loathing which a noble mind feels towards a crucified or ignoble deed. In Shakespeare's Twelfth Night, iii. i. 157 f., Olivia remarks:

'O, what a deal of scorn looks beautiful
In the contempt and anger of his lip?'

where obviously contempt is regarded as of close kinship with anger.

Disgust, aversion, and shrinking from an object are undoubtably one of the elements of contempt; sometimes this is accompanied by facial and other physical reaction, sometimes it is merely intellectual, as when Horace remarks: 'Odi profanum vulgus et arceo' (Od. iii. i. 1). While, then, we can distinguish the aversions which make up the emotion of contempt, its quality is capable of multitudinous subtle gradations and internal shadings, corresponding with the objects and situations which call it forth.

E. B. Tylor.—Contempt, as an emotion which, like anger, finds expression in word and deed, or as part of a mental condition, naturally passes into the sphere of ethical judgment. It is an element in the character of the Psalmist, as when he says, 'The Lord shall have them in derision' (Ps 2, referring to the rebellion of His disaffected subjects; so of the heathen, Ps 59). In both passages the conception of contempt is associated with laughter. Such a theory of contempt is not obsolete: e.g. K. Browning's lines,

'... Happy that I lean
Be crossed and thwarted as a man,
Not left in God's contemptuous part.'

(Exeter-Day, xxiii.),

where a failure of ideal is associated with the sense of Divine rejection and wrath. The monothestic contempt for idol-making and idolatry (cf. Is 44:16) in prophetic literature is an expression of the belief in the unapproachability of God and the moral weight of our own acts and lives (Is 59). In the OT, especially in the Wisdom literature, the 'scorn,' or contemptuous man, (16) is frequently in the teaching of Proverbs: the God, as when he says, 'The Lord shall have them in derision' (Ps 2, referring to the rebellion of His disaffected subjects; so of the heathen, Ps 59). In both passages the conception of contempt is associated with laughter. Such a theory of contempt is not obsolete: e.g. K. Browning's lines,

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where a failure of ideal is associated with the sense of Divine rejection and wrath. The monothestic contempt for idol-making and idolatry (cf. Is 44:16) in prophetic literature is an expression of the belief in the unapproachability of God and the moral weight of our own acts and lives (Is 59). In the OT, especially in the Wisdom literature, the 'scorn,' or contemptuous man, (16) is frequently in the teaching of Proverbs: the God, as when he says, 'The Lord shall have them in derision' (Ps 2, referring to the rebellion of His disaffected subjects; so of the heathen, Ps 59). In both passages the conception of contempt is associated with laughter. Such a theory of contempt is not obsolete: e.g. K. Browning's lines,
He did not hesitate to use the language of contentment respecting the unreality of Christian morals on the ground 'that their whole life was an acted play,' and that their zeal for righteousness was unwarranted 'thieves from a parentless, for men as such;' nor did he scruple to use the term 'that fox' (12) of Herod Antipas as summing up his moral cowardice and cunning. But contentment for man for man, of class for class, the disparagement of lowly condition, yea of sinners (as opposed to their sins), is ruled out by the example and teaching of Christ. Christ's view of man was 'a transvaluation of all values.' The first promise of the changed view of humanity is given in the Magnificat: 'He himself, that enthroneth the poor in honor and setteth the humble in his sight. (in repudio)' (Psa. 89). Nietzsche, that super-man of a new world, is not the embodiment of the spiritual, physical and intellectual, but the embodiment of perfect love. Aristotle's 'lofty-minded man' looks down upon others 'justly (for he judges truly); but most people do so at random' (Ethics, xi. 6). Even the best hearted of our contemporaries, however, fails to convince us; for in the same context we are told that 'he is not lavish of praise: for this reason he speaks no evil, not even of his enemies, unless he beContrast this with Christ's teaching, which enjoins the love of one's enemies and exalts meekness. The noblest character of ancient teaching 'walks, like contentment, alone' (Timon of Athens, iv. 15), and views his fellows (to quote Shakespeare again) through the 'scornful perspective' which contentment lends him (All's Well, v. iii. 48). He is quite oblivious of the claims of human brotherhood, in fact, his snobbery is hardly distinguishable from that satirized by Thackeray, and is equally out of harmony with the Christian spirit. Pride of birth, intellect, and dominion is by Dante (Purg. x. xi. xii.) consigned to the first terrace of purgatory, from which the poet is escorted by the angel of Humility to the song of celestial voices, singing, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit.' (xii. 3.)

The haughtiness which despises its inferiors, whether it take the form of reserve (épœrapia) or of active scorn (épæpès), is incompatible with the humanitarian ideal of Christianity. Such is the institution of slavery. The treatment of any human being as a chattel or instrument is no longer tolerable. 'Base things of the world and things that are despised did God choose' (1 Co. i. 27). The scorn of the man of the world for pity is an index of an oblique moral vision (cf. the Master of Ballantrae's contentment for his steward's strict and paritcular notions ['my evangelist,' he calls him ironically] in Stevenson's Master of Ballantrae). St. Paul was the Thessalonians (1 Th. ii. 14) against 'contempt of prohesyings,' implying that manifestations of the Spirit have to be judged with careful discrimination, and that they are not to be distrusted because fanaticism or unreason accompanies them in particular instances. Contempt is often a form of bigotry, and the symptom of defective charity or tolerance; and not seldom it is implicit in a cold rationalism or in the materialism which rejects immortality and religion. On the other hand, to be devoid of general conscience is no mean punishment. 'Let no man despise thy youth' (1 Ti. 4?3), or 'Let no man despise thee' (Tit. 2:12), is a summons to the cultivation of moral dignity, which at all stages of our

life, and not in youth alone, is the fine flower of a Christian personality. If, on the one hand, contentment is opposed to humility, reverence, compassion, and love, it is, on the other the chief element of the moral indictment of which the Founder of Christianity is the noblest exemplar.


R. MARTIN POPE.

CONTENTMENT.—Contentment—the condition of being satisfied—is a state of mind which may be regarded as a purely ethical product, or as a phase of religious experience. In the philosophy of life we are able to differentiate three types of contentment: Oriental, Greek-Roman, and Christian; and we propose to treat the subject under these heads. Royce, in his Outlines of Psychology (1903), has classified emotions under two dimensions, namely, restlessness and quiescence. If this classification is accepted, it is clear that the virtue of contentment gathers up into one experience the emotions of the quiescent order.

I. Oriental.—The essential element in the Oriental scheme of life is the suppression of desire. This is common to Brahmanism and Buddhism. Both (Religions of India, Eng. tr. 1882, p. 84) has remarked that the Hindu mind recognizes 'no medium between mental excitement and torpid indifference. Pantheism, fatality, the denial of personality and any real immortality, are the result of the act—these impress upon all that the Oriental produces 'a certain monotonous character compounded of sated and unsatisfied zeal.' So far as we can arrive at any conception of nirvāna, we may think of it as the serenity of the monk, except from all desire, contemplating in passion all that the average man holds dear—love and hate, power and oppression, riches and poverty, fame and contempt—and awaiting with complete detachment the annihilation of the self. The nirvāna-on-earth reached by the arhat is a pledge of the nirvāna-after-death, his 'refreshment from the fire of passion' being the earnest of his 'refreshment from the fire of existence' (cf. Peussin, Bouddhisme, p. 172). Some exponents of Buddhism point out that, while nirvāna is negatively the destruction of selfish desire and ignorance, it is positively universal sympathy and love for all beings. Cf. 'A View of the Bodhisattva' (Suzuki, Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism, p. 398):

1For the sake of all sentient beings on earth,
I aspire for the abode of enlightenment which is most high;
In all-embracing love awakened, and with a heart steadily firm,
Even my life I will sacrifice, dear as it is.
In enlightenment no sorrows are found, no burning desires;
The enjoyed by all men who are wise.
All sentient creatures from the turbulent waters of the triple world
I'll release, and to eternal peace them I'll lead.'

When it is objected that contentment can find no place in a scheme of life in which karma, or the law of moral reaction, prevails, the reply is made that the selfishness of the rich will bear inevitable retribution in a future existence, while the sufferings of the poor, if the poor do not despair of them and yield to temptation, will bring them future fortune. On the other hand, it is argued that human inequalities are not to be ascribed to the diversity of the individual karma (Suzuki, op. cit. p. 189 f.). Poverty is not the result of evil deeds.

The economic sphere is not that in which the law
of 

and misery, he is not concerned to find the explanation of these things in the past, nor is he anxious about the future. Social injustices and economic inequalities are inevitable in the present order.

\[\text{A virtuous man is contented with his cleanliness of conscience and heart. He is satisfied, what proceeds from meritorious deeds is spiritual bliss only, contentment, tranquility of soul, meekness of heart, and immortality of faith.} \] (B. p. 1967)

Again, the true conception of 

is not merely individualistic; that is, it is not true that our deeds affect only our own fate. These deeds leave permanent effects on the general system of sentient beings, of which the actor is merely a component part; and it is not the actor himself only, but every constituting member of the grand psychic community called 'Dharmadhatu' (spiritual universe), that suffers or enjoys the outcome of a moral deed.

In this way the inherent contradictions of the Buddhist view of life are modernized by an enthusiastic exponent; nevertheless, the denial of a Supreme Being and of personal immortality leaves us with some perplexities and cold that contentment becomes merely a fatalistic joyless acceptance of things as they are. Granting the admirable and even noble idealism of the Oriental, we ask the Christian saint who rests in the belief that a Universal Love dwells at the heart of creation and 'sweetly orders all that is.' Moreover, the ideal of contentment proclaimed by Buddhism is remote from life; it is too abstract, too detached; it is the offspring of the cloister, and consequently eclectic and esoteric. Even when it glorifies compassion and charity, it loses itself in vagueness, and, except in some rare passages of the teaching of Sakyamuni, proclaims a universal benevolence rather than specific acts of sympathy. If love be the 'fulfilling of the law' and the condition of true contentment, it has no real place in a philosophy which denies the reality of the ego, or in a religion in which saintliness is synonymous with impenitence.

At the same time, it is but just to remember that, whatever its stress on extreme renunciation of all the joys of life may have been, Brahmanism was far more human in its concept of contentment than was Buddhism. That the 'Vedic' (92, xlii. 2502) can say that 'no end is there of greed' [lit. 'of thirst'], (but) contentment is the highest good' (Avatattva patraman sukhvan), or we may read in the collection of quatrains attributed to 'The head that he is the one who is greatest if the mind be content, who is rich (or) who is poor.'

2. \[\text{Greek-Roman.} \]

While in Eastern thought the extinction of desire is the \textit{summa bonum} of the ethical or religious life, a quite different idea of personal worth was held by the thinkers of Greece. They were frankly humanistic in their outlook. The glory and power, the gifts and virtues, of the individual life, the supremacy of reason and wisdom, and the possibility of immortality of the soul were cardinal points in their system. We begin with the Socratic identification of virtue and knowledge. For a man to know what he is doing and why—in a word, wisdom—this is his supreme possession. Without claiming to have discovered an abstract theory of the Good or the Wise, and while on the whole sceptical as to the possibility of such a discovery, Socrates provisionally conceived of the Good or the Wise as the faithful possessor of a complete, and full of life, and he proclaimed that therein lay the secret of happiness. But what impressed his contemporaries was his independence of judgment and fearless criticism of conventional notions, rather than his love of knowledge. The result was the appearance of two opposing schools of thought—the Cynics, of whom Diogenes and Digenes were the notable figures, and the Cyreneans, of whom Aristippus was the leader. The watchword of the first was self-mastery—the practice of endurance and asceticism; that of the second, pleasure—the serene and untroubled pursuit of the pleasure of the moment, regardless of consequences. No one of Plato's students to Aristotle belonged as the ideal conduct of a life of such moment as the pursuit of truth and the ideal interpretation of the universe. With the advent of the Hellenistic period, about 300 B.C., the interest of the state or community as a whole, is transferred to that of the individual. The realism of Cynic and Cyrenaic was succeeded by the systems of Zeno and Epicurus, in which one more 'ethics is the end and goal; and an ethic, moreover, which looks only to the interest of the individual.' To Stoics and Epicureans the supreme interest is the possession of individual independence, the saving of one's own soul, and the ordering of life nobly and happily. The Epicurean doctrine (see \textit{EPICUREANS}) was far from being a mere glorification of voluptuousness and immoral living. The picture given by Seneca of the Epicurean garden leaves us the impression of a life of frugality and leisure—plain living and high thinking.' The doctrine of Epicureus was regarded as the end of existence was not mere sensuality; it rather consisted, in its finer forms, of freedom from pain or disturbing elements (\textit{aréas}). The pleasures of mind were nobler than those of body, the true realization of happiness are the givers of pleasure; 'it is sober reasoning,' says Epicurus in his letter to Menocles, 'searching out the reasons for every choice, and avoiding, and banishing those beliefs through which the contended life is regarded as the end of existence was not mere sensuality; it rather consisted, in its finer forms, of freedom from pain or disturbing elements (\textit{aréas}). Another word that sums up the contented life is \textit{eudhēkēa} (self-sufficiency), which was afterwards to be used in Christian ethics. 'We consider self-sufficiency a great good in order that, if we do not possess much, we may be satisfied with little' (Dioq. Laert. x. 130 on Epic.). Nowhere do we find the spirit of Epicurean contentment so charmingly expressed as in the odes of Horace, the poet who, enamoured of his Sabine farm ('satis beatus Ganymedes Sabini', \textit{Odes}, ii. viii. 14) far from the haunts and din of city life, urges his friends to 'sweet content' ('desiderantem quod satis est'), \textit{Odes}, iii. i. 25), to calmness of outlook ('quid sit futurum cras fugio quaerere,' \textit{Odes}, i. ix. 12) or to patient endurance is great if the mind be content, who is rich (or) who is poor.'

\[\text{"Aequam momenta rebus in adulescence servare mentem."} \] (\textit{Odes}, iii. ii. 11.)

In such phrases we discover the fascination of the Epicurean ideal of withdrawing from political and dialectical conflict to simple living and serene leisure, in imitation of the eternal leisure of the gods apart from the fortuitous concomitance of atoms that we call a world' (II. Sigwick, 'Ethics,' \textit{Elle}).

The Stoic conception of contentment may be summed up in the word \textit{eudhēkēa} (impassivity). The Stoic sage did not, like an Oriental \textit{yogi}, regard all phenomena as illusions; nor did his essentially Pantheistic view of the universe deny his sense of personal freedom and volition. Man can enter, by virtue of his gift of reason, into relationship with the Eternal reason. His one aim, indeed, is to live a life of reason, or, as the Stoic phrased it, a life 'in conformity with Nature.' To such a life the one of life, and it is its own reward, quite apart from external goods or advantages. The average man conceives of pain, sickness, and death as evils; to the sage living the life of reason they are merely 'indifferent.' Human passions are the enemies of the possession of the soul. The sage will strive to keep the mastery over such faulty fancies, and be true to the consummate virtue,
which is passionless and calm.' Such is the Stoic apathy.

Cf. Lightfoot, paper, p. 39, 'not only the absolute supremacy of reason, but its rightful claim to be the only motive force within the soul, for it would make a solitude of self and every external thing and quiet of heart, and peace; but it is opposed to terror and ecstatic reveries and mystic contemplation, such as those which Eastern ascetics have enjoyed, and their attempts to close every pore and inlet of emotion, and to end at last in pure nothingness of individual being.'

This type of contentment is illustrated poetically in the writings of the Roman Stoic—Seneca, Epictetus (see esp. the latter's chapter on 'Contentment,' Diss. I. 12 [Long's tr.], and also in the Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius (ct. esp. bk. viii.).

3. Christian.—Before considering the Christian ideas of contentment, with which the Stoic found itself confronted in the early ages of Christianity, we may glance for a moment at the OT. The pure monotheism of the Hebrew saint and his unswaying belief in a Divine Providence shaped for him an experience and the calm of the monothelitians which we have considered above. The possession of God is his true wealth. 'The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want' (Ps. 23). Sadness, pain, exile, loss of wealth and property, drought and disease, were enough in the latter sense of God's presence and reality. Cf. the magnificent psalm of cheerful submission in Hab 3rd-12, which Cooper has reproduced in the well-known hymn, *Sometimes a light surprise,* or the unassailable cry of the 122nd (Job 1)-'We are and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.' In the Wisdom books we find happiness associated closely with a common-sense view of life's limitations; e.g. Pr 157-17 etc., or, more not in the sense of wisdom (Pr 31). So far as the Prophetic writings are concerned, a clear apprehension of evils, social and political, a remorseless unveiling of injustice and oppression, and fierce invectives against idolatry, meaningless ritual, and false materialism, are combined with unswaying faith in the Divine guidance and in the ultimate victory of the Divine righteousness. The panic-stricken despair of the materialist is nobly contrasted with the calm of the monotheliots in Is 3rd-13. (cf. art. 'Contentment' in _HDB_). Generally speaking, in the writers of the OT contentment is the fruit of faith.

In the NT the same association of contentment with belief is evidenced in the teaching of our Lord. The new feature is the sublime conception of God's Fatherhood. It is the Fatherhood of God which points Christ's warning against anxiety and adds an immortal beauty to the words in Mt. 6th-13, for it does not proclaim insensibility to the ills of life. He recognizes them, but calls upon us to live as children, to believe that God cares for us, and perfectly to trust the love, the wisdom, and the power of our Heavenly Father. This conception makes resignation to life's limitations and ills a more passive attitude of the soul; submission to God's will in life and death is an energy or act of a sanctified will. Such it was in our Lord's acceptance of the cross as the will of His Father. Dante's words (Par. iii. 83), *e la sua volonte è nostra pace* (see also the earlier words in Molesky's _Life of Gladstone_, i. 215), give the secret of Christian calm.

It is also to be noted that contentment in the NT is closely associated with the truth of immortality. St. Paul cheerfully lays down the spring from contemplation of the great truth that life must soon end, but from the great positive that true life has no end' (Medley, _Interpretations of Horace_, 1910, p. 58, and cf. Lucretius, v. 1171., *Quod si quis verum vitae rationes habet, dicius grandes hominum sunt, vivere parco sequo animo*).

Moreover, if, as Lightfoot suggested, there was a reference in St. Paul's epistles to the Stoic ideal of the sage and citizen of the world as one possessing absolute wealth and freedom, that idea is transfigured in the Christian experience. 'Already are ye filled, already ye are become rich, and ye have reigned without us' (1 Cor. 4th-7), are works for Christ's sake, but ye are wise in Christ; we are weak, but ye are strong; ye have glory, but we have dis- honour' (1 Cor. 4th-13). Cf. also the passage in 2 Co 6th-1, as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing, as always making much of the one thing, the scriptures, and as always enriching' (2 Co 4th-16); and finally, 'I have learnt in whatsoever circumstances I am to be self-sufficient . . . I have all things to the full and to overflowing' (Ph. 4th-13, 18). The Stoic attains his universal kingship by self-isolation: the other by incorporation (Lightfoot, _Philippians_, p. 305). 'Godliness with contentment (αὐτοκεραυνὸς) is great gain' (1 Tm 6th)-thus does the evidence of the wealth of the Christian saint. Heroism, patience, courage, endurance, whether we look for them in the annals of persecution and martyrdom, or in the daily round of common life with its constant cares and trials, may be regarded as the fruits of the contentment which inhabits what Wordsworth calls the

't central calm subsisting at the heart

of endless agitation.'


CONTINGENCY.—The term contingent, as applied to that which is actual and accidental in contrast to that which is logically necessary and in accordance with law, originated in philosophy. The idea involved goes back, however, to the problems of Greek philosophy. The thinkers
of Greece, once they had discovered the significance of general conceptions, and of the order of things typified thereby, came to distinguish between the worlds of ideas in scholasticism with these conceptions and that which is not wholly determined by them. The former, at this stage of thought, was identified with the sphere of the heavenly bodies, the latter with the sublunary world, where the rigid sway of law—the authority of form and conception—was circumscribed by accident and anomaly. It was only upon a basis of materialism that Democritus was able to trace a rational order throughout the entire universe, while Heraclitus, the Eleatics and with its inflected contingency acquired a new meaning from its connexion with Judaeo-Christian Theism. It was now used to express the volitional nature of the Creator, who is not limited by universal laws, but actually reveals the innermost structure of Being in the contingency of what eludes these laws. Thus, as Conceptual Realism (universalia ante res) evoked counter-movements of an empirical character, and interest in maintaining the freedom of the Divine will, so the latter gave rise to Scholasticism, various attempts to reconcile the validity of the pure Idea with a recognition of the actual—compromises which ranged from the specifically Aristotelian systems to Mysticism and Pantheism.

Not until the dawn of modern philosophy was there a revival of the pantheism of Heraclitus and the Stoics, as represented in the philosophies of Nature that sprang up with the Renaissance; and, as it came to be recognized, in consequence of the newer investigation of Nature, that the laws of the sidereal world are identical with those of the lower sphere, there arose a fresh wave of pure Rationalism, which excluded contingency. Then the metaphysics of the physical world, with the system of Spinoza in the forefront, made this revived Rationalism supreme. All the more vigorous, however, was the reaction of that Empiricism, with its insistence upon the fact of contingency, took shape in the hands of Locke and Hume, of Leibniz and Kant; for, in spite of the fundamental Rationalism of the latter two thinkers, the one distinguished between the verité de raison and the verité d’fait, the other between the rationality of the categories and the contingency of the matter of experience. The problem having thus been placed upon the new basis of a universal cosmic order, the Aristotelian view of Nature, with its cosmic world, was, of course, discarded, as was also the Neo-Platonic identification of contingency with the irrationality of matter and sense. But contingency emerged once more in connexion with a general profound elements of Nature in their metaphysics, as the term was now used to signify the irrational factor beside and within the rational, and as the idea came into immediate touch with the questions regarding the conception of Deity; the thought of a creative cause without motive was pitted against that of a logical necessity by which the world proceeds from the Idea. It was in these controversies that the full significance of the conception of contingency was at length realized.

The various aspects of the problem must be considered in detail, as follows:

1. The difference between the universal and necessary and contingent. The facts embraced, universal, and contingent, by these categories. The facts, as such, are irrational and contingent. We cannot comprehend why this or that should exist; and, even if any particular thing be rationalized in virtue of or derivative from another, yet that other itself remains contingent. Should it be affirmed, however, that the whole manifold of phenomena can logically be deduced from the fact of the world as a whole,—a consummation which is not even remotely possible, and to be thought of as just a logical postulate,—nevertheless, the existence of the world itself would still remain irrational and contingent. The truly incomprehensible thing, as D’Alembert puts it, is that anything should exist at all. Here, in fact, we have the reason why metaphysics must, in the ultimate resort, refer the existence of the actual to the arbitrary fiat of Deity, precisely as was done by Augustine and the Nominalists, and, in another form, by the modern theologies of the 19th and 20th centuries. Yet it is so decided a rationalist as Descartes fell back upon the same explanation of the world as a whole.

2. The contingent elements in rational and logical necessity itself. The so-called cosmic law, ‘cosmic order, as not limited by universal laws, but actually reveals the innermost structure of Being in the contingency of what eludes these laws. Thus, as Conceptual Realism (universalia ante res) evoked counter-movements of an empirical character, and interest in maintaining the freedom of the Divine will, so the latter gave rise to Scholasticism, various attempts to reconcile the validity of the pure Idea with a recognition of the actual—compromises which ranged from the specifically Aristotelian systems to Mysticism and Pantheism.

3. The idea of individuality. Even if we assume the existence of a universal rational order, yet we must admit that every single concrete phenomenon found in this network of rationality has a certain individual character which is not derivable by universal laws, but always exhibits some special and distinct element not derivable therefrom. This holds good alike of the simplest natural event and of the most delicate complex of psychical life. As a matter of fact, the acts without motive were pitted against that of a logical necessity by which the world proceeds from the Idea. It was in these controversies that the full significance of the conception of contingency was at length realized.
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system of thoroughgoing rationalism, which accordingly usually endeavours to deny or ignore the existence of the particular or to interpret it as something else. This is what Leibniz means when he says that Spinoza would be right if there were no monads.

4. The problem of the new.—On the principle of a thoroughgoing rationalism, nothing new could ever emerge in the world of the real. Everything would be involved in the existence of the whole, and therefore everlast present therein; or the apparently new would be only a phase and form of something primary, the 'positing' of which is clear, however, that on either alternative the new is got rid of by a mere evasion. In the first case, still persists as something that has emerged in the process of development, as that which distinguishes the actual from the potential; in the second, as appearance and manifestation. A thoroughgoing rationalism must, like the Eleatic school, repudiate movement and becoming altogether, for, if it does not, then the admission that something has come into existence which was not contained in the antecedent situation implies an element of contingency. Hegel, in importing into the rationality of the Idea the principles of negation and transition to the new, makes movement altogether the principle of becoming, really, though surreptitiously, provides a place in his system for the contingent and irrational. Metaphysically expressed, this contingent element is the idea of creation and 'posing,' which is here applied to the particular in the same way as to the universe in § 1 above. Epistemologically expressed, it is the idea of a causality of non-equivalence, as opposed to the causal equivalence with which alone a consistent rationalism is possible. Further, the idea of equivalence the nexus signifies identity of essence, with a mere change of form. In causal non-equivalence the nexus provides a place for the new. The endeavour to reduce all our knowledge of causes to the former causalities, manifestly and accordingly an element of contingency clings to the conception of causality itself.

5. The connexion between contingency and freedom.—Freedom, in the sense of self-determining, universal law by law, according therewith, as contrasted with the haphazard of a purely psychical motivation, involves per se no contingency whatever. On the contrary, as determination by universal moral and social law, it forms a part of the universal law in general, which is first of all realized in the personal sphere, and then transferred to the uniformities of the world-process. In reality, however, the causal 'must' of the process of things, when judged by the absolute standard of ideal values, manifests itself as something contingent. For, if these values represent the true significance of the existent, it is impossible to see why they should demand for their realization this particular sphere of causality. Moreover, freedom, in the sense indicated, implies the exclusion of absolute rational necessity from that sphere of objectivity which is at once the base and the theatre of its activity, since it demands, in the order of things, a certain elasticity, in virtue of which it may intervene in the manifold and mould it to its own ends. From this side also, therefore, an element of contingency insinuates itself into the conception of universal laws—a conception which is thus once more shown to include an element of the merely relative and to be no longer a conviction of the absolutely valid. In relation to the ideal of universal necessity, interrupted or variable laws are contingent. Here, in fact, we touch the ground, as well as the limits, of determinism, which is never more than a deduction from the axiom of the absolute rationality of things, and never reaches the level of a truth scientifically proven.

6. Contingency in the ideas of freedom themselves.—While the ultimate cognizable source of the idea of law, and, therefore, of unconditional necessity also, lies in the ideas of freedom, absolute validity and validity, yet the particular elements of that ideal order cannot arise from within, but must be in themselves necessary. Our observation does not carry us beyond an actual control of the soul by ideas bearing this or that interpretation, but we can never divorce ourselves from the conception of absolute necessity. As regards the elements of ideas may be unconditionally necessary, but their content is dependent upon the actual conditions of human life. Here, we come upon the root of the old Scholastic controversy whether the moral laws are good because God wills them, or whether God wills them because they are good. We thus see that the idea of contingency pierces even to the deepest sources of all ideas of necessity.

The problem of contingency, then, in its various aspects, contains in nuce all the problems of philosophy, just as from the opposite side they are all contained in the problem of Rationalism. The question of contingency is in reality the question of the relation to the rational of the actual to the logical, of creation to the eternity and necessity of the world. The reconciliation of these opposites is impossible. The actual thinking activity of man consists in a continuous combination of the rational, of the Absolute, of Spinoza with the Pantheism as its logical conclusion, and absolute Irrationalism, with its logical consequence of the irreligion and incoherence of things, or Polytheism, are alike impossible. The final synthesis of human thought and of human thought, and all attempts to reach it lead to contradiction.

In its religious aspect, the idea of contingency implies the vitality, multiplicity, and freedom of the world in God, and, indeed, the creative freedom of God Himself; and accordingly an element of contingency clings to the conception of causality itself.


E. TROELTSCH.

CONTINUITY (Gr. συνεχος, το συνεχης; Lat. continuatio, continuum).—We may perhaps distinguish three stages in the history of the notion of continuity: (1) a pre-scientific stage, in which the notion is no more than a simple description of certain obvious facts of sense-experience; (2) a second stage, in which scientific philosophy first arrives at an apparently clear and distinct conception of the continuous as a peculiar kind of magnitude which is to be distinguished from discrete. This stage of reflection makes its appearance for the first time in the Eleatic criticism of the assumptions of Pythagorean Geometry, and culminates in the Philosophy of Aristotle, in which the conception of a 'uniform continuous motion' is central for the whole doctrine of Nature.
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Mathematically, it leads to the sharp contrast between Arithmetic as the science of non-continuous, and Geometry as the study of continuous, magnitude, which we find carried out in the elements. (3) Pythagoreanism, represented by the labours of the 19th cent. mathematicians, and embodied in such theories of the continuous as those of Dedekind and Georg Cantor, consists essentially in the attempt to develop, by means of an extension of the notion of number, a purely arithmetical conception of the continuum, and so to restore the correspondence, broken down by Eleatic criticism, between Geometry and Arithmetic. That the new mathematical conceptions until, as it were, 'presenting no sensible gap,' 'hanging together,' Thus, with reference to space, we find Thucydides speaking of the siege-works at Plataea as ἑκάστηρ ἔκδομα, 'buildings without a gap,' which, as he goes on to say, looked like an unbroken wall (iii. 21). So, with reference to time, in the medical writers of the 5 cent. ἄνεμοι ὑνωτοί τοῦ σαρκοτότον, 'non-remitting fevers,' are distinguished from διάκερτοι πυρετοί, 'periodical fevers,' and in Thucydides (v. 88 Εἴρηκε φιλάνθρωπος ὕπαξ χειρί, 'he who ended the address,' is contrasted with a free conference, in which each point made by one party is immediately answered by the spokesman of the other. In all these cases we are dealing with a simple experience, yet coloured by scientific reflexion. Every one knows the difference between an unbroken line and a series of dots with sensible intervals between them, between a steadily persisting pain and one which comes and goes, between the flight of a missile and that of a bird. The former seems to 'hang together,' the latter do not; and it is this sensible 'hanging together' which the plain man has in mind when he speaks of the former as 'continuous.' So too a reflexion has been 'continuous' and a 'discrete' kind of magnitude, one which cannot, and which one can, be broken up into ultimate units, themselves indivisible. The plain man, for instance, would not object to talking of 'numbers' (e.g. those from 1 to 10), though he commonly looks on an integer as a 'collection of ones' (exactly as Aristotle did). He would call the series 'broken' only if one of the members were left out. 2. The Pythagorean Mathematics and the Eleatic criticism; views of Plato and Aristotle.

—Serious reflexion on the presuppositions involved in the notion of the 'unbroken' first meets us in the criticism of the Eleatic philosophers of the 5 cent. on the theories of magnitude and space in the views of their Pythagorean neighbours. Amid all the uncertainty which surrounds the reconstruction of early Pythagoreanism, one thing seems certain. The Pythagoreans were primarily interested in Arithmetic, the discovery of incommensurables, comes first (bks. i.-iv.), Arithmetic next (bks. vii.-ix.), and then the theory of surds (bk. x.),—is due to the effects of the criticism of the nature of number. The Pythagorean doctrine itself led very directly to consequences which were fatal to its own assumptions. If lines are simply made up of an integral number of 'units,' it ought to be possible in theory to take an infinite number of points, in any given terminated line. In other words, all lines ought to be commensurable, since the 'unit' measurement by any other of these facts show how severely the Pythagoreans felt the contradiction between their assumption and their conclusion. Hence, it is not wonderful that their critics should have pressed it to the utmost. Parmenieids (β. c. 475 B.C., according to Plato) had already attacked their fundamental position by asserting in his poem that, since πη β' ὅν ('what is not,' 'empty space') is a pure unreality, το ουδέν ('what is,' 'body') cannot be divided at all, because it is Ψευδέα τινα ('all is hanging together'); hence the distinction 'between 'whole' and 'broken,' 'empty' and 'full' ('τό αὐτοῦ τοῦ μακροτέρον, ἀνάτομον τινα, εὐκρίνεια). This conclusion would be immeasurably strengthened by the discovery of surd or 'irrational' lengths (i.e. lengths which have not, to the unit of measurement we assume, the medos, or ratio, of one whole number to another). We may put the difficulty thus. The Pythagorean conception of the point as a 'unit' of length involves the view that, if on a terminated straight line AB we mark off points corresponding to the successive integers, we have only to make our unit of length sufficiently small (i.e. to take our successive points near enough together) to exhaust all the points of the line. The discovery of a single 'surd' length is enough to show that this is false. However close together we take our points, we shall never have included one which lies from the origin at a distance equal to the diagonal of a square on the 'unit' length; or again, there will not be among them any point at which a straight line is divided in 'extreme and mean ratio.' Such a conclusion would, of course, be destructive of Geometry, because it would invalidate some of its most fundamental constructions. How far the study of surds was advanced
in the 5th cent. we do not know, but probably not far, since in the Theaetetus (p. 147 D ff.) Plato assumes the discovery of the successive quadratic surds from $\sqrt{2}$ to $\sqrt{17}$ to have been a recent achievement of his friends, Theodorus, Theaetetus, and the younger Socrates. Plato and his school are known to have given much attention to the subject, which was especially advanced by Theaetetus, and an incidental reference in the early Peripatetic treat on "Indivisible Line" shows that they had already examined and named at least two of the types of such expressions studied in Euclid x. — the $\sqrt[n]{2}$ and the $\sqrt[n]{3}$ of $\sqrt[n]{2}$.

By word of the explicit study of such magnitudes, results equally fatal to the Pythagorean identity of Geometry with applied Arithmetic can be derived from the argument from infinite divisibility, and it was this argument which was specially pressed home by Parmenides' pupil, Zeno of Elea (b. c. 450, according to Plato). To appreciate Zeno's employment of the argument, we need to bear in mind that what the Greeks called $\alpha\nu\iota\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigm
'common measure,' and are therefore incommensurable. The point is put very clearly in the introductory scholium to Euclid x. (Heiberg, v. 415):

'The Pythagoreans first began to investigate commensurability, being the first to discover it from a study of numbers. For, when the number 1 is a common measure of all numbers, they failed to find a common measure of magnitudes (μέτρον). The reason is that any number, however you divide it, leaves you with a least part which admits no further division. But no magnitude, though you divide it ad infinitum, leaves you with a part, which is a magnitude, but with a part which cannot itself be divided ad infinitum.'

Thus, owing to the criticism of Zeno, infinite divisibility came to be regarded as the only criterion of commensurability. In language the effect of the polemic was that the old definition of the point as a 'unit with position,' which we know to be Pythagorean, was replaced by that which now stands at the opening of Elements: 'The point is that which has no parts.' (εὐθεία τεσσαρων μη ὁτι οὐκέτι). In thus dividing the point is not divided, does not, differ from the 'unit,' or 'number 1' (τετράγωνο) (cf. Plato, Republ., 325 E), but it is maintained that the point is not divided because it is not clearly seen that, unlike the 'unit,' the point cannot be a 'measure' of anything. Hence in Plato and Aristotle μέτρον always means the number 1; for 'point,' Aristotle always says μέτρον or στρογγυλόν, which is an expression of the Periclean circle, argued, in 'refutation' of the geometers, that a circle and tangent have a stretch, not a single point, in common (Aristotle, Metaph., B 997), 35). This looks like an attempt to divide the infinite, and the infinite of the line, to identify the minimum visible with the unit of extension, and thus to get rid of the notion of incommensurability. Hence it may be, as Burnet has suggested (op. cit. 188), that the formula Protagoras chose for his relativism, 'Man is the measure of all things,' was influenced by opposition to the new doctrine of magnitudes which have 'no common measure.' The anti-mathematical argument of Protagoras led to a rejoinder from his greater townsman Democritus, in the catalogues of whose works division up to the hundred cent. A.D. by Thrasylus we find one on 'the contact of the circle and the sphere,' and another on 'irrational lines.' According to Plato and Aristotle, (following above, 144 A, B, Republic, 540 B) a problem involving surd magnitudes is, in each case, under consideration.

Plato's attitude towards the problem raised by the discovery of surds, and the recognition that the infinitely divisible cannot be matched by 'units,' is, at first sight, perplexing. He is deeply interested in the study of surd expressions, and fully aware of the infinite divisibility of μέτρον, but refuses to take the step of severing Geometry from Arithmetic. He himself confirms the theory of numbers, is the foundation on which all other branches of Mathematics should be based, and the clue to their meaning. We can exempt him from the charge of incoherence only by supposing that his retention of Arithmetic as the core of Mathematics was due to a conviction that 'number' is not exhausted by the series of the natural numbers, the μονάδον. We can exempt him from the charge of incoherence only by supposing that his retention of Arithmetic as the core of Mathematics was due to a conviction that 'number' is not exhausted by the series of the natural numbers, the μονάδον. But if the series of natural numbers is not complete, if it is interrupted by the incommensurability of certain proportions, what is the basis of arithmetic, of Geometry, of numbers and magnitudes? Is Plato right in viewing the series of natural numbers as complete? Do we really possess a complete series of numbers, or have we to do with a succession of numbers, which, by reason of the fact that they are indivisible, is complete in a new sense? (cf. Aristotle, Metaphysics, Book X, 990. 11). We may, however, look for a complete series of numbers, but we cannot reach it by the continued division of the number 1. Hence we are led to consider the number-series, without incurring any of the difficulties which were fatal to the old Pythagorean geometry. (Just so, our ordinary Analytical Geometry rests on assuming such a correspondence between the points of the line and the numbers, without the complete series of the real numbers.) That Plato had formed some such conception of a possible extension of the concept of number seems clear from more than one consideration. The suggestion, as Milhend has shown (op. cit. bk. ii. ch. 5), explains why Aristotle regards it as a capital point against Plato to insist that there is no way of generating numbers except by the addition of units, and why so much is made in Metaphysics M of the complaint that the 'numbers' of which the Platonic 'ideas' are composed are not all εὐθεία τεσσαρων, incommensurable with one another. Aristotle is, in effect, complaining that Plato's theory presents us with expressions like \( \sqrt{2}, \sqrt{3}, a + b \), and the like; whereas he himself holds that there is no point in the number-series. For it is obvious to Plato that Aristotle (Meno, 82-85 B Theor. 148 A B, Republic, 540 B) a problem involving surd magnitudes is, in each case, under consideration. Aristotle's statement that Plato refused to speak of 'points,' but called them instead 'the beginning of the line,' seems to indicate another attempt to face a difficulty inherent in the current conception of the number-series, instead of severing Geometry from Arithmetic. If we turn to the Pythagoreanism downwards, we find it regularly assumed that the number-series must begin with 1,
the 'unit.' But the criticism of Zeno had shown that we cannot think of the 'point' as a 'unit length.' If the correspondence between Geometry and Arithmetic is to be kept up, as Plato wished it to be, we must begin our number-series with something which answers to a 'unit magnitude in Geometry'; the first number must be 0, not 1. It was, no doubt, this character of the point as a zero which led Plato to avoid recognizing it as a distinct entity, and to call it 'the beginning of the line.' It seems most probable, however, that he did not clearly draw the right conclusion that, in the same way, 0 is the beginning of the number-series. More probably he thought of the point, as Xenocrates is known to have done, as an 'infinite interval,' and must be added to the list of thinkers like Leibniz, who have been led astray in their theory of the continuous by this phantasm of a thing which is somehow at once something and nothing.

Further interesting contributions are made to the theory of continuity in the puzzling dialogue Parmenides. Without raising the question of the purport of the dialogue as a whole, we may note the references made in its antinomies to the difficulties of thinking things out of real elements. We may take first the treatment of 'contact' (p. 148 D E). When a number of things are in contact, each 'lies next to' (ἔφηβη κείτα) that which is in contact with it; e.g. if a straight line is made up of distinct 'end-points' in contact with one another, the units must leave no gaps between them, and each must have a definite 'next adjacent' unit. In modern phraseology, the line must be a 'well-ordered' assemblage of points. Hence, in a sense of the word, there must be (n-1) contacts. It is therefore inferred that, 'if there is not number in τὰ ἄλλα' (the things 'other than the One,' 'the Many'), 'the One' cannot 'be in contact with them.' For Geometry this plainly means that, if the points on the line are not 'units' (and the criticism of Zeno had shown that they are not), no point on a line has an immediately adjacent or next point. Since every integer has a next integer in the actual number-series, this means that the points on a terminated straight line, taken in the order of their distances from one of the end-points, cannot be symbolized by the series of integers. Continuity, as exhibited in the line, must be something other than the mere succession of the whole number-series 1, 2, 3, ... etc. Later on (155 E-157 B), we have an argument to show that the very concept of change leads to the thought of time as a series of 'moments' which have no duration, just as the points of a line have no extension. When a body which was moving comes to rest, or vicissitudes, there is a transition from the one state to the other. This cannot take place 'in time,' i.e. there is no interval, however small, in which the body is neither moving nor at rest, but passing out of motion into rest; in any given interval it is either moving or stationary. Hence the transition occupies no duration, but happens instantaneously, and we are compelled to formulate the 'regallogical' (ὁ κατατριχήθη) or 'instaneous' (τὸ ξαίρηθη). The paradox seems to lie in the fact that it is hard to decide whether the moment at which the velocity 0 is reached should be counted as the last moment of motion or as the first of rest. In the former case, think of the time during which the body moves as having no last moment, in the other of the time during which it is stationary as having no first moment—an immediate consequence of the consideration that no moment has a 'next moment.'

In Aristotle we meet with none of the anticipations of a riper thought which fascinate us in Plato, but we have, by way of compensation, a very explicit account of continuity, in so far as infinite divisibility may be taken as a sufficient criterion of it. The notion is fundamental in the Aristotelian system, because the steady and uninterrupted process of the development of latent potentialities into actualities, which makes possible 'Nature,' depends in the last resort upon the uniform and continuous movement of the heavens, and continuous movement demands the continuity of time and space. Hence any denial of the continuity of time, duration, and movement, as Zeno's was, is fatal to Aristotle's whole Naturphilosophie. The tract on the Categories gives us the general view current in Academic circles and presupposed by the more special discussions in Aristotle's discourses on 'Physics.' 1 τὸ πᾶσον (quantum) has two species—ὁ διωρισμένος (elsewhere also ὁ διάσωμεν), 'the discrete,' and ὁ συνεχῆς, 'the continuous.' The vital difference between them is that the 'parts' (ἄρμα) of the 'discrete' (quantum) have no 'ends' (ἀκίνητον), at which they join; e.g. 10 (for Aristotle always confuses the number of a collection with the collection itself, and many of his attacks on Plato arise from inability to see that, though there are many parts of things in the world, there is but one number 2, and this number itself is not a 'pair') consists of 7 + 3, but no one of the 'units' of the 7 is identical with any unit of the 3. But the 'parts' of a 'continuous' quantum always have such a 'next point,' which, in the case of the line, is a point; i.e. when the terminated straight line AB is divided at C, the writer reckons C as belonging both to AC, of which it is the last point, and to CB, of which it is the first, thus logically continuous; but AC and CB twice over. Similarly with time: the present moment 'joins on' (συνάρρευτε) both to the past and to the future. It may be taken either as the first or as the last moment of an unbroken time-series. This is the real and important point of continuity drawn for us between the two kinds of quantum, since it implies, of course, that the συνεχῆς πᾶσον or continuum is infinitely divisible, and therefore does not consist of units or minima. It is added that not all continua are composed of parts which 'have position'; e.g. since the past, present, and future are not all co-existent, no part of time is 'anywhere' relatively to the rest. The parts have no position, but only 'order' (τάχησις), and so far resemble the members of the series of the whole number-series, if we do not, of course, press this analogy too far, since it would lead to the view that the 'parts' of time form a 'well-ordered' aggregate, in which each term has an immediately next term. Time would then be made up of minima of duration, and would not be continuous in the writer's sense (Categories, 3-5). More characteristic is the account given in Meteorology A 1029, 7 ff.—πᾶσον (quantum) means 'that which can be divided into constituents inherent in it, whereas each is one and 'this' (τὸ διαιρέτων εἰς ἐνέργητα ἐν ὕδατον καὶ ἔνεργον ἐν τοῖς τεῖχοις εἰναι [1029, 8]). Such a quantum is a πλήθος, or assemblage, if it can be numbered; a μέγεθος if it can only be measured. Thus a κλήρου can be divided into countable non-continuous elements, but a μέγεθος only into continua. (We cannot, e.g., divide a line into points, but only into lesser lines, so that infinite divisibility is taken as the criterion of μέγεθος, 'continuous quantity.') A delimited (περικεφαλάζω) πλῆθος is a whole number; a delimited μέγεθος is a line, surface, or body, according to the number of its dimensions. Thus there is only one kind of magnitude which is continuous in its own right (καὶ τὸν τεῖχος ἐν τῷ—extension. The parts are not in their own right, but derivatively (εἰσάγων ἀκρατῶς), in virtue of their connexion with the μέγεθος τοῦ τεῖχος, extension. Since the trajectory of
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A moving body is a continuum, the motion is a continuum also, and therefore also the time occupied in the transit. A fuller, but logically unsatisfactory and immaterial, definition is (Physics, 227b, 4) that 'a second' (the fundamental category of a science of 'Nature') is generally held (διά) to be one of the continua, and it is in the continuous that the 'infinite' first makes itself noticeable. Hence, those who give definitions of continua consider the concept of the infinite, on the ground that what is divisible is continuous (200b, 18). The point that the one primary continuum is spatial recurs in bk. 3, ch. xi. Time is relative to change (μετανομή), since it is only when we perceive change that we are conscious of duration. If the 'seven sleepers' woke up, they would not be aware that time had elapsed during their sleep. They would connect the former next with the subsequent now, and make one of them. To know what time is, we have to ask in what way it is related to motion (τί την κινητικήν ἐστιν). But what moves, moves from somewhere to somewhere. The one in the middle on any path of the plane traverses. Motion is thus continuous because its path is so, and time is continuous because motion is. Time is 'the number of motion in respect of before and after' (220a, 24). The use of the word 'number' is unhappy, since Aristotle is never tired of insisting that there are no numbers but the μετανομή ἄρμον, the whole numbers made by addition of units; and the definition, taken strictly, is thus inconsistent with the view that there is no minimum of duration. The definition is accounted by Timaeus, 37 D, and the Academic collection of ὕσσων, that time is the measure (μέτρον) of motion, which Aristotle sometimes repeats, is thus much more accurate.

Finally reach Aristotle's own formal definition of τὸ σωκράτησι in Physics 227b, where it is given as the last resultant of a whole series of previous definitions. Things are 'together' (ὁμαλά) when they are in 'one and the same primary place' (ὁ εὐ τερον δύο ἑστιν ἡ ἰσότητα) and 'in the same connexion', away from each other and from any other. Two things of which the extremities are 'together' are 'in contact', or 'touch' each other. A thing is 'between' (μεταξὺ) two others, when something which is continuously contiguous to it, lies at the end of the 'process of change' (γιὰ τὸν τάσιμον τοῦ ἐπικρατείον τοῦ ἀντίκρατον). We now define 'next after', and 'immediately adherent.' A term in an ordered series is 'next after' (πρός τοῦ ἐπικρατοῦν) another when there is no term of the same kind between them. The phrase 'adherent to' (ἐπικρατείον) means both 'immediately adherent' and 'in contact with it' (ἐπί τοῦ ἐπίκρατον τῷ ἀντίκρατῳ).

Finally, continuity is a special case of immediate adherence, which arises when the two 'ends' (πρός τοῦ) of things which immediately adhere become one and identical (ὥστε καὶ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ τὸ ἐπικρατής εἶναι ἀντικρατηστὶ). Alexander of Aphrodisias, as we learn from Simplicius, found this passage hard to interpret, and with good reason. Apart from the logical ἀνατρέψων προτέρον already noted above, there are three important points in the definitions of 'together' and 'contact'. What is meant by 'the same primary place'? Simplicius escapes from Alexander's uncertainty as to whether the notion of continuity is not tacitly presupposed by such a phrase only by giving it a purely relative sense; it may mean at will 'in the same town,' 'the same house,' 'the same room,' etc. In fact, it has no definite meaning at all. The same defects attach to the subsequent definitions, which depend on that of 'together.' Two things are 'in contact' when their extremities are 'together.' And such contact may exist without continuity. The extremities, as in the case of things which are merely 'adherent,' can be 'together' and yet remain distinct. Such a definition does not satisfy our geometrical notion of 'contact.' However small we take the 'primary place' of the two extremities to be, so long as the extremities remain outside the extent of the infinite, we can have a set of concentric spheres enclosed within one another so that no space is left between the convexity of one and the concavity of the next outermost, and yet that the convexity and the concavity remain distinct surfaces. But this is geometrically impossible.

The one point of real interest which emerges from the discussion is the hint of a connexion between the notion of continuity and that of series. As Aristotle states the connexion, it is open to unanswerable criticism. The idea of dividing the continuous into 'units' shows that a continuum, as given, cannot consist of members each having a 'next following term,' but the main idea has borne remarkable fruit in our own days in Cantor's definition of the continuum, and a striking attempt has been made by Zermelo (in Mathematische Annalen, LIX, iv. 514 ff.) to show that any continuous series (e.g. that of the points on a terminated straight line) permits of an arrangement of its members such that every one has a 'next following' member. That no member of such a series as given in experience has a 'next' member is, with laudable inconsistency, insisted on by Aristotle himself.

Nothing continuous can be made out of points, or even of finite arcs, or finite circles, or finite lines, or finite areas, or finite volumes, or finite tilings, or finite spaces, or finite rooms, etc. Hence, if we attempt to make out of points a straight line by infinitely repeated division we can only break it up into lesser lines, which are, again, divisible. σωκράτης can be divided only into σωκράτης, or, as Bradley has put it, space (and time) are 'lengths of lengths of nothing that we can find' (Appearance and Reality, London, 1897, p. 57). On the straight line, e.g., we can find nothing but points, yet it is not a series or class of points, but something more, though what that something is we cannot say. This failure of Aristotle to break with the Platonic view that Arithmetic, Geometry, and Kinematics form a single science with a single body of postulates, 'Physics,' so he unhappily concludes, is distinct from Mathematics, and Mathematics itself falls into two distinct doctrines, each with its own peculiar postulates—the theory of the διομετέρων πάρον, or number, Arithmetic; and Geometry, the theory of the σωκράτησι πάρον— and it is a logical fallacy to attempt to prove a conclusion which is only involved in the definitions of the postulates of the other (ὅτι δ' αὐτόν μὲν ἢ διομετέρων γένος μεταβλητάς διάδικα, οἷον τὸ γεγονότος λεγόμενον, Aristotel. Post. A 75b, 38). Zeno has at last come by his rights, in spite of Aristotle's personal failure to appreciate his historical significance.
Continuity

To consider the way in which Aristotle goes on to develop the view that the regular continuous development from potentiality to actuality which makes up the life of Nature, as we see it in the adult organism from the germ, and of the germ, in turn, from the adult organism, or even in any steady qualitative change from one 'opposite' (e.g., white, hot, dry, hard, cold, moist, and so on) upon another, is a dominant idea in the Metaphysics. In the Eudemian Ethics, it is the only curve of constant curvature. (For all this see Physics, de Caelo, and de Generat., Part 1.)

The fact that the course which it suggests for the development of potentiality into actuality is closely paralleled by the actual process of observation is one, no doubt, interesting as showing the study of at least some of the irrationals examined by Eudoxus, goes back to Plato and his immediate followers, as do also the ideas of the 'infinimals.' Some interesting notices are preserved to us by Sextus Empiricus, in bk. x of his work on DOGANAKOS, Philo, which is the essence of the Megarian logician's argument against Aristotle's whole conception of the gradual development of potentiality into actuality, of which we read, in Metaphysics, 1049a, 23-25, was connected with a revival of Zeno's arguments against motion. Diodorus Cronus (Diodorus Cronus) in his work, the Mathematicae, x, 80, strongly attacked the notion of a 'state of motion,' i.e., a time at which one cannot say of a moving material point (an unbroken etava, i.e., a unbroken point) as an atom (Heraklitos in the sense of Democritus and Epicurus, since the atom was not apopoe to) that it is at any position, but only that it is moving from one position to another, though one can, Diodorus admits, say that such a body must have moved, when it is seen first at A and afterwards at B. The view of the Eudorean that a state of motion is attacked is, in fact, one of the chief difficulties inherent in Aristotle's whole treatise of continuity.

Nothing would be gained by following the history of the notion of continuity in Greek philosophy, the Stoics, to be sure, influenced later thought considerably by their vigorous insistence on the idea of the absolute continuity of matter, but neither they nor the Neo-Platonists, whose doctrines may be called the final product of Greek speculation, added anything to what Aristotle had laid down as to the logical analysis of the concept of the continuous itself. The sharp division between the two main kinds is the 'infinite divisibility of the 'units' (the 'discrete' quanta) and those which are not (the σωρης or continuous πόρος), the adoption of infinite divisibility as the criterion of continuity, and the consequent view that incommensurables (numbers) and have no place in Arithmetic were the permanent legacy from the ancient to the modern philosophy of the continuous.

3. Modern attitude.—The general acquiescence in Aristotle's distinctions makes it unnecessary to treat at any great length of the views of most modern philosophers on the nature of a continuum. For the most part these views have been determined by the conception of infinite divisibility as the criterion of continuity, and have no place in Aristotle's work. This means that the theory of continuity as presented by Descartes seems to have been blinded to the real difficulties of the subject by his familiarity with the practice of employing the symbols of Algebra indifferently to denote rational and irrational numbers, which, if we had asked himself what conception was to be formed of number, if we are to recognize such expressions as \(\sqrt{2}\), the like as numbers, and thus his Geometrica, with all its historical importance, can scarcely be called a contribution to the philosophy of Mathematics. It does not appear that the continuity which he claims for matter amounts to more than infinite divisibility, the absence of real 'atoms' or 'units' of extension. Hobbes explicitly accepts the Aristotelian definition, 'Continua inter se tum spatia tum tempora duo dicuntur, quorum est aliqua per comminus,' (de Corpore, vii. 10); 'Corpora etiam duo spatio et tempore continuisse' (ib. viii. 9). Spinoza even returns to the Eleatic position, according to which extension, because continuous, is not really divisible at all, and is supposed to have parts or elements only by an illusion. 'Substantia absoluta infinita est indivisibilibus' (Ethica, i. 13); 'ex sequitur . . . nullem substantiam corperaem, quatenus substantia est esse divisibillum' (ib. corollarim). Hence he infers that quantitas is divisible only so long as we merely imaginare (i.e., think inaccurately about it); when we form the concept of it, we see it to be 'infinita, unica, et indivisibilibus' (Ethica, i. 15, schol.). It should follow that we can form no concept of a plane, a straight line, or a point—a conclusion which would be the reduction ad absurdum of Spinozism. Similarly Kant's critical philosophy throws no real light on the nature of a continuum. Indeed, if we take seriously the Aesthetik, with its account of the way in which the mathematician's 'mathematical intuition' is generated, we shall clearly be led to think of both as composed of minima, and therefore not continuous, though, to be sure, this account conflicts with the repeated assertion that both are 'infinite wholes.' 'The 'synthetic a priori' conception cannot help us here, since it is just as much manifested in the counting of the units of a group of 'discrete' quanta as in that 'drawing' of a line in which Kant has so much to say.' So, when we are told that Kant's 'categories are one more a space or a time.' Nothing can conceal the fact that Kant is trying to combine Aristotle's denial that a σωρης can consist of minima with a theory which requires the construction of space and time out of such minima. The synthesis exists just as much when we consider 2 as the sum of the series \(1 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} + \ldots + \frac{1}{2} + \ldots\) as when we ask whether the 'world had a beginning in time,' as Hegel correctly saw. In principle, Kant,
like Aristotle, identifies the infinitely divisible with the continuous.

Hegel's own account is so largely coloured by metaphor, and so distended by the method of the dialectic, that every concept is precisely what it is not (that, e.g., perfect continuity and absolute discreteness are the same thing), that it is far easier to say what his real meaning is. Since, however, he supposed Kant's transcendental antinomies (everything must be, and yet cannot be, composed of simple elements) to be concerned with continuity (Werke, iii. 216), he, too, presumably means by continuity no more than divisibility ad infinitum. His ontological praise of the continuous (everything is, and yet cannot be, an aggregate of points) thus arises from Aristotle's treatment of the problems of space, time, and motion, points to the same conclusion (ib. p. 237). The vagueness of Hegel's notions may be seen from the fact that he actually regards the Anzahl, or cardinal number, of a group as itself a group of 'units,' and asserts that it is at once 'continuous' (because it is one group among others) and 'discrete' (because it is a group of units (ib. p. 233 f.).)

There may fairly demand separate consideration, in virtue of the peculiar stress which he lays on the Principle of Continuity as fundamental, not only for Mathematics, but for Metaphysics. This principle, as stated by him, is much more limiting than the principle of the extension of space, time, and motion. Since his philosophy requires a denial of the validity of a vacuum, he is led further to maintain the continuity of matter against all forms of the atomic theory. Further, the conception of 'substance' is as much the characteristic of the continuous, as of the substances or 'monads,' whose interrelations and internal self-development are the reality of which the extended and temporal world is symbolical. Real substances form a continuous system, in which each part differs from some other by a purely infinitesimal difference. Or, as Leibniz himself states the principle in a letter to Malebranche, dated 5th Dec. 1692, 'datis ordinatis etiam quasita sunt ordinatae et consequentes.' Hence the absolute continuity of the series of monads has the continuity of the various μετάθεσις as an immediate consequence (Couturat, Logique de Leibniz, p. 233 f.). A special case of this principle is the correspondence between soul and body. For Leibniz it was in virtue of the continuity of the soul that . . . omnia quae in uno hint per se percipe respondeat omnibus quae in altero fluat.' As to the nature of the continuity thus asserted, we learn much from the dialectic on motion composed by Leibniz on his journey of 1676 to visit Spinoza (op. cit. pp. 594-627). The question there raised is whether the moment in which a man dies may be regarded as at once the last moment at which he is alive and the first at which he is dead (as it must be, according to the Aristotelian account of τὸ ἐνεφέχον). To say that Aristotle's view is correct seems to violate the law of continuity; to reject it seems to imply that two moments—the last of life and the first of death—are immediately adjacent, and, if moments can be immediately adjacent, why not points? (ib. p. 604). As a solution of this difficulty Leibniz conceived of the extension and time as made up of series of indivisible points and moments (ib. p. 608), and find ourselves involved in the 'labyrinth of the continuum.' For we are forced to say that the number of points in the side of a square is infinite, and since we can draw one and only one parallel from any point in the diagonal to a given side, and since this parallel cuts two of the sides of the square in determinate points, the diagonal will contain the same number of points as the side, and will therefore be equal to it. This Leibniz regards as a proof that the line cannot be an aggregate of points (ib. p. 611). The number of points in one, or even a segment of the continuum, is asserted to be equal to the number of all the numbers, since in both cases it is infinite. Leibniz's way out of the difficulty is to deny that there is a 'number of all numbers,' since, as he holds, such a number, if there were one, would be the greatest possible integer, but there is no greatest possible integer. Hence there is no such thing as a ratio of one infinite to another (ib. p. 621 f.), and no assignable number of points on a line. There are as many as we choose to take, but we never take all there are to take. It is, indeed, true that every portion of extended matter is actually infinitely divided, but it is divided into portions which are themselves continua, not into points, and no portion is actually divided into all the minor parts possible. Thus, in the end, Leibniz adheres to the position that the continuous cannot be composed of simple elements, and it is for this very reason that space and time and motion are regarded by him as merely phenomenal, since they are, at the beginning of the Monadology, must be composed of simple elements. How these views are to be reconciled with the further positions that there is at least one continuum, that of the monads themselves, as opposed to simple elements, and that order in space is phenomenal of the order of real monads, it is not easy to see.

4. The number-continuum in modern Mathematics.—Under this head it is impossible to say more than is done in the present article. The reader who wishes for more information may be referred to the works mentioned in the annexed bibliography, especially to the brief and luminous chapter on the continuum in Couturat's work, Les Principes des mathématiques. As we have seen, the first discovery of the continuum was due to the discovery of incommensurable magnitudes in Geometry, which led to the age-long severance of the originally united studies of Arithmetic and Geometry. It has been the great achievement of the modern Theory of Assemblages to show that the number-system is so far from being inadequate to cope with the continuity of the points of the straight line (the so-called 'linear continuum') that the opposite is the case. As the continuity of a body is the limit of divisibility which can obtain is one which can be stated in terms involving nothing but the properties of ordered numerical series, and that the only certainly known line is the 'continuum.' In other words, it is no immediate datum of intuition that the straight line is absolutely continuous. Its continuity is postulated, not intuited, and means no more than the assumption that there are on every terminated straight line as many distinct points as there are distinct real numbers in a given segment of the number-series, such as that composed of all the 'real numbers' > 0 < 1. To begin with, we have to see that none of the old familiar criteria of continuity is really adequate to express the property which we have in mind when we speak of the continuousness of this number-series. It is clear that infinite divisibility is no such criterion, since it gives us only whereby to conceive of linear segments of rational fractions. By no process of infinite division of a unit length could we ever arrive at such quotients as 1/3, 2/3, and 3/3. This corresponds to the arithmetical consideration that the complete assemblage of rational fractions between 0 and 1 does not form a continuous series, since it omits all the fractions which have surds for their numerator or denominator or both. Even the inclusion in the series of all fractions having algebraical
surds in their numerator or denominator would not make it completely continuous, since we should still have no place left for the infinitely numerous fractions involving 'transcendental' numbers in their numerator or denominator. In fact, it is possible to make such an arrangement of the series of rational fractions, and even of algebraical fractions, that each term of the series has an immediately next term. In other words, both series can be so arranged that each member corresponds in order to one and only one member of the series of natural integers, 1, 2, 3, ... Their ordinal number, or 'type of order,' is thus the same as that of the integers. The same, however, is the number-continuum adequately defined by the property that no term of the series as taken in ascending order has an immediately adjacent term. For this would obviously be true of the assemblage of rational numbers, and of all the algebraic numbers, though neither of these exhausts the whole of the number-series. The task of the modern theorist is thus a twofold one. He has first to formulate a satisfactory definition of the concept 'real' number, showing not only how the assemblage of 'real' numbers is logically related to that of integers or 'natural' numbers, but also how the existence of the 'real' numbers follows from that of the integers. Secondly, he has to identify the peculiar characteristics which distinguish the whole assemblage of 'real numbers' from those of 'natural' or 'rational' or 'algebraic' numbers; that is, he has to point out the criterion of the continuity of a series.

It is the achievement of Cantor to have first stated this criterion exactly, and afterwards to have re-cast it in terms involving nothing but the notion of serial order, and entirely independent of any appeal to our intuition of integers. We can here go no more than give Cantor's two definitions of the linear continuum with such brief explanation as is necessary for their comprehension. To understand his original definition we have first to make clear the meaning of the terms, and of the manifold 'limiting point,' and 'derivative.' By a 'point manifold' is meant any aggregate of numerical values whatsoever. Any 'point' $X$ is said to be a 'limiting point' of such a manifold $M$, if, given a distance $e$ from $X$, there is always at least one 'point' of the manifold $M$ which is at a finite 'distance' less than $e$ from $X$. (Such a limiting point may, or again may not, be itself a 'point' of $M$.) The 'derivative' of $M$ is the assemblage of all the 'points' of $M$. When every 'point' of $M$ is one of the limiting points of $M$, and every limiting point of $M$ also a 'point' of $M$, that is, when the manifold $M$ is identical with its own 'derivative,' $M$ is said to be perfect. Further, $M$ is said to be quasimoment $hanging$, or 'cohesive,' when, if any two points of $M$, $p, p'$, be given, it is always possible to find in $M$ any finite number of points $p_1, p_2, \ldots, p_n$ intermediate between $p$ and $p'$ such that the distances of the $p_i$ from the one to the other be less than a given finite number $e$, however small $e$ may be. The definition of the linear, or one-dimensional, continuum is, then, that it is a 'point manifold' which is both perfect and cohesive. It is manifest that the series of 'real' numbers; between 0 and 1 satisfies these conditions, and that the removal of even a single term from it would prevent its realization. The series of 'rational fractions,' on the other hand, would satisfy the demand for cohesiveness, but would not be 'perfect' and cohesive; the surd fractions are obviously limiting points of the series of rational fractions. With the postulate that to every real number from 0 to 1 we can assign one and only one corresponding distance on the straight line, the straight line is also obvi-

ous only a linear continuum satisfying the definition (Conturant, Principes, p. 91 f.). It still, however, remains the fact that Cantor's first definition retains the appearance of an appeal to geometrical intuition. The notion of 'distance,' in however metaphorical a sense, is employed in explaining both cohesion and perfection. And this means, as Conturat says, that the definition is essentially declarative. It defines a continuous manifold only by reference to another manifold (metaphorically called space), which is already continuous, in which it may have limiting points not contained in itself (op. cit. p. 92). Hence it is only in Cantor's second definition (Nouv. Ann. Math. IV., p. 137) that the series of rational order are presupposed, that we get an absolute definition of a continuum by means of its intrinsic properties. To obtain the definition, we start again with certain auxiliary con-

cepts. We confine our attention to a case of an ascending fundamental series. By this is meant a series in which the terms have the type of order $\eta$ just defined. Such a series $S$ is said to have a limit in $\eta$, if there is a term in $\eta$ which is the first after all the terms of $S$. We then call any manifold 'perfect' if all the 'fundamental series' contained in it have a limit in it, and if all its terms are limits of 'fundamental series' contained in it. With these pre-

suppositions, the type of order $\theta$, belonging to a one-dimensional continuum, is defined as follows:

The manifold $\theta$ (1) is perfect, and (2) contains within itself a denumerable manifold $E$, such that there is always at least one term of $E$ between any two terms of $\theta$. The definition is manifestly different from that of the 'rational numbers' between any two 'real' numbers (Conturat, Principes, p. 102). It can readily be shown that the series is 'perfect' in the sense defined, and that, moreover, there is always at least one term of the series of the 'rational' numbers between any two 'real' numbers of $M$ (op. cit. p. 137). Hence, the definition of the series is manifestly different from the definition of the series of the 'rational' numbers, and the 'fundamental series' contained in it have a limit in $\eta$.
between Geometry and the theory of number. Every geometrical proposition can once more be stated in terms which involve only the notions with which the study of number has already made us familiar. 'This fact,' as Couturat says (op. cit. p. 97), 'finally refutes all the doctrines which regard the notion of number as of a nature transcending our sensuous immediate and refractory to the understanding.'

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CONTRACT.—I. DEFINITION.—If one makes an engagement to go to dinner at a friend's house, no contract arises, because the purpose of the engagement is not such that the law will deal with it; or again, if one buys an article in a shop for ready money, that is not usually termed a contract, because the transaction is terminated, as it were, on the instant; but when one undertakes to pay for the article afterwards, a continuing contract emerges, because, in this case, the agreement gives rise to an undertaking which can be enforced. From these examples we see that contract is really the combination of two legal ideas—that of agreement and that of obligation. In the case of the invitation to dinner there is agreement, but no legal obligation; in the case of the sale of goods for ready money, the obligation follows away as soon as it arises. But, according to the Indian Contract Act, for example, 'an agreement enforceable by law is a contract' (Sec. 2 (ii)); and, while, when there is no undertaking, we find a legal obligation, sometimes, where the law says, that there is an obligation, something for the law to take hold of, directly adjusting the contracting parties. In other words, the agreement, as it has been put, 'contemplates something to be done or forbidden by one or more of the parties for use of the others or other,' to which the law can attach itself; and it is generally said that it must be the intention, or implied intention, of the parties that the relation should have a legally binding effect. Sir Frederick Pollock, writing with reference to the English law, adds to the word 'agreement' the word 'promise' (1892, pp. 2, 3, 5). But that is a minor subtlety. Theoretically, at least, we can fix our attention on an agreement as being the starting-point in which there must be, as it is frequently stated, the meeting of two minds in one bond. And thus the more technical treatment of contract fits into these statements of the doctrine in which it is regarded as a phase of the legal will, constantly to be found in the works of philosophical jurists—especially German jurists,—and which is said to be the meeting of individual wills in one intention, as opposed to the individual's endeavours to realize his will by means of the materials found in the world around him, which gives rise, logically, to the concept of a contract, in which the individual meets his fellows; in the latter, the external, material world.

It has, however, been suggested that it is not necessary, in order that a contract should be entered into, that two minds should be really at one (Holland, Jurisprudence, 1896, ch. xii.). Should we not say, it is argued, that here emphatically the law regards not the will in itself, but the will as manifested voluntarily? There are well-founded explanations which put the individual's endeavours to protect by its enforcement of the contract, and these do not always arise from expressions which truly represent the intention. What of the contract in which one person enters into a contract, resolved all the time not to perform his part, yet induced another party to enter into it on the contrary supposition? Surely the contract will hold good. Is it not the will, as expressed, and nothing more, that the law regards, leaving the question of a true consensus on one side? If so, can it be altogether? The language of positive systems of law, it is said, moreover, is ambiguous on the point; for the question is practically a new one, and it has not yet been seriously considered how far a true consensus, in the significance explained above, is needed. In answer to this doctrine, it may be maintained that, although the inner agreement is a fact to be proved, and in some cases is not allowed to be disproved, the agreement itself is vital to the theory of contract. The inference drawn is that there was an agreement; and such inference depend for their reasonableness and usefulness on the fact that in the vast majority of cases they are sound. Out of reference to the will—to the inner intention, if one chooses—the expression of agreement would be meaningless. It must in the last resort be connected with the man, with the personality; and not merely attach its force to the use of force for case expression. Unless this is done, we obtain a view of contract which is too scholastic to be satisfactory.

The two main aspects of the agreement by which the tie is created find their typical form in the ideas of offer and acceptance, which give rise to the large body of law in a developed system. On the other hand, such facts as error, fraud, misrepresentation, undue influence, and force operate on the consent embodied in the agreement, and may vitiate its legal position, or create the law which renders it reducible from one side. These are most usefully studied in relation to some definite legal
system. Again, the State itself places certain legal restraints upon contract generally, with regard to its subject-matter; these are more immediately the concern of the general reader. In Pollock's work on Contract, agreements are said in English law to be unlawful and void (1) if the matter or purpose with which they deal is contrary to positive law; (2) if it is contrary to positive morality recognized as such by law; (3) if it is contrary to the common welfare, as tending to prejudice the State in its external relations, or in its internal relations, or as tending to improper or excessive interference with the lawful actions of individual citizens (op. cit. 273). And we may say generally that the State will refuse to recognize a contract not only when it is simply illegal (without further explanation being offered), but also when the object is contra bonos mores, or when it is against "public policy" and cannot be allowed free scope in the State's own organization. In the case of public policy, the disputable points which arise are numerous, and the dividing lines between what the State should, and generally impose upon contracts, are extremely difficult to find. Then we may couple with such restraints the complicated subject of form. The modern tendency is towards simplicity of form. Complexity is undoubtedly repugnant to the spirit of our age. The modern enterprise demands essentials and nothing but essentials. A complicated form, however, prevents a bargain from being rashly made, and it renders it easier to prove afterwards what has taken place. The modern tendency in contractual ethics, to use a bird's-eye view of the field of modern contract. It follows mainly the arrangement given by Holland in his Jurisprudence.

4. Principal contracts.—Principal contracts are those where the service is spoken, for their own sake, as opposed to accessory contracts.

(1) Contracts of alienation.—These may be gratuitous, when they are contracts to give, but are not generally so. In fact, a contract to give is generally enforceable by law only in certain limited cases. But gifts made in view of marriage are not considered as mere gifts, for marriage is an onerous consideration. Then under this head fall barter and exchange, when regarded as contracts; and, more important, sale. A distinct line should be drawn between barter and sale; the essence of sale seems to be, in the simplest words, the giving of something for money. Specific formalities are generally imposed by law only in certain important classes of property, such as the rei muecici of the Roman Law, "real property," immovable. Apart from these, perhaps the most important variation in the views taken of the common law, when it comes to consider what is connected with the transfer of the property sold. Sometimes a contract of sale, in the usual case, per se, transfers the property—it has the power of transference by itself. Sometimes it has no such legal consequence; it remains an agreement to sell, which must be concluded before sale is possible. Parties to the contract, again, may have various duties, but two of them are generally recognized. The duty of the seller is to deliver the goods, and the duty of the purchaser is to accept and pay for them. These duties, regarded from the point of view of rights, yield the main rights of purchaser and seller.

(2) Contracts dealing with hiring, loan, etc.—Hiring has largely superseded gratuitous lending; and the law of hiring has been extended in many directions. Two important branches of it in the commercial world are contracts for carriage and agency. Both in commercial and in domestic life we find contracts for the hire of servants engaging much attention. As regards immovable, hiring is generally guarded by specific restrictions. In a loan for consumption, we find money or certain kinds of things given to the opposite party on the undertaking that he shall return it on a future day return, not necessarily the things themselves, but their equivalent in kind. It is in connexion with this branch of the law that the interesting problems of how to treat usury from the legal point of view arise. In a loan for use, again, which is in essence gratuitous, the identical thing lent is returned. In deposit, one gives a thing to another in order that the latter may keep it for him gratuitously and restore it upon demand.

It will be observed that this group of contracts is very miscellaneous. Holland has attempted to minimize the confusion by making the two principal divisions of (a) contracts for personal use, and (b) contracts for service. In the first class (a) he places (1) loan; (2) sale; (3) letting for hire of real property; and (3) 'letting for hire. In the second (b) he places contracts (1) for care-taking; (2) for doing work on materials; (3) for hire; (4) for professional or domestic services; (5) for agency; (6) for partnership. Here (a) is divided into contracts for personal use, and (b) into contracts for partnership under contracts for service—a doubtful arrangement. The reader, however, may certainly begin by taking the whole of the large class of contracts with which we are dealing as capable of being split up into three divisions—permissive use, service, negative service—although he may afterwards come to consider the principles of grouping somewhat strained. Partnership, which is thus disposed of under (b), is a result which is clear. A relation which subsists between persons carrying on a business in common, with a view of profit (Partnership Act, 1890); and the law of partnership widens out into the whole law of Joint Stock Companies.

Agency deserves special notice. It is itself a contract, as has been pointed out; but it is also an important instrument in extending the power of contract. It enables us, as it were, to move objects at a distance. Through it, the contractor can work at the other side of the world. In the ordinary use of the term, agency is constituted where one person is employed to act for another—to represent him in dealings with third persons. A distinction between a general and a special agent is often made; but it is of doubtful value logically; it seems to be most consistently drawn between an agent whose business has a defined scope and character, apart from his legal system, being connected with his agreement with his principal, and one who is merely empowered to do certain specific acts. The main logical point to be noticed in the law of agency is that, when the agent contracts as an agent with third persons, the agent and the principal, and then, so to speak, drops out of the transaction. If he binds himself, he is something more than a mere agent; and any exceptions are modifications of the general principle. On the other hand, it must be noticed that the agent does not really act.
CONTRACT

as the blind instrument of his principal, as the pen or the hand acts. His real usefulness arises from his being an intelligent instrument, and without the help of such intelligent instruments many of the tasks of modern commerce would be quite impossible.

3. Contracts of marriage.—But marriage is only technically and in a somewhat strained sense a contract. No doubt it cannot be entered into without the consent of at least two parties. But the relationship stands by itself; and even in a system of law, like that of Scotland, which favours the contractual construction, there are grave difficulties in regarding it as a contract in anything more than a very technical sense. In contract, the tendency is to allow the contracting parties to attach what conditions they please to their bargain, provided these are not against 'good morals' or 'public policy'; it may be conditional in its origin, and its duration is dependent on the will of the parties. In marriage these features are not, as is generally supposed. It is not governed by private contract in its most important particulars, but by the fixed rules of the law of husband and wife. It cannot be entered into on condition that a certain event shall happen, or that it shall be dissolved at all; and it shall not be dissolved for a certain period of time. The relation between the two persons, also, extends an influence to their relatives and maintains that influence even after death ends the marriage. The husband and wife do not have their own status, but the status of their children; and that status can never be taken away or infringed by the acts of the parties (Fraser, Husband and Wife, 1876, ch. II.).

Such considerations, primarily applicable to Scots Law, as have been noted are not altogether inapplicable to the marriage vow, but should be differentiated from an ordinary contract. Of course, it may be said that all these restrictions are made merely with the object of maintaining 'good morals' and furthering 'public policy.' But the whole tendency of contract is to leave the parties as far as possible to shape their own bargain; and, where we have a relation so governed in its essentials by the law—so restricted to meet the needs, as the law conceives them, of family life—marriage is, it is only in this aspect and, as has been said, technical sense that it can be called contractual. It derives its type not from the contracting parties, but from moral and social considerations, which are such as are peculiar to the marriage tie, and these considerations not only restrict it, but shape it.

A distinction must, of course, be drawn between an engagement to marry in the future—an 'engagement' in popular language—and an engagement which actually amounts to a marriage. The former more nearly approaches a contract of the ordinary type than the latter, provided it is recognized by the system of law which governs it as a legal subject for legal interference. When that is the case we find untried engagements frequently giving rise to actions for breach of promise of marriage. On the whole, such actions seem to be discouraged by the systems of law in vogue on the Continent; and many jurists are of opinion that they ought not to be allowed in our own country. But this opinion, it must be noted, does not imply that actions for seduction should be discontinued.

(4) Wayrign contracts.—This is an unfortunate name for an important group. In these contracts, one of the effects of the contract, as regards profit and loss, either for all the parties, or for some of them, depends upon an uncertain event. But it is almost impossible to define them satisfactorily; and that statement must be taken as merely explanatory. Broadly, bets and stakes are not enforceable in modern law. And the most important group under the general head is formed by contracts of insurance—marine, fire, and life insurance, and less important types. Of course, these are not logically gambling transactions, but are rather attempts to eliminate the risks of the unforeseen.

2. Accessory contracts.—There is a large number of contracts which may be entered into as accessory to the main transaction; and these forms, as previously stated, a second main branch of the subject. It may suffice to name a few of them—indentures, mortgage, warranty, ratification. A promissory note forms such a contract. Suretyship is in many systems a formal contract; and the guarantee may sometimes support an obligation which is merely natural, i.e., which itself cannot be expressed to their own satisfaction.

3. There are certain legal relations placed on the borders, as it were, of contract proper, which must not be forgotten. Thus the Indian Contract Act speaks of certain relations resembling those created by ordinary contracts and speaking to contracts and then to their remedies, the law of obligations, arising out of them, and the nature of the remedies. These relations may be called quasi-contracts; and it is perhaps better to reserve this name for those cases where the implication is most clearly seen. They are, at any rate, analogous to contract; for it is necessary, in following out the ramifications of a legal system, to hold that a certain contract is sometimes created from force of circumstances, though not by express agreement. Often the person bound may reasonably be held to have agreed to the formation of the tie; but that is not perhaps essential in all circumstances. Thus the doctrine of scopoletum gestio consists, in principle, in the management of the affairs of an absent person or a person merely unable to attend to his own affairs himself, by one who undertakes that task without the knowledge of the other; and, it is not infrequently stated, on the presumption that the other, had he known the circumstances, would have approved. There does not seem to be any peculiar difficulty in treating such relations, except that they are not habitually subjected to the mode of classification.

ii. Extinction of contracts.—Contracts may be extinguished in various ways—by performance, by execution of a contract, by release of performance. Or there may be a substitute for performance; or it may simply happen that the non-performance of the contract alters the whole aspect of affairs and gives rise to a new set of rights. Performance is the natural, and undoubtedly also the usual, mode of closing the transaction.

iv. Social bearing of contracts.—Contract, standing as it does at the centre of the great department of Private Law, has many important bearings on the general problems of society. It forms an endeavour made by the State to set up a sanction for expectations of good faith which have grown up through the dealings of the averagely honest man. True, it has been suggested that contract is merely the taking of a risk, since the only universal consequence of a contract is to make the default pay damages; but, as already pointed out, it is the observance of contract that is primarily expected. These contracts, payment of damages, that makes the social wheels go round. And the State, having brought its sanction to bear on this enormous mass of relations, finds itself compelled to interpose certain restrictions—that is, to place upon such actions as we have spoken before. What precisely these ought to be, and how they ought to operate, depends on
many different social considerations. Is the exploitation of the individual by his fellows—the driving of a hard bargain wrung from a man's necessity, when his poverty, but not his will, compels the over-reaching of one not worldly-wise—a fit matter for State interference? Are combinations of 'labour' to be recognized wholly or partially, or altogether condemned? Are contracts for service to be regulated, when the claims which arise under them bid fair to reduce one party to the position of existing merely as an instrument for the realization of another's personality instead of being an end in himself? Slavery, it is certain, cannot now be tolerated; but how far with the exercise of the intellect to abolish various forms of so-called practical slavery, accomplish good, or how far will it merely afford encouragement to laziness and fraud? These questions and many others are among the implications of contract, the subject of contract itself. Probably most of them must be answered, not abstractly, but in relation to the particular community with which we have for the time being to deal. What is one man's freedom is another's path. The character and state of social advancement of the community must always be taken into consideration. But, however that may be, the importance of the great branch of law deals with the rights of another man's contract cannot be safely ignored.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned in the text, the following may be consulted: W. R. Anson, Principles of the English Law of Contract, 1890; G. J. Bell, Principles of the Law of Scotland, 1890, for the Scots Law; F. Pollock, First Book of Jurisprudence, 1896, pt. i. ch. 8; Kant, Philosophy of the Future, 1876; W. A. Watt, Theory of Contract in its Social Light, 1897.

CONTROVERSY.—1. The term 'controversy' is not exclusively applied to the weapon by which battles have been fought in the field of theology and philosophy, and skill in disputation has not been valued by professed dialecticians alone. Professor Edward Caird tells us that the philosopher Kant was keenly alive to the uses of controversial methods as a mental training, and that in the year 1758 he announced to his class on metaphysics that on two days in the week he would treat polemically the doctrines expounded on his being. This method has often been devoted in schools of learning, with a view to cultivating a high standard of controversial ability. To Kant it did not so much bring dialectic skill as rivet into the attitude of criticism a mind already alive, even skeptical. The essential thing for him, as for Socrates, was the problem of knowledge, the limitations of our knowing, the question how far we can know anything at all. So throughout life he practised elaborate exercises in the art of disputing, which he recommended to his students, using it as a touchstone to test what is knavish and expose the illusions of the understanding. To this attitude of mind, this deep-seated love of inquiry and discussion, we owe what is considered the greatest system of philosophy of modern times—a philosophy critically alive in spirit and in name.

2. The Kantian 'dialytic,' however, is not a new phenomenon in the history of philosophy. It is a thought upon the compation which it bears for him, that of an arguing for and against, Kant inherited the term from the Stoics and Aristotle. But the practice of dialectic is to be connected with the name of Socrates. As friendly discussion in the market-place about the ethical problems which alone were of interest or moment to him, Socrates held it to be the ideal method of philosophizing. He thought that there were answers, more or less definite, to these questions, and this was the way in which the answers were to be got. This earnest conviction, this seeking after truth in the belief that it is to be found, is one of the essential requisites in which Socrates is to be distinguished from the class of professional Sophists to which, in the eye of the ordinary Athenian, he undoubtedly belonged. These men were in the first place teachers of argument and rhetoric, and regarded disputation as a kind of sport, and its profit. They argued in order to show their pupils how arguing should be done; they talked for victory. But they did not stop here. They were from some points of view extremists in philosophy, and they took up a concept or idea with the deliberate purpose of showing it to be full of contradictions, and hence unthinkable. The Sophist did not hesitate to tackle any question, or, as Aristotle would say, to 'talk persuasively' on any subject. As the exponents and popularizers of an esoteric philosophy—they were not for the most part originators of new doctrine—they raised problems in the spheres of ethics, politics, and religion, debating freely, in a spirit of tolerant scepticism, the questions which through the ages and through the eyes of the old-fashioned was not only new, but impious and depraving. Like Abelard, who has been called the medieval counterpart of such a teacher as Protagoras, the Sophist at his best, they thought that controversies must be settled, and attacked, and against, or in Abelard's phrase, sic et non. To them none was sacred. At the first glance, criticism of this kind seemed wholly destructive; many of its immediate effects were undeniably pernicious. But the term controversy and overturning, was of supreme value, not only in the interests of education, but also in the narrower field of dialectic. It was owing to the Sophists mainly that Aristotle was able to draw attention to a clearly marked difference in the matter of our thought. He saw that relatively few problems belong, like those of mathematics, to the sphere of what is strictly demonstrable, and that beyond this, on the vast mass of questions which puzzle the mind of the natural man, we can have discussion, but can never have certainty.

3. It was, however, in the Middle Ages that dialectic or discussion in the Platonic and Aristotelian sense became professedly the vehicle of philosophical inquiry. Bound as they were not only by point and overturning, was of supreme value, not only in the interests of education, but also in the narrower field of dialectic. It was owing to the Sophists mainly that Aristotle was able to draw attention to a clearly marked difference in the matter of our thought. He saw that relatively few problems belong, like those of mathematics, to the sphere of what is strictly demonstrable, and that beyond this, on the vast mass of questions which puzzle the mind of the natural man, we can have discussion, but can never have certainty.
speculative thought to that of everyday life, we find that here the uses of controversy are less obvious, but not less real. In the ordinary sense of the word it may be nothing more than negative criticism, the mere raising of objections to a doctrine or theory brought forward. But, even so, it is of practical value in sharpening the faculties and clearing up confusion in the mind. For contradiction, whether it proceeds from conviction or not, is always stimulating, and even a superficial discussion of most questions is enlightening. When objections for which no answer is fairly carried on, that is, with candour and moderation, in a spirit of honest inquiry, it is of great ethical and educative value. The prejudices of the fair-minded rarely withstand the presentation of fact or the plainest of sincere question. So, at least, most of us, knowing but one side of controverted questions; an argument with an intelligent opponent will show us the other side, and expose the weaknesses of both positions. If our conclusions are correct, their value; if they are faulty, light will be thrown on the premises on which they are based. John Stuart Mill, in his eloquent defence of liberty of thought and discussion, says that every one ought to make a habit of seeking this evidence, and that outside the sphere of mathematics no man's opinions deserve the name of knowledge except in so far as he has gone through the mental process which would have been required of him in carrying on an active controversy. (In Liberty, p. 2.)

5. The benefit to the individual of such a knowledge of most subjects no open-minded person is likely to deny. But there is a deeper aspect of the question. It has often, and rightly, been said that controversy is the battle-field upon which truth comes into collision with error, and that by means of it alone we can acquire new truth. The progress of the race is thus best served by unlimited freedom of discussion, by such a right 'to argue freely according to conscience' as Milton held to be among the first of human liberties. Mill lays stress upon another point. It is a matter of history that the ethical and religious doctrines of the world owe their preservation and development to the fact that they were vigorously defended against attack in the earlier stages of their existence. What is true of sects and nations applies equally to the spiritual life of individuals. It is for the sake of the religious life that we are in least danger of losing it. It is in beliefs, which are most universally accepted, most rarely questioned, that we are apt to become least full of meaning to us, even to be accepted by us mechanically. It would be easy to multiply instances of this. Can the precepts of Christianity, for example, be said to bear the same literal meaning for us as they did for the Founder and the persecuted of the early Church? Or, to take the case of religion in Scotland, is there in Scotsmen of to-day the fire, the blind devotion, the love of the Church, which animated their forefathers? Most people, even allowing for change of circumstances and conditions, are inclined to answer these questions in the negative, and say that creeds and opinions do seem to draw the breath of life from the heat of battle, to grow faint and languid when the struggle is over. This is one sense in which peace and harmony do not make for progress.

6. Every theory, however sound, has its limitations. All doctrines may be, in the main, erroneous; at the best they can contain only a part of the truth, for the truth lies always somewhere at the extreme position upon which man takes his stand. While the progress of knowledge, in spite of apparent disheartening retrogressions, bears always onward and upward, its course is, broadly speaking, a constant tendency now in the direction of one of these opposite poles of thought, now in the direction of another. Dogmatism (to use Kant's expression for these extremes), criticism, and scepticism, follow one another in the way of science—a new dogmatism—again. But in this struggle of theory with theory, of half truth with half truth, the way is gradually becoming clearer, the fresh starting-point is always a little higher, and, human intelligence being limited and fallible, all this can come about only in this way.

LITERATURE.—The reader will find the source of most of the ideas suggested above in such works as: E. Caird, Critical Philosophy of Kant, 1889; Hegel, History of Philosophy, Eng. tr. 1892-96; and J. S. Mill, On Liberty, 1859, pt. ii. See also well-known History of Greek Philosophy, such as that of Zeller, of Ueberweg, of Erdmann, and of Schwengel. On the significance of the work of the Sophists, the student may be referred to G. Groce, Histories of Greece, new ed., 1870, pt. ii.

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CONVENTICLE.—The word is derived from Lat. conventicum, dim. of conventus. According to Bingham (Orig. Ecles.), it originally signified no more than a small assembly, and was also used by ancient writers for a church. It came to be applied specifically to meetings of religious associations, particularly private and secret gatherings for worship. Later it became a term of depreciation of a certain approach, implying that those of whom it was used were in opposition to the ruling ecclesiastical authorities; for example, it was applied to a cabal of actious monks in a convent monastery. Ultimately it came to mean religious meetings of dissenters from an Established Church, held in places that were not recognized as specially intended for public worship or for the exercise of religious functions. It implied that a condition of affairs obtained in which the State made a distinction between public and private worship, and that religion whose practice and propagation were authorized by statute, and such as were expressly prohibited by enactment. This usage has received legal sanction in Britain.

In this sense the term 'conventicle' may be, and has been, widely applied. Harnack (Mission and Expansion of Christianity, 1906, Bk. II) uses it of the missionary activity of Methodism in the Eastern parts of the Roman Empire throughout the domain of Hellenism (Greece, Asia, Syria, Egypt, etc.), in which religion as a whole was prohibited, but that which professes Christianity, which was regarded as belonging to a heretical and illicit sect (P. Camont, Mystères de Mahdist, Brusnich, 1896). To attend the conventicle was, therefore, a sin, a crime, according to Celsus, who represented the contemporary opinion which considered Methodism as an imitation of the religions of the East, and exposed itself to the hatred and intolerance of all. It may be observed that, so far as we can learn, a similar sentiment prevailed against the early Church, which was branded itself as that of the Jews and the Apostles, and the enemies of the Mystical Church, to which the sectars of the Roman Empire, often contemptuously called the 'conventicles,' belonged (Ac 19). Within a short time they drew upon themselves the suspicions of the Jewish ecclesiastical authorities, who branded the new faith as a combination of Judaism and heathenism, and who sought to suppress it by means of legal and ecclesiastical measures. The case of the early Christians is parallel to that of the conventicles, and the latter may find an analog in the history of modern movements, which have been opposed and persecuted in a variety of ways, and which have succeeded in converting themselves to religious competing with the imperial cults.

In accordance with the accepted usage of the word, Church historians properly assert that Christianity took its rise essentially from a conventicle. Such was the meeting in the Upper Room of the first disciples of Christ after the Ascension (Ac 1). This gathering was the type of those which soon began to meet for prayer, mutual edification, and memorial observances, in private houses such as that of Mary, the mother of John (Ac 12). Within a short time they drew upon themselves the suspicions of the Jewish ecclesiastical authorities, who branded the new faith as an imposture, and who sought to suppress it by means of a variety of measures, such as the confiscation of property, the arrest and imprisonment of the leaders, the banishment of the converts, and the use of force, which were employed with great success in the case of the early Christians (Ac 19). Within a short time they drew upon themselves the suspicions of the Jewish ecclesiastical authorities, who branded the new faith as an imposture, and who sought to suppress it by means of a variety of measures, such as the confiscation of property, the arrest and imprisonment of the leaders, the banishment of the converts, and the use of force, which were employed with great success in the case of the early Christians (Ac 19).
An act of uniformity (p. 102) had been propagated in England by refugees from the Continent, were ordered to leave the Kingdom. Even during the subsequent reign of Puritanism, the meetings of this particular body were regarded and treated as suspect, which was incensed by their aggressive fanaticism.

For other persecuted sects, with only one or two exceptions, there was a breathing-space of toleration and freedom.

After the Restoration of the Stuart dynasty, established Episcopacy once more became intolerant under the aegis of Charles II. An Act of Uniformity was promulgated in 1662, which ordained the expulsion from his charge of any clergyman who refused to subscribe to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer and to the doctrine of the King's supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, and held by the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, prohibiting such from exercising his religious profession in private houses. 2000 clergymen were ejected from their livings in one day for declining to comply with these tests. This enactment was reinforced in 1664 by a statute called "the Conventicle Act," which declared any gathering in a private house for religious worship attended by a number exceeding by five the regular members of the household, under penalty of fine, imprisonment, or transportation. A second version of the act deprived these outlying ministers of the right of trial by jury, and empowered any justice of the peace to convict them on the oath of a single informer, who was to be rewarded with a third of all fines levied (D. Neal, History of the Puritans, new ed., London, 1889, pp. 163).

Identical measures were taken during the same reign to secure the suppression of Presbyterianism in Scotland, where it had been the popular and dominant form of religion since the Reformation. From 1662 to 1678 various Acts were passed by the Privy Council and the Court of High Commission, prohibiting conventicles and imposing penalties of increasing severity upon those who attended them, masters being made responsible for their servants, landlords for their tenants, magistrates for the citizens of the burghs over which they presided. It was forbidden to supply denounced persons with meat or drink, or to harbour or have intercourse of any kind with them. These measures, proving unavailing to effect the ultimate end, namely the establishment of a legal trial—an authority which was used without scruple or mercy in numerous instances by such as
Conversion. This policy proved, however, quite abortive. The bulk of the religious population in the south and south-west districts continued to adhere to the old faith, while those who were persuaded, were arranged to be conducted by the objecting ministers. Where the congregation was too large for any suitable private house, resort was had to barns, granaries, or such like commodious buildings. Frequently, however, the number of those who locked to these illeget gatherings amounted to thousands, and the result was the institution of field-conventicles—meetings held, sometimes under cover of night, in the open air, on moors or hills, or in glens and ravines, where safety and seclusion were combined. These frequently lasted for hours, the preaching taking up a large portion of the time. At such conventicles, the ordinances of the Church according to Presbyterianism were faithfully observed. Baptism was administered, and Communion was dispensed, often to hundreds together, and even thousands, the rite taking days to celebrate, several ministers officiating in turn. When repressive measures became more severe and attendances at these gatherings was enacted to be a capital offence, the men came armed with such rude weapons as were obtainable—scythes, flails, etc. Sentinels were posted at look-out points; for the royalist soldiery, aided by spies and informers, often succeeded in crushing the meetings. It was the attack upon such a conventicle that precipitated the battle of Drunclog, 11th June 1679, which issued in the only victory gained by the Covenanters (as the upholders of Presbyterianism were called), at the cost of the lives of many who were afterwards outlawed. After this, the attempt to suppress these conventicles, and the ever-enthusiastic manner in which some of them were conducted lent colour to the charges. In Württemberg a wise middle course was adopted. Those conventicles in which the great principles of Lutheranism were professed, received legal sanction, while the more radical assemblages were banned (cf. PREP iv. 799, xviii. 612). In Sweden, Pietism aroused similar opposition, and a law of 1726 forbade all conventicles conducted by laymen; one way or another, the meetings under the direction of the clergy were permitted, this law not being repealed until 1858 (PREP xvii. 33, 36).

At the present time, it is perhaps only in Russia, with the Greek Church in a position of ecclesiastical supremacy recognized by the State, that conventicles in the strict sense can still be said to exist. Measures of repression are now from time to time directed by the Government against dissenting sects which have been suppressed; such religious societies as the Stundists (q.v.) and the Doublobrics (q.v.), who were denied the liberty of private meetings for worship. The spirit of tolerance seems, however, to be rapidly gaining ground, and nonconformists of any kind, on giving satisfactory assurances to the police, are generally permitted liberty of worship according to their accepted mode. The signs of the times point to the spirit of religious toleration soon becoming universal, with the consequent cessation of that hateful and repressive attitude of State or Established Church to any form of religion which resulted in conventicles. 

Conversion.—1. Ethnic Conversion. —Conversion, the greatest of moral events, is not the monopoly of one religion. It is a human as well as a Christian fact. As there is one blood in the veins of all nations, and one breath in all nostrils, so there is one Divine Spirit brooding over and striving within all souls. God has made all men with a capacity for conversion, with possibilities of response to the highest call (Acts 17:30). And in every age and race there have been minds that have turned to the light, hearts that have felt the "expulsive power of a new affection," wills that have striven, and not all in vain, to attain the ideal. We need not grudge the name or the idea
of conversion to many experiences recorded in non-Christian literature. "Facies quod omi omnibus Polonem?" (Hor. Sot. II. iii. 253 sq.).

The movement which was initiated by the religious reformers of the 16th century, where RV uses the term "conversion," from polytheism to monotheism, and it had its saints and martyrs. Dill has shown that, towards the beginning of the Christian era, Greek-Roman philosophy became evangelical; it sent out an army of converts, partly by preachers, and in Is 6, where RV has "converting" becomes in the RV "turned." In the NT στρέφομαι appears very frequently, and in AV it is nine times rendered "convert"; but this word appears only twice in RV (Ja 5:19-20), being everywhere else changed into a "turn" or "turning of the mind," according to the context.

The Bible is the drama of the conversion of the world, of the turning, or rather the return, of man to God. The sacred writings must, in the last resort, always determine and control our conception of the origin, growth, and nature of the Christian religion. It is not the only vision that a Christian conversion, for there could be no adequate knowledge of God as revealed by Christ Jesus, if we are able to trace the lineaments of the soul of a Christian, it is because we have in the Bible the perfectly formed norm of the new life.

1. The OT.—The OT is a mine of gold for the inductive study of the facts of conversion, but the prospector has to encounter certain initial difficulties. The subject of conversion is often the nation as a whole, and the part played by the individual is usually left to be inferred instead of being directly expressed. Again, the Oriental mind is not analytic; it reasons a priori; it is national, rather than phenomenal. Where the West says, "Felicex qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas," the East is content with "causa."] To search for secondary causes, to pry too curiously into the subjective conditions of spiritual experience, seems to it not only superficial, but even a little profane. "This is Jahweh's doing" (Pr 11:28), "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord as the watercourses: he turneth it whithersoever he will" (Pr 21:1). "None can stay his hand" (On 4), the Hebrew inclination to move in pictures—due in great measure to the absence of abstract terms from the language—causes many spiritual experiences to be clothed in a figurative or symbolic garb. The psychologist must be a very skillful as well as reverent exegete who would re-tell in modern scientific phraseology the story of the conversion of Jacob at Bethel, of Moses in Arabia, of Solomon at Gibeon, of Isaiah in Jerusalem. The last of these experiences, enshrined in the incomparably vivid and illuminating page of autobiography (Is 6-9), presents a type of conversion in Israel which is no doubt, in some respects, unique and incomunicable, but in its broad outlines may be described as normative. Four distinct momenta are enumerated in the thrilling and transforming experience. There is a vision, flashed upon the young Hebrew's inner eye, of the King, Jahweh of hosts, whose glory fills the earth. There is a conversion of sin, penitent self-concentration itself like a subtle poison in nuclear lips. There is the unutterable comfort of absolution, which comes in the hand of a Divine messenger, by the way of the alter, to a heart wrung with anguish. And there is a mission, Divinely offered and humbly accepted, to live in the service of God for the welfare of men.

Just because Israel's moral and spiritual ideal—
their conception both of God and of man—was so much the more strikingly useful to any other nation of antiquity, conversion was to them a more real and radical experience than elsewhere. Theologically construed, conversion was, in their eyes, always a reversion, not to a low but to a high type, not to an animal but to a Divine pattern. This was not a movement contrary to nature; it was man finding himself, realizing his own true nature. But the general point of view was intensely ethical rather than speculative. Historically, the one aim of the spiritual leaders of Israel was to constrain the backsliding nation to ‘return, to be converted,’ unto Jahweh. ‘Let the wicked return unto Jahweh,’ ‘Return ye, and turn yourselves from all your transgressions,’ ‘Turn your selves, and live.’ ‘Take with you words, and return unto Jahweh’ (Is 55, Ezk 18:32, Hos 14). The Prophetic literature rings with the clear call to a definite change of spiritual attitude. Conversion is always equivalent to repentance and faith. But the same Hebrew word (שׂוּחַ) expresses both the turning to and the turning again from Jahweh, conversion and perversion, and the two movements form the perpetual systole and diastole of the heart of Israel. The possibility of conversion is based upon the conception in the past and the hope of Divine co-operation in the present. ‘Return unto me; for I have redeemed thee,’ ‘Turn thou me, and I shall be [or, that I may be] turned’ (Is 44, Jer 31). God also speaks of the diastole, of repentance by a natural disposition, can change the stony heart into one of flesh. The command, ‘Make you a new heart and a new spirit’ (Ezk 36:26), would be a mockery if it were not accompanied by the promise, ‘A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you’ (36:26), and unless there was a Divine response to the prayer, ‘Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me’ (Ps 51). The Book of Psalms gives lyrical expression to the joy of conversion, to the triumph of the soul’s return unto its rest in God. The Psalms have many authors, and it matters little whether any singer describes his first or a subsequent spiritual experience. Here in the Psalms we have not intended to mirror the heart of the nation as well as the individual. Be that as it may, no human document has greater value for the psychologist of conversion. Here especially in the Penitential Psalms, 6, 10, 38, 18, 51, and many others, we have the picture of sighing, groaning, despairing, sure that God has hidden His face, spending nights in sleepless agony, tossings wearily to and fro, watering the couch with tears. Here is the tortured conscience, whose sins are exposed in the light of God’s countenance, gnawed with remorse, seized with the pains of Sheol. Here is the sense of inward uncleanness, of hereditary sin, the horrible feeling of being sunk in the mire of a deep pit from which there is no deliverance. Here is the piercing cry of fear from abysmal depths, the prayer for Divine mercy and forgiveness. And here is the glimmering light in the darkness, the blaze of spiritual illumination, the clear vision of God, the sense of His redeeming love; and, lastly, the rapture of deliverance, the gratitude that words can never utter, the desire to tell to others what Jahweh hath done for the soul, that sinners may be converted unto him.

At an early period the Hebrew nation began to direct its attention to the younger. There was an enthusiasm for education (see EDUCATION [Jewish]), and the discipline was never merely intellectual, but always primarily ethical and spiritual. The fear of Jahweh is the beginning [or, it may be, ‘the chief part’] of wisdom (Pr 1). Here ‘wisdom’ is almost equivalent to ‘religion.' It was often personified by its lovers, and praised as ‘a friend and a sister’ (Pr 7). It was even as the eternal companion of Jahweh (Pr 8). The great aim of Hebrew parents—no mention is made of schools—was so to ‘train up a child’ in the service of God and in the atmosphere of healthy piety, that in his manual he should need no sudden, violent, convulsive return unto Jahweh from a life of sin and shame. How entirely such pedagogy corresponds with our latest ideals of education, we shall see later. That the end was often realized, we cannot doubt. Some of the noblest servants of God knew that they were sanctified from their mother’s womb (Is 5, Lk 2). There was no time when they did not reverence and love Jahweh, no time when they played the fool, no time when they needed to hear the arresting trumpet-voice, ‘Turn ye, turn ye...why will ye die?’ (Ezk 33). But there are incausal elements in human nature as well as defects in the best education, and the sons of many servants of Jahweh—such as Eli, David, Josiah—showed that it is always in man’s power to abuse the mystery of his freedom and defeat the grace of God.

Conversion in the OT was often a profound and radical change. The desire for God—the hunger, the thirst, the famine of the soul—that was as passionate, and the response to the human cry was the outstretching of a strong arm that not only wrought deliverance from evil, but drew men into close and satisfying fellowship with God. Yet the joy of conversion by a natural disposition was for a long period troubled by the idea that spiritual restoration must necessarily be followed and attested by material prosperity. To the end it awaited a fuller revelation of the Fatherhood of God, the breaking of the bonds of sin and the prospect of immortality. There was to be a final answer to the oft-repeated prayer, ‘Turn us again, O God, and cause thy face to shine, and we shall be saved’ (Ps 80:7–8).

ii. The NT.—In the NT, conversion is the chief end of all teaching and preaching. It has rightly been called (Ecce Homo 21, London, 1873, p. 245) ‘the true artius est et cadet est ecclesia.' Jesus began His ministry by preaching repentance and faith (Mar 1:14–15), that is, the conversion of sinners, a statement of the faith of the Church from its beginning to the present day. The language in which conversion is described varies considerably, according to the needs of the individual: but the root or core of the change is always the same. It is figured as a transition out of darkness into marvellous light (1 Pt 2:9), as a being born again, or ‘from above’ (Jn 3:3), as a redemption from all iniquity (Tit 2:8), as a passing out of death into life (Jn 5:24), as a turning from the power of Satan unto God (Ac 26:20), as a new creation (2 Co 5:17), as putting off an old and putting on a new man (Col 3:10), as becoming children of God (Ro 8:16), as having Christ dwelling together equivalent to a temple in the body (Eph 3:17), as a dying and rising again (Ro 6:4). Practically, it is a new life which turns all the forces of one’s being into a new channel. All the energies that formerly made a man a sinner are now employed to make him a saint. His carefulness, indignation, zeal, and revenge are directed against his sin (2 Co 7:9). The converting power is never the mere force of truth, or the beauty of holiness, but always the fascination of a person—of a person. The whole life of the convert organizes itself anew around Christ living, dying, rising, and reigning; He is the power of God unto salvation (Ro 1:4). The NT tells of multitudes who have been re-claimed from vice, and never gone back. Science regards all facts with reverence, and the NT abounds in such transfigured realism as the fol-
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loving: 'Neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God. And such were some of you: but ye were washed, but ye were sanctified, but ye were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God.' (1 Co. 6:9.)

Conversion has a double aspect: a moral, spiritual, intellectual, and practical (John Watson, *Inspiration of Our Faith*, p. 79 ff.); and such groupings are useful, if not logically perfect.

There are conversions from sin to holiness, from doubt to faith, from legality to grace, from selfishness to self-sacrifice; but we must beware of analyzing the indivisible self into so many faculties, and ascribing conversion to the exercise of one of them, to the exclusion of the others. Conversion is the response of the whole personality—whether they regarded as mind, or heart, or will—to the personal Christ. It is man's meeting with Christ, believing in Christ, gaining new life in Christ. Intelligence, emotion, volition are all mastered by the Author and Finisher of Christian faith. The harmonious functioning of every energy of the mind is the perfect spiritual life.

Jowett, in a fine essay on 'Conversion and Changes of Character,' calls attention to the fact that the last generation—the very opposite of their forefathers; their spiritual nature came again like the flesh of a little child (Jowett, *Theological Essays*, p. 40). Sometimes the change was violent and dramatic, as in the case of St. Paul, whose conversion is the most momentous in history; sometimes it was quiet and unexsational, as in the instances of Zaccheus, Matthew, Lydia, Timothy. But, whether the type was explosive or gentle, the change was radical and complete. And it is impossible to say when it was always the opposite of a gradual and laborsious reformation.

'Easier to change many things than one is the common saying. Easier, we may add, in religion or morality, to change the whole than the parts. Easier, because natural, unaccustomed, not agreeable to the voice of conscience and the promises of Scripture... Take care of the little things of life, and the great ones will take care of themselves, is the maxim of the trader. But more true is it in religion that we should take care of the great things, and the trifles of life will take care of themselves. Christianity is not an art acquired by long practice; it does not care and polish human nature with a graving tool; it makes the whole man; first pouring out his soul before God, and then casting him in a mould' (Jowett, op. cit. 56).

For certain purposes, theology distinguishes conversion from regeneration. They are the human and the Divine side of the same experience. Regeneration is the gift of God. Conversion, the power or principle of the new life implanted by His Spirit; conversion is the act of human freedom, the voluntary turning of the heart to God. The one is a necessity—'ye must be born again' (Jn. 3); the other, a duty—'repent and be converted' (Ac. 5:32). Regeneration occurs but once, conversion may have to be repeated. 'Convert your conversion' is the keen counsel of Adolphe Monod (Saint Paul, Paris, 1839, p. 114). St. Peter's faith never failed, for his Master never gave it; but Divine good pleasure grew cold; but in a moment of temptation he denied his Lord, and he needed to be reconverted was painfully evident (Lk. 22:54). And if there is any truth in the *Domine, quo vadis* legend, he had yet another conversion at the very end of his life, and it was again a look on the face of Christ that wrought the change. 'And Peter turned, and rushed on Rome, and died.' Conversion plays too important a part to be exhausted in a single decision.

'The whole life of a man,' says Fraser of Brea, 'is a continued conversion to God, in which he is perpetually humbled under sense of sin, and driven by fear and love and faith to endeavor and persevere to make nothing less than a perfect faith and love, and daily walks closer with the Lord, endeavoring at certain times to be more and more holy, and over again his work in the heart, forming His people more exactly than before; and therefore no wonder they meet with something like a second sight, and a third spiritual sight, especially where there are backslidings' (Memoirs, Edinburgh, 1736, ch. v. 2).

St. Paul describes his own conversion objectively in the Acts, and subjectively in his Epistle to the Romans. Ro. 7 is the most searching analysis ever given of the divided self, the *homo duplex*. Whether it mirrors a first or second or still later spiritual conflict is immaterial, for each crisis in man respects the same. How forcibly the Apostle's self-dissection illustrates the teaching of the modern psychologist!

'The welds of the twice-born character seems to be a certain discordancy or heterogeneity in the nature temperament of the subject, an incompletely unified moral and intellectual constitution. 'Homogeneity, homo duplex, . . . Heterogeneity may make havoc of the subject's life. There are persons whose existence is little more than a series of zigzags, as one tends upward and then downward and then again upward and the upper hand. Their spiritual lives with their flesh, they wish for incompatible, which causes them to have liberal plans, and their lives are one long drama of repentance and of effort to repair misdeemeeus and mistakes. . . . The higher and the lower feelings, the useful and the erring impulses, begin by being a comparative chaos within us—yet must end by forming a stable or function of function, as the gentleman and the peasant' (James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, London, 1902, ch. viii, p. 167 ff.).

While the battle rages in the Apostle's soul, while his heart is a kingdom divided against itself, and in all the chambers of his being his moral ideal is torn between friends and foes, his anguish is pitiful. 'O wretched man that I am,' he cries, 'who shall deliver me!' (Ro. 7:24). But in the end, by the power of Christ, his higher self triumphs over his lower; his divided spirit is healed; peace and harmony take the place of civil war and turmoil; and the most tragic lament in the Bible is followed by the finest psalm.

3. Conversion in Church History.—The supreme task of the Church is the conversion of the world—the making disciples of all nations (Mt. 28). The apostolic and evangelical continuity of spiritual life is to be maintained, the Christian faith is to be propagated, the Kingdom of God is to be advanced, through an unbroken succession of conversions. All the preachers who have profoundly moved the heart of mankind—master-spirits like Chrysostom, Savonarola, Luther, Wesley—have made conversion their theme. And, from a scientific point of view, the evidential value of conversions is the highest.

'Of Augustine,' says Romances, 'after thirty years of age, and other Fathers, bear testimony to a sudden, enduring, and extraordinary change in themselves, called conversion. Now this experience has been repeated and testified to by countless millions of civilized men and women in all nations and all degrees of culture. It signifies not whether the conversion be sudden or gradual, though, as a psychological phenomenon, it is more remarkable when sudden and there is no symptom of mental aberration otherwise. But, even as a gradual growth in maturity, its evidential value is not less' (*Thoughts on Religion*, p. 102).

The theology of the Church was early caught in the meshes of the problem of the relation of Divine grace to human freedom in the experience of conversion. Thought has moved between two extremes. On the one hand, the sovereignty of God is emphasized, grace is irresistible, the number of the elect is certain and must be made up, the elect certain—*in utramque quietum*. Under such conditions, man, impotent in the grip of original sin, is converted almost against his will. He is scarcely more than an automaton; his salvation appears to be due to his mere good
fortune; he chances to be a vessel unto honour. On the other hand, human liberty is accentuated; conversion is viewed as the outcome of forced resident in man himself; he has a native power to repent and believe, and the new life is from first to last a hard-earned, self-obtained, personal possession. The age-long controversy between Augustinian and Roman Catholic and Arminian, regarding the fact of conversion has now spent much of its force. With the help of a better psychology we can do justice to both the Divine and the human initiative. God is all-operative love, and man's whole life is his gift. All the conditions of human life are Divinely ordered, and man has an intense consciousness of dependence. He has nothing that he has not received. But part of his equipment is his freedom. He is at once a real and not an illusive sovereignty. He is conscious of acting of his own accord, and of using the causal order for ends which he himself chooses. He is a free, self-determining personality, and his conversion is one that we are the impulse of love he voluntarily and joyfully surrenders himself to God. A German theologian illustrates the interaction of Divine sovereignty and human freedom in conversion by the familiar process of personal soul-saving being perceived as die Bekehrung und Ueberzeugung (Seeberg, art. Bekehrung, in PRE). Every man is constrained by the love of Christ; but every man is fully persuaded in his own mind. If the convert calls the grace or fascinates of Christ 'inexpressible,' he partly speaks with the enthusiasm of a lover; but it is had theology to change the warm logic of the heart into a cold dogma of the intellect. Man may after all use the Divine gift as he pleased—it may be to thwart—the will of God. The way of its individuality is to make Divine ends personal ends, and to pour forth all the energy of one's being in the service which is perfect liberty.

Conversion meant in the Middle Ages, as it still does in Roman Catholicism, the adoption of a creed and submission to the authority of the Church. In Protestant theology it always means the re-birth of the soul, but in the Anglican Church there is no way to regard regeneration and conversion as independent and separable in time, and different in important aspects. Certainly, if regeneration is mediated by baptism, the subject of which is usually unconscious of the rite, then when and turning to the will to God, the personal acceptance of Christ by faith, then the second process is often separated from the first by a long interval; and it is possible to contend, as Anglican theology sometimes does, that 'a regenerated man it not necessarily a converted man.' If the effect of baptism is that 'it remits all sin, original and actual; that it bequeaths sanctifying grace, and endues the soul with the heavenly virtues of faith, hope, and charity; that it invests the recipient a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven' (V. Staley, The Catholic Religion, London, 1853, p. 248), there can be little need for another religious phase called conversion. But this view appears to lose all touch with the central truth and vital experience of the NT, to empty the Christian religion of its moral and spiritual contents, and to reduce it to the level of a magical formula.

4. Conversion in the light of science.—Professor Henry Drummond was an eye-witness of the facts of conversion, as the youthful comrade of Mr. Moody in a great revival of religion. From that time he never ceased to advocate a scientific treatment of the phenomena of the spiritual life, which he happily called 'the contemporary activities of the Holy Ghost.' There can be nothing presumptuous in the endeavour to classify the facts and discover the laws governing the phenomena of forced resident in man himself; he has a native power to repent and believe, and the new life is from first to last a hard-earned, self-obtained, personal possession. The age-long controversy between Augustinian and Roman Catholic and Arminian, regarding the fact of conversion has now spent much of its force. With the help of a better psychology we can do justice to both the Divine and the human initiative. God is all-operative love, and man's whole life is his gift. All the conditions of human life are Divinely ordered, and man has an intense consciousness of dependence. He has nothing that he has not received. But part of his equipment is his freedom. He is at once a real and not an illusive sovereignty. He is conscious of acting of his own accord, and of using the causal order for ends which he himself chooses. He is a free, self-determining personality, and his conversion is one that we are the impulse of love he voluntarily and joyfully surrenders himself to God. A German theologian illustrates the interaction of Divine sovereignty and human freedom in conversion by the familiar process of personal soul-saving being perceived as die Bekehrung und Ueberzeugung (Seeberg, art. Bekehrung, in PRE). Every man is constrained by the love of Christ; but every man is fully persuaded in his own mind. If the convert calls the grace or fascinates of Christ 'inexpressible,' he partly speaks with the enthusiasm of a lover; but it is had theology to change the warm logic of the heart into a cold dogma of the intellect. Man may after all use the Divine gift as he pleased—it may be to thwart—the will of God. The way of its individuality is to make Divine ends personal ends, and to pour forth all the energy of one's being in the service which is perfect liberty.

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psychological development, and a wide induction proves that.

Among males there are two tidal waves of religious awakening, at about 13 and 16, followed by a less significant period at 18; while among males the great wave is at about 16, preceded by a wave at 14 and followed by a spike up to 18 (Stark, op. cit. p. 34). 'Feeling plays a larger part in the religious life of females, where it is more confused with intellect and volition' (Fosdick, op. cit. p. 65). 'Conversion for males is a more violent incident than for females, and more sudden' (ib. 95). And one may say that boys with deficient mental equipment fully justifies it by bringing it into relation with other well-known mental processes. There are moments, as Browning says in his Cristina,

1 When the spirit's true emendaments
Stand out plainly from its fake ones.

Our best thoughts are often startling intimations, 'flashes struck from midnight.' The seeker after truth utters his sudden 'Eureka,' and so does the seeker after a Saviour (Jn 10-24). Love, both natural and spiritual, is often love at first sight; when two souls, like two dovets, rush into one, the time element counts for nothing; the psychological moment has in it the quality of eternity. Our minds and souls and psychology completely justifies it, and we are quite justified in bringing it into relation with other well-known mental processes. There are moments, as Browning says in his Cristina,

1 When the spirit's true emendaments
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The world and its laws,' to quote Jowett again (op. cit. p. 63), 'bear witness to our true determinations. At any moment we can begin a new life.' R. L. Stevenson prays the Celestial Surgeon to stab his spirit broad awake (Underwoods, p. 10). A work of art is the result of an original Christian conversion.

Even those who have never avoided God, never dishonoured Christ, often become suddenly and profoundly conscious of their need of conversion; and there are creative periods of the mind when the inductive faculty, and the instinct to good are tremendously strong. While, however, the actual change is frequently swift, there is almost invariably a season of preparation for it.

Conversion is the climax of a gradation, the crisis of a process more or less drawn out. The evidence on this point is all but unanimous. We may even accept Vinet's strong statement: 'Rome might more easily be built, than a man converted, in a day. Such a prodigy is possible with God; but not in a day. In a day, we say, we may safely predict that He will not perform it' (Outlines of Theology, 1870, p. 84). Vinet is here perhaps missing language, confusing the means with the end, the way with the goal. He does not feel that the change is often instantaneous. In such cases conversion is the firing of a slowly-laid train, the bursting of a silently-maturing bud, the transformation seen in the lifelong drama of the soul. It is evident that much is lost by the deliberate postponement of decision.

'Convert me, but not yet,' was Augustine's prayer. 'Men are quiet to feel, and keen to know; but they are not only slow, they are averse to decide. Yet it is for decision that Christianity calls, it is for decision that the energetic universe calls, for more than for a mere impression in response. A crisis has to be formed and the soul to be resolved at the will' (P. T. Forsyth, Preaching and the Modern Mind, 1907, p. 131).

(3) Conversion may be unconscious.—There is a happy class of Christians who cannot tell when or how they began to believe; who have 'no bitter regrets, no broken lives, no ugly memories.' There is the anima naturaliter Christiana, the sanguine Sceol that has always been on the side of the angels. It was the teaching of Bushnell that, under the pervasive influence of the Christian family, the child should grow up a Christian without his ever knowing himself to be otherwise. The Christian life, being natural to man, should begin with the beginnings of conscious experience; and a great wrong is done to a child when he is led to imagine that he must wait till he comes to years of discretion and then have an experience which will make him a Christian. If the soul will for itself realize, there will be no rude shock, but a beautiful continuity, in his spiritual life. 'Of such is the kingdom of God' (Lk 18:9), said Jesus of the children of Galilee, and the prevention of a fall from the grace so delicately connected to childhood should be the aim of all education.

'That is the ideal type of conversion in a Christian land; and it is the scandalous neglect of duty by Christian parents and by the Church which has made it less frequent than it should be' (D. W. Forrest, The Christ of History and of Experience, 359).

'The soul is father of the understanding. And I could wish my days to be

Bound each to each by natural pity.'

Some, indeed, deny that in this Christian science there is any conversion at all. Francis Newman distinguished the 'once-born' from the 'twice-born' Christian, and this idea—legitimate enough as a protest against an exclusively revivifying type of conversion—has been wonderful in an age of psychologists and greatly overworked. It is not a Christian idea. Jesus assumes in many indirect ways the natural sinfulness of the human heart and its need of regeneration. Even the child who is 'sanctified' by his mother's prayers is once-born. The most the 'sky-blue' and 'healthy-minded' Christian is regenerated. Science is here rendering a valuable service to theology. It has proved that every man has a sub-conscious self, that changes both small and great occur in the subliminal region of the mind.

'Consciousness is a very poor witness to what takes place in the abodes of soul life. The remembered experiences of individuals are pitifully fragmentary and puerile, and often absurdly mistaken as to cause, process, issue, and object' (Hall, Adolescence, p. 317).

We are largely the creatures of instinct and unconscious imitation, and, if many things are wrought into the fabric of our being without our knowledge, why not the grace of God?

'Think you,' said all this mighty sun Of things for ever speaking, That nothing of itself will come, But we must still be seeking?

'God giveth his beloved in sleep' (Ps 127), and His beneficence is no wonder in an ungrateful as in a conscious regeneration. But see, on this whole subject, art. CONSCIOUSNESS, p. 53.

(4) Conversion must not be stereotyped.—The phenomena of the spiritual life are marvelously complex, and psychological inability to attempt to standardize, normalize, conventionalize it. Every individual has his own ancestry, his own history, his own idiosyncrasy, and therefore his own spiritual experience. The variety of grace is like the variety of our experience. A man is not a fly; and the Spirit is not a machine. He loves originals more than duplicates. The conversion on the way to Damascus cannot be a pattern for all men. There need not always be the same tragic intensity, the same high lights, the same deep shadows. The diversities of operations of the same Spirit must all be orthodox.

But every man is tempted to make his own experience a kind of law for other people. Schleiermacher thinks that the religious life is, in its inception and growth, the product of feeling; Herrmann believes that 'greater and higher than all the motions within the Christian, there rises and lowers religious thought.' The type of religious experience that seems native to a cultured community is, in general, respected and retained; but the fervours of the Salvation Army and the Methodist meeting are to the psychologist no less natural.

Théodore Monod tells of a French friend who thus described his conversion: 'I cannot say that I had a very strong sense of sin, I just felt happy in the love of God. God did to me as a mother sometimes do to her child who has only to be fed; I was no more a self: he wove me up in a kiss' (Monod, Foreign Grace, Lond. 1899, p. 116). The Christian of the unconscious type, who has never felt a single emotion or experience, has by the convert who knows himself to be a brand plucked from the burning, to whom conversion is a thing volcanic or cataclysmic, in whom 'habits of years' standing are overthrown in as many
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moments; and whose 'very organic impulses and desires are so utterly transformed that he can scarcely recognize himself' (Pratt, Psychology of Religious Belief, p. 253).

(5) Consequences of the mystery.—When being studied scientifically, spiritual phenomena lose none of their Divine significance. Psychology has done much and will yet do more; it even asserts that, 'if we know the person psychologically, we can prophecy quite correctly the type of his conversion, whether sudden or gradual, quiet or excited' (Cutten, Psych. Phen. of Christianity, p. 253). But, after all, psychology can see only the under side of conversion.

'Spiritual life, like natural life, is in its foundations a mystery,' says Mr. T. J. Lipman, 'Nothing can be more crude than the notion that to discover the reign of law is to eliminate God and mystery. Law is only God's uniform method of working, and He is in the field when He is most invisible. We have not to deal with a God remote from the world and manifested only through occasional interferences with the order of Nature, but with a God whose dwelling and working are in the lives of men. Just as the correlation of brain states with diseases does not prove the case of the materialist, so the correlation of conversion with certain mental and physical forces is far from proving that the inception and growth of the spiritual life is not a Divine act. Nothing may all be due to so-called natural causes,' says Romans, 'no evidence against its so-called supernatural source, unless we beg the whole question of Divinity in Nature' (op. cit. p. 106). Even Riesch, with all his dislike for mysticism, never denies that God Himself is present and operative in regeneration, using the religious community as His medium, not His substitute. 'This wonderful change,' says Pfeiderer, 'is not arbitrarily brought about by man, it creates itself in the person of the happening. It happens upon him; it appears to him as the operation of a higher power, as the gift of undeserved divine favour or grace. And is not this a thought, in fact, can do nothing but confirm what the believer holds as a truth requiring no proof' (Coo, Eng. tr. iv. 1889, p. 36).

Frode complains that conversion, like other Christian doctrines, has been 'pawed and fingered by incautious hands for now nearly two hundred years. The bloom is gone from the flower. The plumeage, once shining with hues direct from heaven, is soiled and bedraggled. The most solemn of all realities have been degraded into the passwords of technical theology' (Life of Baynton, London, 1880, p. 34). But all that is needed to bring back the bloom of the flower and the plumeage to the wing is a new springtime. Human errors and caricatures do not alter Divine facts, any more than the mists extinguish the stars. A wide survey of the data of the spiritual life leads to the conclusion that the majority of these evolutionaries have little of the picturesque or dramatic in them; that some take place beneath the threshold of consciousness; that others are but dumb yearnings of penitence and faith towards God; that the memorabilia of soul-life are usually brief, the convert sometimes limiting himself to the wondering exclamation, 'Whereas I was blind, now I see' (Ju 9 11). Yet every conversion enfolds in itself a Divine secret—the mystery of life—whose power and beauty will gradually be unfolded to the eye, but whose inner significance no mind can penetrate. The psychological study of the New Life will probably do more than anything else to convince the twentieth century of the immanence and transcendence of God.

personal influence of those who confidently and plausibly proffer doctrines and statements for the acceptance of ill-equipped minds.

Respecting conviction as the result of a mental process, and determined by evidence, there is usually a change of belief and of mind-content. Here we have evidence pointing out old belief and substituting new; conviction then leaves old opinion and clings to new. In this case the feeling of reality comes as a response to the force of evidence applied by comparison and judgment.

That is, belief seems to be the real (and so it is known) to be a matter of conviction; but it is also a matter of both feeling and will. In respect of all the higher intellectual, aesthetic, ethical, and religious realities, feeling and choice largely determine knowledge through the dependence of this belief of the world. Yet we have spoken of feeling not because it is a special form of affective phenomenon—because as conviction—having that warmth of colouring which the word implies—it may be regarded as a sort of universal affective accompaniment of the intellectual and voluntary aspects of all knowledge' (G. T. Ladd, *Psychology*, 1891, p. 54).

Convictions are beliefs accepted and vitalized by the emotions of those convinced that realities are indicated by them. The acceptance of beliefs is partly determined by the absence of contradictory beliefs in the mind when the new propositions are tendered. This fact Buckle long ago pointed out.

The absence of antagonistic ideas in the mind permits indiscrimination the acceptance of true and of false forms of belief. Children may be brought up to believe almost anything religious. In the same way the presence of beliefs antagonistic to proffered ideas may as often keep out the true as the false. Bias towards false forms, and erroneous prejudice, make impossible the adve of truth and prevent it from being admitted. Hence it is that new general truths are seldom acquired after mental maturity. Minds usually become hopelessly biased long before middle age. While credit may sometimes permit the truth to enter, constant incredulity resists the truth and hugs old errors.

The test of actuality we find in our own consciousness and life. 'Whatsoever things have intimate and constant connexion with my life are things of whose reality I am thoroughly assured' (op. cit. p. 298). Doctrines strongly stirring the higher emotions, and not conflicting with prejudice, will with a force which carries conviction with it, though the doctrines may vary with all the religions of the world. Truth hides under many forms. We may be sure that, in all these varying doctrines as applied to the human heart, there is a living element of eternal truth. God does not forsake the beings that have emanated from Himself. Each soul has the conditions and the knowledge it can bear and make use of under the religion it is born to or adopts.

2. Conviction of sin is usually present in the state of consciousness known as conversion (p. 129), or change of heart. It is a 'sense of sin,' a feeling of unworthiness and general wretchedness, accompanied by a strong desire to lead a better life. It is shown by a more or less sudden distaste for accustomed thought, language, and conduct, and by a new-found yearning within for an improved state of being. Conviction may last for days, months, or years before the crisis, or conversion, supervenes, and this is followed by restfulness of thought, language, and conduct.

Conversion is described by Starbuck as a step for breaking the lower for the higher self:

'A process of struggling away from sin, rather than of striving towards righteousness, seems to be a step in growth which calls into activity the deeper self. . . . The feelings, which are the primal elements in consciousness, function so strongly. In the tendency to resist the new life, one also, an indication that the new life is forcing its way even against the person's will' (*The Psychology of Religion*, 1896, p. 64).

Though the proximate cause of conviction of sin is often fear of torments to come, yet we may be sure that behind this fear there are certain emotional and mental conditions ripe for a change to a higher state.

Viewing the phenomena observable at great religious reviews, such as the movement among the Welsh people in the years 1904-1905, we recognize, despite certain objectionable features and mistaken views and conduct, the action of the Holy Spirit in meeting the aspirations of those who are struggling against the difficulties of the lower planes of emotion. It is through the power of the Spirit, which is the life-force of the universe, that the transmutation of the emotions is effected, and this must be at the bidding of the lower nature. The raising of the emotions to higher levels is part of the process of evolution, and, when accomplished, is a sign of the soul's development, or growth in grace.

LITERATURE.—The literature is given in the notes.

CONVOCATION.—This is the name given to the general assembly of the clergy of the Church of England. The older name was 'synod,' of which 'convocation' became equivalent when English began to take the place of Latin in the official documents of the Church. We read of the 'Synode of London' in 1533, but of the 'convocation held in London' in 1522. The synodal activity of the Christian Church is coeval with her life. It gradually took form in diocesan, provincial, and national synods, and these different forms of synods were held wherever Christianity was established. The British Church, in common with the rest of the world was familiar with conciliar action.—witness the Council of Verulam in A.D. 446. In Anglo-Saxon times, Church Councils were assembled 'acconse with our Parliaments' as national synods, while the bishops and clergy in addition were constituent members of the 'great council' of the nation.

In Norman times the conciliar activity of the Church became still greater. Bishops, abbots, priors, archdeacons, and deans were summoned; but the first known representative element occurs in 1225 under Langton. Later in this century, however, we have proof of direct representation in a provincial synod, for in 1273 we find Archbishop Kilwarby issuing his mandate to the Bishop of Lincoln 'to the effect that the two archdeacons in that province should attend. Side by side with provincial synods were diocesan synods, which were held under their several bishops to enforce the decrees of the provincial synods. National synods fell into disuse through the jealousy felt by the two Archbishops of their respective claims.

It is to be noted that this synodal action of the Church preceded the attempt made by Edward I. in 1295 to incorporate the clergy into his newly
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devised parliamentary system. The king hoped that the clergy would not only meet, as heretofore, as the spiritual counsellors of the Archbishops, but that they would also add to their spiritual duties the further duty of sitting in Parliament as the king's council, especially to make it easier for him to raise money by taxation. The king's attempt, however, failed through the refusal of the clergy to objects of summons addressed to them, through the Archbishops in the famous pr\n\nmunientes clause. The Crown acquiesced, after 1340, in the rule that the clergy should tax them\nselves in their Convocation, and in consequence the great function of the Convocation did not outlive the following century. The writ with the pr\n\nmunientes clause is still issued at the summon\ning of every Parliament, but is never obeyed. Convocation, however, is still summoned in both Provinces whenever Parliament is summoned, though it would seem that there is nothing to hinder its meeting at other times 'if the existence of affairs shall so require.'

Convocation, in common with the Church of England as a whole, lost much of its independence, and at the same time much of its power and influence, at the Reformation. The Act of Submission (25 Henry VIII. c. 19) embodies in its pre\n\namble an Act of Convocation abjuring all power to do anything without the king's consent; and it affirms that Convocation always had been, and ought always to be, assembled only by the king's writ. Accordingly, Convocation was reduced to an instrument of the 'Supreme Head.' The Supreme Governor, in his purposes, and was given the duties of considering forms of public worship, articles of religion, and canons, though not as possessing any independent effective authority. Indeed, it is now an estab\n\lished fact that whatever is made by the clergy in Convocation are of no binding power over the laity.

After the Restoration, Convocation prepared in 1661 the Act of Uniformity, revised the Prayer-Book, and re-modelled the canons. The same Convocation is remarkable as being the last to grant a clerical subsidy—acting, it is said, in dropping the custom, upon a verbal agreement made between the Lord Chancellor Clarendon and Archbishop Neill. This bishop declared that 'the greatest alteration in the constitution ever made without an express law.' Since this change Convocation has ceased to enjoy any political importance.

After the Revolution, the history of Convocation is a story of bitter conflicts between the two Houses, in which Atterbury, Wake, and Burnet played leading parts. This conflict culminated in 1717, when the Lower House was about to censure the writings of Bishop Hoadley, whereupon Conv\n\nocation was prorogued by royal writ, and met no more (except formally till 1741) until it was again summoned for business in 1852, through the efforts of Bishop Wilberforce and others.

Convocation now assembles concurrently with Parliament, being summoned by a royal writ addressed to the Archbishops. In Canterbury the Upper House consists of 23 members, the Lower of 154. In the Province of York the corresponding numbers are 9 and 60. The custom of separating into Upper and Lower houses dates from the end of the 14th cent., when the inferior clergy began to withdraw into a lower room, viz. one under the chapter-house of St. Paul's Cathedral, or a small room in the crypt in the crypt.

Though Convocation is described in Canon 139 of 1604 as 'the true Church of England by repre\n\n\nsentation,' it remains an unformed body. The official element is preponderant, and the large body of stipendiary curates is without any voice in the election of clergy-proctors. It is not surprising, therefore, that Convocation exercises but little influence over the minds of the majority of the members of the Church of England, though it affords an excellent opportunity for the more highly-placed clergy to discuss affairs as they affect the Church, and though its debates and reports are of uniformly high order, and are frequently of permanent value. See also art. CHURCH OF ENGLAND.


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CO-OPERATION.—Co-operation (i.e. literally 'working together') might express any combined action of two or more persons for any purpose. It is used in general, and will be employed here, to denote the combinations of working men for production or distribution of commodities, including incidentally some other forms of mutual help. In 1794, Dr. Shute Barrington, bishop of Durham, established a co-operative store at Mongewell, in the county of Oxford, at the instigation of that and three small adjoining parishes. A quantity of bacon, cheese, and other articles was procured from wholesale dealers to be subdivided and sold at prime cost for ready money. The salesman was an infirm old man who could not read or write, but his honesty was unimpeached, and he was allowed a shilling a week as well as the benefit of the shop. The transactions of 1796 amounted to £253. The net saving to the poor in the cost of the articles was £140, and the Rev. Dr. Glass invited several village shop at Greenford in Middlesex. The receipts for six months exceeded £150, and the margin of saving was from 15 to 25 per cent according to the nature of the article sold. A third was established about the same time at Hanwell, by the Rev. G. Glass, vicar of that parish, with like success. In all three cases, great good was done by avoiding the burden of debt.

In 1795, a co-operative saw-mill was established at Hull, and it continued in operation for a hundred years. In 1796 a parish windmill was erected by subscription on Barham Downs in the county of Kent, and in 1797 one at Chislehurst. A co-operative society at Nottingham has existed for more than 100 years.

In 1844, a few workmen of Rochdale joined in establishing a society called the 'Equitable Pioneers,' and that Society was so successful that the works of many others followed in many parts of the country. It now has more than 16,000 members holding £300,000 in shares, and its sales amount to £340,000 a year. A portion of its profits is yearly applied to educational purposes. The paid up capital consists largely of accumulation of past profits. No credit is given. By its means the workmen of Rochdale have been enabled to supply themselves with accessories of life, genuine in quality and at a cheap price, and to accumulate out of their savings and the profits of their trade a capital sum averaging nearly £20 for each share\n
holder. This Society was registered as a Friendly Society under the Act of 1846.

In 1850, the Rev. F. D. Maurice, the Rev. Chas. Kingsley, Mr. H. M. Ludlow, Mr. T. Hughes, Mr. E. Vansittart Ncule, and others, joined in the formation of a Society for promoting Workmen's Associations, and commenced a Working Tailors' Association. The excellent motives and aspirations
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Introduction. — When Christianity was first introduced into Egypt, it found itself confronted not only by the religions environment common to all Hellenistic provinces of the Roman Empire, but also by the influence of the old native religion. The latter, although beginning to show signs of decay which was soon to overtake it, was still immensely powerful, especially in the towns and villages situated at some distance up the Nile, away from Alexandria. In certain ways it had scarcely been touched by Hellenic influence, and had, indeed, rather self-influenced Hellenic thought. It had certainly impressed itself strongly on the imagination of the Platonist idealists of Alexandria, as is evidenced by Plutarch’s treatise de Iside et Osiride and by bk. xi. of the Metaphysics of the same author. It was at the beginning of the Roman period the native priests still kept alight the sacred lamp of religious knowledge, the general mass of the people had become ignorant of a great number of the lesser-known deities, and many of the old forms of ceremony. Nevertheless, the main doctrines of the old religion were as firmly rooted as ever. The worship of the gods of the dead was still paramount, and especially there remained unshaken the belief in the Osirian idea of resurrection and the confining of the dead man to the underworld. But, by the power of Evil, who lived again as king of the dead. The people still believed in the so-called ‘resurrection,’ that is to say, they thought it was possible that the dead might live for ever if they were not involved in the ceremonies which enabled Osiris to escape corruption. Also, if we may rely on such papyri as that containing the tale of Setne Khaemwaset and St. Osiris, not only was the weighing of the heart maintained, but evil deeds still thought necessary to be followed; the soul could pass the judgment-hall of Osiris, but very elevated notions of morality and justice played an important part in the hopes pertaining to eternal felicity. On the other hand, the Greek sympathists of Alexandria had adopted the cult of Osiris and Isis, and had transcendentized it out of all knowledge, to suit the current Platonist doctrines of the day; according to them, the mysteries of the Egyptian religion were the keys to a knowledge of esoteric, after long study and strict asceticism. Platonism had also involved the large Jewish community in Alexandria, and demanded from its devotees, as we know from Therapeutic ideals, the practice of asceticism and contemplation. There can be little doubt that these two things—(1) the belief in a future life to be obtained through a god who had himself overcome death, and (2) the transcendentized form of Osiris and Isis-worship adopted by the Greeks, which demanded asceticism and abstention from the desires of the flesh—largely influenced the early Christian communities in Egypt.

1. Introduction of Christianity into Egypt. — The tradition that St. Mark was the last to preach the gospel of Christ in Alexandria is first related by Eusebius, but prefaced by the word φασ. In spite of the tradition being firmly rooted to this day, it has little historical value. When and by whom the gospel was first introduced into Egypt is unknown, and, indeed, the whole history of the Alexandrian Church is enveloped in obscurity until the episcopate of Demetrius (A.D. 189–231), when it appears as a flourishing institution, with a school of philosophical learning attached to it which must already have made its influence felt far beyond the city itself. Eusebius (HE vi. 11–13) states that ‘thousands’ were martyred from Egypt and all the
The Coptic Church, as distinct from the Alexandrians, or more by the Bythons under the Jewish. The latter inference is the more probable, as there seems to have been little attempt at first to reach the masses of the native Egyptians, the appeal of the new faith being made almost entirely to those of Hellenic birth. Here again we find that, in spite of the close parallelism between the known fragments and the canonical sources, there is not only a tendency to Modalism, but also a strong tinge of Encratism.

The latter was also one of the evidence of a very early sect within the Church, which set up extreme asceticism and abstention from sexual intercourse as the Christian ideal. There can be little doubt that the asceticism affected by the devotees of Isis and the Jewish Therapeutae has become thus introduced in very early times into the Christian communities of Alexandria. Clement, however, defends the Gospel according to the Egyptians from the charge of extreme Encratism.

It was hoped that the finding of the now famous ‘Sayings of Jesus’ at Oxyrhynchus by Grenfell and Hunt would have thrown some light on these early uncanonical versions; not only have they not done so, but their own origin is extremely uncertain.

The first series of these ‘Sayings’ (eight in number) was found in 1897 with a host of other valuable literary fragments, and their date is not geographically determined. The longest series of these, three are new, with a tendency to mysticism and a harsh and severe judgment of mankind. Barnack saw in these extracts from the lost Gospel according to the Egyptians (Expositor, Nov., Dec. 1897), but other theologians and the editors them- selves were not by any means unanimously in agreement with him.

The second series, found in 1903 on the same site, was written on the same vessels, and had been probably written by Thomas and another disciple whose name is missing. This, however, may only be a bold claim on the part of the writer. They agree in form and in date with the first series, but differ in being less akin to canonical sources. One of the sayings is almost exactly paralleled with a quotation of Clement’s from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and can therefore be assigned to that work without hesitation. Whether such a series is a selection of sayings from any one Gospel or from different Gospels is a matter of considerable doubt; Grenfell and Hunt themselves came to the conclusion that the find was a collection of ‘sayings’ as such, and not the words of Christ as unauthentic.

There was also found at Oxyrhynchus a fragment of an uncanonical Gospel which unfortunately breaks off just where it appears to be closely parallel with the known passage from the Gospel according to the Egyptians, inasmuch as the latter is advocating extreme asceticism as the Christian ideal. Altogether it must be admitted that the Oxyrhynchus finds have served to prove rather than to establish us as regards to the early Christian documents of Egypt.

But we are at least able to surmise that there was considerable unmixed competition with the canonical sources, and that the uncanonical Gospels were strongly tinged with the ascetic ideals prevalent at the time in Alexandria; also, incidentally, that a Christian community flourished as far south as Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 298, if not earlier.

Archaeology also helps to throw light on this early period of Christianity in Egypt, although here again the evidence is scattered and obscure. It was the custom at this time to bury the mummies of the dead down the shafts of the tombs, or tesseres, tied round the neck, bearing the name of the deceased and of the cemetery to which the body was to be consigned. A large number of these tesseres exist in museums to-day. One at least (in the Berlin museum) was that of a Christian; and, although the symbol Χ Π on it has caused it to be considered post-Constantinian in date, there are good reasons for assigning it to an earlier period. There are also other tickets found in phosphorite known to be Christian, but which cannot be absolutely identified as such. They all have a peculiar symbol of the Christ, and all the Christ was unmanuscribed and buried in the same
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cemeteries as their pagan brethren— from which we may presume that these early Egyptian Christians still believed in the necessity of preserving the body in order that the existence of the soul might be assured (see DEATH, etc. [Coptic]). From the same site there came the fine collection of tapestry, some of which dates from the earliest times of the Roman empire. The symbols of the fish and the cross occur as patterns, and these have been thought to have come from very early Christian burials. If this be so, it points to a Christian community existing in Akhmim early in the 2nd century. We also have as evidence the libelli, several of which have been preserved to us. The first libelli issued in the beginning of the 2nd century, those to which we have referred, were Euchimian, a devotee of some Gnostic sect. The evidence for the latter supposition is, however, slender. The cords which bound the shroud were scaled with a curious mixture of pagan and Christian usages, including the Mysteries, but, if the contention that this symbol is evidence of a post-Constantinian age be correct, the early date assigned must be abandoned. Another remarkable characteristic of the shroud is the figure of a Premiere woman painted on the exterior, in the manner of the beginning of the 2nd century. The hand is represented as changing the pecus for the patera of gift, 'crux ansata', or symbol of life. Whether this is Christian must be considered doubtful.

2. Gnosticism and Arianism. — Although our knowledge of the early Christian communities in the upper country is so remarkably slight, when the Church became well established in Alexandria Christians began to form an important part of the community of that city, while the works of Clement and Origen prove that the intellectual stimulus of the pagan Hellenic schools was not lost upon them. The famous catechetical学校, founded, according to Eusebius (HE v. 10), in the earliest days of the community, and preserved in turn by Pantanxis, Clement, and Origen, was designed not only to teach catechumens, but also to appeal, by a system of philosophy, to a Christian community. Its influence was very considerable, but confined entirely to those of Hellenic education. Such a propaganda was useless to the natives of the upper country, whether pagan or Christian, as sovereign bishop of all Egypt, was very great; and he must have occupied a position similar to that of the pagan 'Chief Priest of Alexandria and all Egypt,' and the Jewish Exarch. This powerful position was retained by his successors until it reached its highest point under Athanasius, and lastcd, indeed, until the Council of Chalcedon. On the whole, too, at first the Alexandrian Church had good opportunity of developing itself free from internal opposition, according to the persecutions of Severus in 202 and of Decius in 250, there was little or no external pressure brought to bear on the Christians. The real enemy at this time lay within the Church itself in the shape of the Gnostic sects. The earliest record of the attack of those who professed a higher gnostis and the preachers of the simple gospel is the dispute between St. Peter and Simon Magnus, the latter of whom appears to have been the first to associate Christianity with Gnostic mysteries. From Pales-
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Christendom. We have seen how, even in the early days of the Church, when Christianity was confused mainly by the Hellenic world or education, there was a tendency to asceticism or mysticism. In their extreme forms these two movements led to fantastic Gnostic systems, but the more sober and quiet side manifested itself among those Christians who carried out their ascetic ideals, not by withdrawing from the world, but by living in the midst of their own households, observing fasts, abstaining from marriage, and devoting themselves to prayer and the care of the sick and the poor. But, although these ascetic ideals, which affected the Egyptian Church to such a remarkable degree, and, through it, in later times the Church throughout the world, seem to have had their origin in Egypt, it is curious to note that the native Egyptian character in the past had exhibited little or no tendency either to asceticism or to mysticism. Magic in pagan Egypt was, and had always been, of an eminently practical kind, and, so far as we can judge, never included philosophic mysticism of any sort; indeed, the native mind was incapable of any of the higher subtleties of thought. It seems, therefore, that these two potent forces were introduced into Egypt by the Greeks, through the medium of Platonic and Pythagorean philosophers, and associated themselves with the native Egyptian superstitions by the Platonizing of the Osiris and Isis cult. We know that the Jewish community in Egypt was subject to an identical process. The fragments of lost Gospels, as well as the works of Clement and Origen, prove that the Alexandrian Jews, as well as the pagan and Jewish communities of Alexandria, exercised their influence on the early Christian Church. During the 3rd cent., however, Christianity began to make many converts among the native worshipers of Osiris and Isis, whose minds were little influenced by Hellenic ideas, had little or no Greek blood in their veins, and were quite incapable of understanding Clement's or Origen's conception of Christianity as Plutarch's theories about Osiris and Isis. Nevertheless, the ascetic side of the new faith seems to have appealed strongly to them, although the mystic and philosophic ideas interwoven with asceticism were not in the least comprehended, unless the literal practice of the extraordinary feats of endurance which appealed so strongly to the Egyptians, and produced countless hosts of imitators. Our chief authorities for the history of this movement are The Life of Anthony (a work attributed to Athanasius), Cassian, and especially the Louisaie History. The arguments of the school of Weingarten, that these are monastic works of the 6th cent., may be said to have been finally disposed of by Louis Curtius (c.d. 1871) in his edition of the Louisaie History. From these sources we draw a wealth of material concerning the ascetic movement, which is supplemented by the later Coptic documents. The first man who actually led the ascetic life, cut off from his fellow-men, was one Paul, who was driven into the desert during the Decian persecutions in 250, and there may well have been others who were forced to lead solitary lives owing to the same circumstances; but the fact that the world looks to the founder of ascetic solitude.

Born probably about the year 250, of Jewish parents, Anthony was converted to Christianity as a boy by hearing the Gospels read in a church. He is said to have been the first to presuppose the existence of a Coptic version at this early date.) For fifteen years he lived with ascetics, who at that time practised the ascetic life in huts built outside the town;
but, deeming this insufficient, he withdrew to the desert, and
endured a life of strict solitude in a cave for upwards of twenty
years. He was joined by large numbers of monks, fired with his
enthusiasm, and the burning deserts of Lower Egypt, especially
those of Scete and Nitria, swarmed with solitary ascetics. The
Bishop of Alexandria, in an attempt to quell the rising clamour
against Athanasius, sent him a bishop, named Hilarus, to
organize the communities of desert monks. While this
monk was visiting the different communities, an edict of the
Emperor Constantine was issued, commanding Athanasius to
return to the city. He died at an advanced age, and left special directions that his body should not be preserved by
any religious ceremony. He had expressed his desire that the
Christians continuing this pagan custom. The ideals of
monasticism that he left as a heritage are remarkable for
their strictness and purity. The monks observed a
strict rule of life in the Antonian communities, although the
number and size of their monasteries varied. The
rules were looked upon as a type, and sought to
avoid all absolute intellectual stagnation by repeating
long passages from the Psalms and other Scriptures learnt
by heart. Although the monks assembled on Saturdays and Sundays in the great church, the other days of the week were spent mostly in solitude.

The whole system was individualistic, each monk living for
his personal advance in virtue, contending against his fellows in
severities and mortification of the flesh, and striving, as Dom
Butler says, 'to make a record in austerities, and to outdo
the others in the length of his fasts, and his general observance of the
strict monastic rule.'

About the same time that Anthony left his desert cavern to
organize his followers, Pachomius, another Egyptian, founded
a more comprehensive system of monasticism in the south, at Tabennisi. Pachomius was born of pagan parents, and, according to
his own account, was brought up in the household of one of the
communities of Scete at Shenesi (Chenobocium). These communities, although hardly ascetic in the stricter sense of
the word, organized small brotherhoods for definite
missions, and it is quite possible that Pachomius may have utilized some
points in their form when, after he had been converted
by Christianity, he founded his Cenobitic monastery of monks.

Briefly, the Pachomian organization was as follows. In
place of the hermitages, a nave was added to the
scriptures by heart, and assembled in the great church only
on the more solemn festivals. So rapid was the extension of Pachomius' system, that at his death it included eighteen monasteries and
more than a thousand monks, while his brother has founded a similar institution only a few years later.

It is difficult to give a just estimate of this movement, which is the most outstanding, not only in Egypt, but in the entire Church of
the time. That the monks offered in many cases examples
of great patience, self-denial, and singleness
of heart and spirit is not to be denied. On
the other hand, few of his followers seem to have been possessed with the kindliness and shrewdness that are generally attributed to Anthony. Many of them outdid one another in the severity of their
ascetic self-discipline, but it would appear in many
cases that the general result was a stunting of the
intellect and a narrowing of the outlook on life.

Amelineau, whose acquaintance with the
demonstrated by the
Council of Nicaea, has said
that it has been customary to
hold up the monks of the pre-Chalcedonian days as a pattern of virtue,
and the Jacobite as a picture of vice, whereas, as a
matter of fact, there is little to distinguish between
the two orders of monks. Although, though
given to asceticism, was at times a very
ordinary mortal, 'mangeant net, buvant see,' and
prone to irregularities of life. Certainly even the
most admirable chronicles relate with perfect frankness
more about the vices than about the
ascetics. This, however, does not imply that all
were bad, and there is no doubt that at first the
ascetics were, on the whole, animated by a high
ideal. They threw themselves passionately on the
closest of Arians during the-Arian controversy, and
sheltered him in their desert communities while he was in exile. It is highly improbable
that they understood the complicated doctrinal
point involved. It was sufficient for them that
Arians seemed to desire to destroy the Son from
His equality with the Father. But, as time went on,
they became fierce, more bigoted, and a prey
to the inherent superstitions of their race. Childish
miracles and belief in univer-sal devils took the
place of the old magic and demonology which had
fascinated the Egyptians in pagan times, while in
the following century the fact that herds of fierce
monks could be summoned to Alexandria by the
patriarch led to an increase of religious turbulence and
sectarian strife.

There is no doubt that the adoption of
Christianity as the State religion and the rise of monasticism were the immediate forerunners of a period of lasting
and severe strife, which culminated in the Egyptian
Church. The death-knell of paganism was already run,
and with it that of the culture and freedom of
philosophic thought that had made Alexandria the
intellectual centre of the Hellenistic world. In 379 the Emperor Theodosius attempted to force the
Christian faith on the entire population of the
Roman Empire, and this was followed in 385 by
the sack of the temple of Serapis and the conversion
of other pagan cults. Meanwhile, while the
character of the illiterate monks began to assert itself, and their child-like faith in angels and
demons led to the communities of Scete being
accused by the patriarch Theophilus of Origenism,
the unerring vision of the latter proved
improbable, as revealed in the incident of the Tall Brothers, led to recriminations and unifying quarrels.

In fact, the power of the patriarch had risen to such
a pitch that he did not hesitate to consider that
those who were his theological enemies had
rebels against the Emperor, and, acting in ac-
cordance with this idea, he took some troops and
destroyed several of the Nitrian monasteries. During the reign of his successor, Cyril, turbu-
lence and disorder increased rather than diminished.

The Christians organized a wholesale plundering of the Jews in
Alexandria, whose quarters were sacked by hordes of monks and
fanatics, and the richest element of the community
was driven from their homes. This was
implied in the murder of Hypatia, a young and beautiful woman, who strove
to keep alight the lamp of pagan cul-
ture by lectures on Neo-Platonic philosophy. The
bigotry and turpitude of the Christian mob at
this period is only too well known. But as the
Patriarch grew more powerful, and the
Christians more fanatical, the relations between
the Egyptian Church and Constantinople became more
and more strained, until open rupture took place
on a question of doctrine, which was decided at a
Council held at Chalcidon in 451.

Monophysitism.—The controversy which had been
the cause of the Council of Nicaea was con-
cerned with the relationship of the Son to the
Father. The doctrine of Nestorius, which was taken
place in the Church were now due to disputes on
the nature of the Son—whether that nature was
human or Divine, or both. Cyril, who had already
been at odds with the See of Constantinople
against which it was occupied by John Chrysostom, had
later taken a violent part in opposing the doctrines
of Nestorius, which implied that the Divine
nature was not incarnate in Christ, but subservient to
the human nature. The chief opponent of the
doctrine of Nestorius was Eutyches, who, in his zeal to assert the Divine
nature of Christ, went further than the Alex-
drian school and Cyril were prepared to go, by
asserting that, after the Incarnation, Christ had
only one nature—the Divine. Meanwhile, Cyril had died in 444, and Dioscorus, his successor, warmly supported the cause of Ephraim, and built a palace for him near the city of the Egyptian monks. Eutyches was finally declared excommunicated and banished, at the Council of Chalcedon, but he counted among his adherents the majority of the Egyptian Christians, added to the ever-increasing friction between Constantinople and the Alexandrian See, due to the turbulence and fierce independence of the Christians of Egypt, was the peculiar bent of the Egyptian mind, unable to appreciate the subtleties of argument indulged in by the Greeks and Latins. The attempts of the Arians to dethrone Christ from His equality with the Father they could understand, but two natures which were yet one nature—this was beyond their comprehension. Henceforward the cry was 'One Nature,' and it has remained so to this day. Egypt at this time might be described almost as one vast monastery, and the fierce ascetics of the desert stoutly maintained the doctrine of the single nature of Christ. The power of the monastic institutions was now almost paramount, and the authority exercised by such monks as Shenoute and Boul was enormous. The tendency was to unite the systems of Pachomius and Anthony by confining the contemplative or monastic life to the cell on the one hand, and by making the asceticism of the Antonian Eremita, and the network of monasteries was fast extending all over the country.

5. During the 6th century.—The century following the separation of the Egyptian Church from the orthodox at the Council of Chalcedon is remarkable in Alexandria only for the modifying disputes between the Monophysite patriarchs and the orthodox, or Melkite, as they were called because of their separation from the Monophysite influence of Constantinople, and, in the upper country, to the growing power of the monastic system. The land was held largely by the monasteries, whose ruins now are not the least remarkable feature all over Egypt. The cultivation was chiefly in the hands of the monks. It is stated in the Life of Shenoute that his monastery fed the prisoners captured from a raid of the Blemmyes for three months at a cost of 285,000 drachmae, and that the monks could eat their bread daily on the proceeds of the wines and olives. The numerous inscribed ostraca, and the commencement of a vast Coptic literature, consisting chiefly of Lives and Sayings of holy men and monks, show the commercial and literary activity of the monks. They were also in a position to prevent Imperial pressure for the over-exaction of taxes, and in this way maintained to a certain extent the dwindling prosperity of the country, although the minority who were not connected with the monastic institutions were crushed by cruel burdens. But religious life was gradually sinking to a low ebb, and was distinguished by little spirituality. While the Alexandrians were occupied with the opposing factions of Melkites and Monophysites, the monasteries in Upper Egypt were engrossed in petty squabbles between monastery and monastery, or the enumeration of abased miracles wrought by the foremost ascetics. Religious life, like political, was fast losing all dignity and depth.

6. The Persian and the Arab domination.—In the year 616 the break-up of the Imperial power in Egypt began with the occupation of the country by the Persians on behalf of the Suebian king Chosroes of Persia, who was crowned in Egypt. Whether the Copts welcomed their new masters is a matter of some doubt. That they hated the Byzantine domination is certain. Ever since Justinian had given the Melkite Patriarch the military authority of a prefect, in the futile hope of coercing the Monophysites into orthodoxy, the Copts had been harried and oppressed by the Imperial power. The whole nation now looked to their own Patriarch, not so much as the champion of the Monophysite doctrine, but as the leader of the nationalists against the minions of Imperial bigotry and corruption. The wonderful victories of Heraclius, who drove out the Persians and re-conquered Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre, were a cause of rejoicing to orthodox and Monophysite alike throughout the Eastern Empire, and it is possible that a wiser statesman than the Emperor might, amid the universal rejoicings of Christendom, have secured some kind of reconciliation. But Heraclius would extend no tolerance to heretics, with the result that a few years later, when a sterner and more formidable enemy was at the gate, the Copts of Egypt were ready to welcome him. In 642, Egypt, now ruled by 'Amr ibn al-Asi, who had conquered it in the name of Islam.

The Arab tradition is that the conquest was aided by the treachery of one called Makkaqis (probably the Byzantine honorific title megasqyris), who is generally supposed to have been the Coptic Patriarch. It must be mentioned, however, that it has been ably argued by the late A. A. Butler in A. A. Butler, Persia and Egypt (1909), that the Copts were intensely hostile to the Arabs, and that the treachery of 'Makkaqis' (Makkanis) at Cyrene, the Melkite Patriarch. It is probable that the Copts, after years of oppression on the part of the orthodox and Imperial party, welcomed a new religious organization, which, as they thought, could not in any case be worse.

From the doctrinal and ethical point of view, the Coptic Church has little history of interest during its long subjection to the rule of Islam. The Arab invasion imposed on it a new submission, and it is probable that from the first many were converted to the faith of Muhammad in order to avoid payment. For the first three centuries or more, it is true, considerable activity is evidenced by Coptic MSS, which were copied during this period by countless MSS, chiefly of a homiletic character, or containing Lives of holy men, although such important historical works as the Chronicles of John of Nikion must not be overlooked. Such an attempt to break away from the Christian workman was either suppressed or forced into the service of his masters. The Copts, as they gradually became a smaller and smaller section of the population, were estranged by the Mohammedan conquest, which was with them, in all probability, not a stimulus but a check to literary progress, as the Copts seem to have been little influenced by the victories of the Crusaders, and, indeed, as Crusaders and Copts looked on each other as heretics, little collaboration was possible. It is interesting to note that the surrender of Constantinople to the Turks seems to have reacted badly on them, and that they were eventually wretched with a state of ignorance; for in the correspondence, so long after that event as 1017, addressed by Cyril, then Coptic Patriarch, to George Alber, archbishop of Canterbury, we...
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read: 'On account of our sins we are become the most contemptible of all nations; and with the overthrow of the Empire have lost the liberal arts' (Nich. Pseudo-Mark, Hist. of Phil., vii. 15). From the 16th century onwards the Roman Church has made intermittent efforts to convert the Copts to Roman Catholicism, but with little success. They have clung to their own Monophysite doctrine, and to their ritual of St. Mark, with the same tenacity with which they have resisted Islam.

7. The Coptic Church of to-day.—After centuries of oppression and ostracism, the Copts to-day are naturally a people apart. The males having intermarried little with the Arabs, they are supposed to represent more faithfully the old Egyptian type; but this is doubtful. Several of their fine churches, some of them dating from Byzantine times, are still in use, although stripped of the most part of their woodwork and pictures. The liturgy and ritual of St. Mark are in use. The Eucharist is in one kind, only the priests taking the wine; the bread is given to the communicants in wooden spoons, and confession is obligatory before receiving the Eucharist. Women are not allowed into the body of the church, but confined to the narthex. There are five great fasts: (1) the Fast of Nineveh, for three days and three nights before Lent; (2) the Great Fast (Lent), occupying 55 days; (3) the Fast of the Nativity of the Virgin, during the 28 days before Christmas; (4) the Fast of the Apostles, following the Festival of the Ascension; (5) the Fast of the Virgin, for 15 days prior to the Feast of the Assumption. The festivals are those of the Nativity of Our Lord, of the Annunciation, Palm Sunday, Easter (the Great Festival), Ascension, and Whitsunday. Baptism is universal, and, though attempts have been made by the Patriarchs in the past to exclude early converts, they have been baptized till they are 40, and girls till they are 80 days old. Circumcision is general. The hierarchy to-day consists of the Patriarch, 12 bishops, and priests and deacons. The Patriarch is always elected from among the monks of the Monastery of St. Anthony. In recent years the Copts have acquired considerable wealth, and in some districts have become important members of the community. Their willingness to be educated is shown by the fact that they are only 6 per cent. of the population of Egypt, 17 per cent. of the children at school are Copts. This education is enhanced by the schools of the foreign missionaries, which supply teaching at a very high standard. In the Copts there is much change in the clerks and book-keepers—occupations to which their talents are admirably adapted; but attempts to turn them into Protestants or Roman Catholics are of doubtful wisdom. The monastic system is still in force, and some of the ancient monasteries are inhabited by a few monks; but the monks themselves are narrow and ignorant, while in a few cases they have not a very good reputation for an orderly life. With regard to marriage, and more especially death, the Copts have adopted many of the customs of their Muslim neighbours.

This article cannot be closed without some mention of the Coptic Church in the 20th century. The whole of Nuba was Christianized, and for many years the Arabs were opposed by the Christian kingdom which had its centre at Dongola, Alwa, and Sela. But the missionary efforts of the Copts did not stop here, for Christianity was afterwards introduced into Abyssinia during the 16th century. The Copts are also still of importance in the ancient remains of the north-west part of Africa, such as the ruins of the church of St. Agnes at the base of the cataract, of which a description is given from a translation of an inscription of Naba-namid made by Oppert when the science of Assyriology was young. We now

tribes, or by the Muslims, until they were finally exterminated by the powerful Fraternity of negro slaves in the 14th century. Abyssinia, however, remained Christian and Monophysite, and its Metropolitan is still a Coptic bishop appointed by the Patriarch of Alexandria.


P. B. G. SCOTT-MONCRIF.

CORN, CORN-SPIRIT.—See HARVEST.

CORNERS.—Among the Semitic peoples, as among others also, an especial sacredness or significance was supposed to pertain to the corners of structures, fields, and other objects. The evidence for this conception can be most widely traced among the Semitic peoples in connection with buildings.

1. Bab.-Assyrian.—Among the Babylonians and Assyrians it took the form of making a deposit of inscriptions and images under the corner or corners of a temple, palace, or other building. The inscriptions were, in the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, usually in the form of hexagonal, octagonal, or decagonal cylinders, or cylinders in the form of barrels. Such deposits, placed under the corners or built into the building itself, were discovered at Nimrud, Botta and Oppert at Khor-Khabur, and Rassam at Koyunjik. The great cylinder of Ashurbanipal was found at the corner of a room, and not at the corner of an entrance, which was the chronicler's way of saying that these kings were prepared and deposited in little receptacles of masonry at the corners of walls. At Tellah, de Sarzec found similar receptacles which contained bronze statuettes of human figures, both male and female, and of animals. The making of these deposits was probably, as in Egypt, accomplished by sacrifice.

Thou Sargon of Assyria (722-705 B.C.) says (Cylinder Inscription, I. 60): 'To the brick-god, the lord of Hebat, the architect, Bel, I offered a sacrificial lamb, I poured a libation, I raised the lifting up of lands.' In emphasizing the importance of this custom, Perrot and Chipiez are led to suppose that in the 20th century the whole of Nuba was Christianized, and for many years the Arabs were opposed by the Christian kingdom which had its centre at Dongola, Alwa, and Sela. But the missionary efforts of the Copts did not stop here, for Christianity was afterwards introduced into Abyssinia during the 16th century. The Copts are also still of importance in the ancient remains of the north-west part of Africa, such as the ruins of the church of St. Agnes at the base of the cataract, of which a description is given from a translation of an inscription of Naba-namid made by Oppert when the science of Assyriology was young. We now

1 See Perrot-Chipez, Hist. de la part dalam, VII. 234-235; and George Smith, Assyrian Discoveries, London, 1853, p. 89.
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2. Egyptian.—In Egypt, foundation deposits have been found at several places. One made by Thothmes IV. of the XVIIIth dynasty is reported from Memphis; another set was found at each of the corners of a temple at Memphis built by Aahmes II. of the XXVIth dynasty; another, under a XXVIth dynasty building at Denderah founded by Psametik I.; a complete set belonging to a building of Hophrah, at Avaris; and another deposit at a temple of Ptolomeus II. at Thebes. Foundation deposits showed that a temple built by Queen Tausert of the XIXth dynasty once stood on a spot south of the Ramesseum, although the temple itself has not been identified. 1 At Abydos, foundation deposits, or the receptacles for them, were found from Thothmes III. and Amenophis III. of the XVIIIth dynasty, 2 Sesosiris III. of the XXIst dynasty, 3 and Pepi of the Vth dynasty. 4 At Koptos, a box (though robbed of its contents) was found under a threshold; 5 at Kahun, a receptacle (still full) under the middle of a building of Sesosiris II. of the XIth dynasty; 6 and, at Heliopolis, deposits from the temple of the last-mentioned monarch. 7 At Gizeh no such deposits were found under the temples belonging to the IVth dynasty. 8 These deposits in Egypt consisted of plaques of copper or stone on which the name of the builder was inscribed, together with models of the tools and materials which were used in the construction. At Denderah, however, the bones of birds and animals offered in sacrifice were also found, together with the ashes of offerings which had once been consumed. These showed that the sacrifice was the important feature connected with the deposits, and that the other objects were incidental to it. A similar deposit has recently been found under the corner of the temple of a modern chieftain of the time of the XVIIIth dynasty in Egyptianized Nubia. This differed, however, from the Egyptian deposits in that it consisted of ten mud-sealings. These represent a conqueror wearing the Nubian crown seated on a throne, with the long hair captive by a cord. On a level with the chief's shoulder is the figure of an animal like a dog. 9

3. Canaanite.—The evidence for the sacredness of corners and for foundation sacrifices in ancient Palestine is bound up with the Canaanite nature. Gezer the skeleton of a woman was found built into the wall of a house at the corner. 10 More numerous, however, were the skeletons of children found under the corners, children having been used for such sacrifices whenever adults were not available. The sacrifices at Gezer, like the Egyptian deposits, were not always placed at the corners. The skeleton of a man, and sometimes those of children, were found buried under the middle of a house or a room, or the ashes of these were found, showing that the food for the victims was also buried, as sometimes were lamps. Later, the sacrifices themselves were omitted, but the bowl and lamp were still used as foundation deposits. 11 At Megiddo and Taanach, 12 Petrie, Nebeshek (Am) and Denderah (Taphataris), London, 1888, p. 14.

4. Hebrew.—From the sacred nature and importance of corner-stones, which in the earlier time led to certain ceremonies as have been described, certain literary uses have survived in the Old Testament. Thus Jer 51 20 and Job 38 8 use 'corner' and 'corner-stones' as synonyms for 'foundations.' In Jgs 20 19 and 18 19 'corners' is used figuratively for 'corners,' and Job 18 'corner-stone' is apparently a synonym for 'ruin.' In Is 28 25 it occurs in an enigmatic passage, where, whether the 'corner-stone' is a figure for a king or a kingdom, or for trust in Jahweh or the relation of Jahweh to His people, the result is right-ousness. Such figurative uses of 'corner' led in two late passages to the thought that it was the crowning stone of a corner, not the foundation stone, which was important (see Ps 118 22, Zec 4).

In Zec 9 11 the 'corners of the altar' are mentioned as being 'filled.' These were projections which were sometimes called 'horns' (see ALTAR [Somite], § 17). Possibly, like the corners of buildings, the corners of the altar were thought to be specially holy. The sacredness which attached to corners was applied by the Hebrews to the hair. Lv 19 27 reads, 'Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard.' 13 As usual these phrases were figuratively used, together with other symbols, in connection with sacrifices. They were regarded by the Semites as sacred to Jahweh (see W. R. Smith, pp. 323-381), possibly the corners were all considered to be sacred to Him. One might infer from the statement of Herodotus (iii 8) about the hair of the Agathocles that he sacrificed the 'corners' of their hair to their god. Whatever the motive of the Levitical regulation,—whether to differentiate their custom from that of the heathen Arabs, or simply to keep locks sacred to Jahweh, the grain which grew in it must be left, that the poor might come and gather it. This regulation was generally observed in OT times, as the Book of Ruth shows. Since the law was indefinite, however, just what this law demanded of a farmer became a matter of debate when the oral law developed. The results of these discussions were afterwards embodied in the Mishnic tract Perah, or 'Corner.' Perhaps because the Rab. Jews were nearly all engaged in commerce, this tract is copied in the Rab. Talmud without additions. But in Palestine, where the Jews were still agriculturists, the law of the 'corner' was still vital and developing, so that the Jerusalem Talmud contains a Gemara upon the Mishnic tract.

The first problem to which the Rabbis addressed themselves was how much the owner of a field must leave for the poor in order to satisfy the law. It was agreed that a just man would leave one-fourth. 14

sixtieth of the field as a 'corner,' though the amount might vary with the size of the field, the number of the poor, and the richness of the yield. If a man left one stand standing, he could not be held to have missed a considerable tree, but did not define the size of a corner. Secundum all possible questions were raised and decided by the Rabii. For example, they decided that a man fulfilled the law if he left the proper amount in the standing line due to the yield; that it applied to leguminous plants as well as to grain; that it applied to the following trees: tanners' sumac, the carob tree, nut trees, almond trees, vineyards, pomegranates, olive trees, and the date palm. They had to decide when the 'corner' should be estimated before the tithes were paid, and when after; when two men shared a field, whether they must both leave a 'corner'; if a man's kinds of grain in his field, whether he must leave a corner for each; if a man, left a 'corner' for the poor and they did not take it, how long he must wait before he could take it himself; whether, if something more than what was necessary were left in the standing line, the owner could return for it, or whether it must be counted as a 'corner'; whether a rich man, who, when on a journey, had been compelled to avail himself of peltch', was obliged to restore it; and many other points such as arose in administer the law.


CORRUPTION AND BRIBRY.—1. Ancient Rome.—For first-hand information on bribery in ancient Rome we naturally turn to the speeches of Cicero, pro Cn. Plancio and pro I. Marcellus. As we study these, we feel inclined to subscribe to the dictum of Montesquieu upon the condition of Rome and her provinces under the Republic: 'La liberté était égale et ce centre, et la monarchie aux extrémités.' The provinces were the farm of the Roman people, and the provincials were the live stock to be fleeced by the governor. Whether a Cecilius or a Cornelius obtained a province, it is as clear that the main aim of the provincial governor during the year of his provincial life, was to acquire enough money to purchase that supreme object of his ambition—the consulship. In order to ingratiate himself with the people, he therefore supplied the citizens of Rome with large quantities of corn below cost price, the deficiency being made up by the province. When the rivalry for the consulship grew acute, it became usual for a candidate, anxious to secure his election, to give the people a munus, or 'treas,' in the way of a gladitorial show. A munus, it may be remarked, sometimes cost the candidate a matter of seven thousand pounds. All this expense came out of the amount accumulated during the year of provincial life, and an analogously large sum had to be provided to bribe the jury who should try the successful candidate for bribing the tribes. This indirect bribery of the people dated from the beginning of the 6th cent. of Rome.

In 159 B.C. the lex Cornelii punished with exile those found guilty of bribing the electors with money; it is, therefore, evident that the direct purchase of the votes of the electors must have existed a considerable time before the passage of that law. Indeed, as early as the year 432 B.C., we meet with the first law against ambitus, forbidding persons to add white to their dress to signify that they were candidates. 'Ne eum a tumur,' and Livy informs us (IV. xxv. 19), 'that the investiture of the scutum ligerum. This measure reminds us of the (English) Corrupt Practices Act of 1854, prohibiting the giving of cockades to voters. The lex Peota (335 B.c.) forbade candidates to carry on their cause anywhere save in the Forum and Campus Martius, 'De ambitu,' writes Livy (vii. xii. 12), 'ab C. Postelo tribuno popis auctoribas patribus tum primum ad populum latum est; etque ragottones novorum maximo et magni aigis abula obire soliti crani, compressam credolant.' The laws against ambitus increased in number, but decreased in value. In 181 B.C. the lex Cornelii de abolitionibus was passed (L. xii. xii. 11). Attempts were made to remedy the corrupt practices of the day by the lex Gabinius, or Ballot Act (159 B.C.), and the lex Maria. In the former it was enacted that in elections voting should be by ballot, i.e. by writing the name of the candidate on a ticket or tablet (tabella). By the latter, C. Marius, in his second consulate (104 B.C.), established the pontes, or narrow passages to the voting-booths, by which he designed the protection of the voters against the evil influence of the adulate electioneering agents. Regular agents (interpreters) employed to arrange the bargain with the elector, and the money promised (promentum) by the parties, who held it until the elections were over. Cicero, in the de Lege Agraria (ii. 4), terms the lex Gabinius a law whereby 'Liberty can assert herself without a word'; but in practice the voice of Liberty was as much stifled then as it was afterwards in the case of the English boroughs. In Rome, as in England, the electors appear to have habitually adhered to their contracts.

By the lex Elia Calpurnia (67 B.C.), a heavy fine was imposed on the candidate who should use bribery, whether successful or not; and this law deprived him for a year of the right of holding an office or sitting in the Senate, in this respect surpassing in stringency even the Corrupt Practices Prevention Act, under which the disability to sit in the House of Commons or to vote at an election to Parliament lasts only seven years. This just law contains a provision which grates somewhat harshly on our ears. If a person convicted of bribery secured the conviction of another on the same charge, in the eyes of the law his guilt was wiped out. In the lex Calpurnia, we have inflicted a fine on dinumores and other agents, thus recognizing a principle which was long ignored in English legislation. The law in question was repeated, with additional rigour as to its penal clauses, in the lex Fulia de ambitu, which was passed in Cicero's consulate (63 B.C.). The purport of this measure is given in the Scholia Babriacca (p. 309) and in Dio Cassius (xxvii. 29), as well as by Cicero himself in several passages of the speeches pro Marcellus (47, 89), pro Roscianus, and others (pro Sest. 133; Interv. in Vat. 57; pro Planc. 53). In his desire for reform, Cicero was supported by all true patriots, amongst others by Servius Sulpicius, who wished for some change of the laws.
relating to elections under certain conditions, viz.,
to establish confusion suffragiorum, or 'mass voting,'
as a means of preventing bribery, whenever a fresh
election was in the offing, of an election magistrate
having been convicted of ambitus. We also begin
to hear of indices editelii to try cases of
bribery. The Senate, on Cicero's motion, declared
by a senatus-consultum the provisions of the lex
Ella Calpurnia applicable to any candidate who
should keep about him hired followers, or who
should entertain the people with gladiatorial shows
—except under the peculiar circumstances of its
being required by a testamentary disposition—or
refurbishments of any kind, or even perhaps the
earliest law against 'treating' of which we find
record. In the provinces the lex
Coloniae Genevitc likewise forbade treating at
municipal elections. By it—and the provisions
sound wonderfully modern—no candidate is to
give, or cause to be given, dinners: he is not to
have more than nine any day at dinner; nor is he
to give, or cause to be given, bribes or gifts; nor
is any one else to give dinners or bribes for him.
The penalty for the violation of this statute is five
thousand sesterces. The lex Tullia of Cicero's
consulate confirmed the provisions of the lex Ella
Calpurnia, punished corrupt candidates with ten
years' exile, and inflicted severe penalties on cor-
rupting voters. The practice of exhibiting
gladiatorial shows or public amusements
within two years of the commencement of his
candidature.
If efficiently enforced, the lex Tullia should have
stopped bribery at Rome; but it never did. Rods
shows how little effect this law exercised in putting
an end to corruption. The price of the consulate
showed no tendency to fall. The quotations for
the year 34 B.C. show the enormous figure of ten
million obols, precluding the slightest chance of
the first voting division alone. A few facts about
some of the chief men speak eloquently as to the
spread of bribery. In the year 62 B.C., Caesar owed
nearly £250,000 sterling. When twenty-four years
of age, Marcus Antonius owed £50,000; fourteen
years later his liability was no less than £200,000.
Cicero (Ep, ad Att, iv. xv. 7) writes to Atticus:
'Bribery is at boiling point. Ecco siguum! On
15th July interest on money rose from 4 to 8 per
cent. The law only exacted so much to demand
for the electors that the rate of interest doubled.
The Senate felt impelled to take action, and
in 61 B.C. two noteworthy decrees were passed.
By one it was rendered unlawful to search the houses
of magistrates suspected of having money deposited
with them to be used for corrupt purposes (ib. i. xvi. 13).
By the other it was enacted that any
magistrate in whose house bribing agents should
be harboured should be held guilty of a State
offence. When Cicero (pro Planc. speaks of a
sum of money hidden in the Flaminian circus, and
seized by the authorities, he clearly implies that
the concealers thereof meant the voters to find it.
This ancient plan has been imitated in modern times.
For instance, in 1863 each freeman in the
city of Dublin received his £5 note from a hole in the wall. At Shaftesbury, in 1774,
an Independent of the town, disguised as Punch, passed through a
dozen house in twenty-four hours to each voter, for which each
was obliged to sign a bill payable to a fictitious Glenmackey,
in order to rescind the libel.
The two decrees of 61 B.C. were as ill obeyed as
their predecessors. In the year 59 B.C. was carried
the lex Licinia de Sodaliis, which forbade the
corruption of the tribes by means of the illegal
organization of clubs. This law brings before us the
widespread practice of 'tripod' elections, and at times the border line between the two was
thin. For example, it was right and proper to
give treats or public shows to the voters in their
tribes (tributina), but it was illegitimate if given to
the people en masse (enjoy). It was right and
proper to employ libertinæ in the conduct of the
election, while it was wrong and improper to use
votatio (pro Planc. 44-47, also 37, 59). Unsuccessful candidates
should look to their sodales, or 'brother-
hoods,' for assistance at the time of election; but,
if they employed the sodales to mark off the tribe
into small companies (decuriae), such to be brought
by the wiles of one of the brotherhood to he bar
a particular candidate, then the Lexician law
pronounced this candidate guilty of using undue
influence (on the modus operandi, cf. pro Planc.
44-47, also 37, 59). Unsuccessful candidates
should be punished, but only such ones could be tried under the provisions of the Act of Sodaliis.
In 82 B.C., Pompeius intro-
duced a measure against bribery, intimidation, and
illegal influence, which applied to offences
committed so far back as 30 years before his
third consulship. That the offenders were many is
evident from the letters of Cicero. In Fam., vii.
4, he writes: 'I am kept incessantly at work
by the number of trials under the new Act.' The
reference retrospectively gives the impression and in the issue hastened the fall of the Republic.
Julius Caesar perceived the hopelessness of attempting
to suppress corruption by statute, and he
efforted to minimize its effects by reserving to
himself the right of examining the exhibits
of the Empire the all-important power of the Prin-
ors; left no room for ambitio, save in the restricted
sphere of election to municipal office. The attention
of Augustus was directed not against electoral
corruption, which was a much greater
problem. Cicero's reference to this is well known. Cicero
had been acquainted on the charge of violating
the rites of the Bona Dea, when Cicero gave evidence
against the aliibii which he set up. 'The jury,
accused Cicero, 'had given you credit for all or
your oath.' 'Yes,' retorted Cicero, 'twenty-five-out
of the fifty-six did; the remaining thirty-one refused
you credit, for they took the bribes in advance.'
When we bear in mind the scanty amount of
legislation in early times, it is obvious that stra-
nour efforts—at least on paper—were made to put
down corruption. In practice, however, little was
done, and we feel inclined to think that many of these
laws savoured of the pious resolutions often
passed at popular meetings. Those who passed
like the resolutions, looked well. An enlightened
electorate like the Roman may have a vague sense
of public duty which we may call Imperialism.
Unless moved by this spirit, or unless highly
organized by the party system, it is almost in-
visible that bribes will be employed with such
voters. The Roman lacked this sense of Impe-
rialism, and he certainly lacked the party spirit.
'Party phrases,' writes Mommsen (iii. 300), 'were in free
circulation; of the parties themselves there was little trace in
matters really and directly practical. Throughout the whole
seventh century the annual public elections to the civil magis-
tracies, especially to the consulship and censorship, formed the
real standing question of the day, and the focus of political
agitation; but the elections were only in isolated senses the
different candidates represented opposite political
principles; ordinarily the question related purely to persons, and
it was the course of affairs a matter of indifference whether
the majority of votes fell to a Cicero or to a Cornelian. The
Romans thus lacked that which outweighs and compensates all
the evils of party, viz., the true and popular spirit. A citizen
voted towards what he discerned as a bolting aim—and yet
endured all that was done solely for the benefit of the policy
game of the rating parties.'
2. Ancient Greece.—Greek history discloses a
purer state of affairs than Roman, and this is due,
inter alia, to the fact that Imperialism and party
spirit prevailed in Greece. The ancient Greeks
knew that he could reckon on the spirit of Impe-
rialism when he reminded his soldiers, in dire
strains in the harbour of Syracus, of τὸ μεγά
νῦμα τὸν 'Αθηναίον. The democracy of Athens possessed
a political education superior to the Roman, and her citizens developed a sense of duty to the City of the Violet Crown, not possessed to the same extent by him who owed allegiance to the City of the Seven Hills. When no longer moved by these better feelings, party spirit (παρθενία) exercised much influence. The democracy, in its loyalty to party when he punished the citizen who, on the outbreak of any sedition or attempt at revolution, should stand aloof and take part with neither side—an enactment that we find in some Constitutions, as in the Athenian (vii. 10) or records the terms of an oligarchical oath taken on assuming office. 'And I will be malignant,' it runs, 'against the people, and I will devise against them whatever evil I can.' In order to meet with a parallel to this oath, we must refer to the notorious remark of President Andrew Jackson when he proclaimed the doctrine, 'To the victors belong the spoils.'

The dependence of office on lot, the mode of electing the officers in Laconia (Pol. ii. 26), rendered electoral corruption impossible in Greece. One fact is highly significant. The word δεξαμενα, the only Greek word for 'to bribe,' is a very rare verb; indeed, and its use is for taverns with jurors rather than with electors. Aristotle does not recognize electoral corruption at all, unless such be his meaning when he says that in Carthage the most important offices, including even the throne of the command of the forces, were ' purchasable' (δεξαμενα, Pol. ii. xi. 10), adding from the outspoken reflection, 'It is natural that a man should make money of his office if he has to pay for it.' Perhaps his meaning is that it may have been possible to procure high office in Carthage, just as it was possible, till our own day, to purchase commissaries in the British army or judicial positions in France. If his meaning is that office was accessible only by bribery,—and this seems to be the view of Pol. ii. 4,—then in this respect Carthage, in the opinion of Aristotle, was unique in the ancient world.

The payment of persons invested with public functions to induce them to use them unjustly, and of jurors to put aside the evidence against criminals, were, however, grave forms of corruption.

The quarrels of Demosthenes and Aeschines show how untrustworthy the public functionaries became, and the history of Sparta illustrates the same matter (Hdt. v. 87, 88). Paulus, for example, when attained of treason, returned to Sparta in the certainty that he could buy off his punishment (Hdt. i. 139). Ladies of the highest station, Astycolus, Chonidas, and Cygippe all took bribes. Thucydides tells us (vii. 45) that the triarchs and generals of the Laconid and allied State—all save Hermocrates—took money from Thermophrates to betray the interests of their country. Thucydides (Herod. viii. 5) took and administered bribes; but it was to save, not to betray, his country. Aristotle evidently thought that the ephemoral in Sparta was corrupt. 'The 'ephemers,' he remarks, 'are chosen from the whole body of the people, so the office often falls into the hands of very unscrupulous men, who accordingly have shown themselves corrupt' (Pol. ii. 19). As he joined with Plutarch in supposing that the correspondence between patron and client, we may infer that Sparta was more corrupt than the majority of the Greek States.

One remark of Aristotle shows clearly how little electoral corruption prevailed in Greece. He condemns canvassing; he condemns even the candidate's application for office. 'The man,' he informs us, 'who is fit for the place should have it, whether he wants it or not' (No one would apply for office if he were not ambitious). In our native soils, the most common motives to crime (Pol. ii. 19). With regard to corruption, Aristotle was plainly afraid of the embrazing of public monies, and the dishonest discharge of public functions. To use the words of a prosopis (v. viii. 19) that transfers of public money should be made in the presence of all the citizens, and that duplicitis of the accounts should be deposited with certain bodies; and, to contrast the latter, that there should be 'certain distinctions ordained by law for those who have a good name for probity.' In England and other countries the latter provision is customarily observed. Aristotle holds that public officials should be absolved from the necessity of supporting themselves while serving the State. They must have leisure to govern. But at the present time, he writes (Pol. iii. vi. 10), 'for the sake of the profit to be made out of the public purse and official position, men want to be always in office. They hunt after places with such eagerness that one might imagine they were invalids to whom health was impossible except when in office.' These official salaries, however, must not be so great as to excite envy.

A mere competence was not the goal of that 'ambition' which Aristotle regarded with such alarm.

3. The East.—In the West we are accustomed to speak of the dangers of democracy; but in this, as in so many other particulars, no such language prevails in the East. In India,—till lately, at least,—the people are not to be feared. 'Blessed are the poor and needy' is the familiar account of Holy Writ. St. James, however, stands in some dread of the influence of the latter and somewhat in the East (2. 5). In the East the masses are never the objects of attempts at corruption, but the classes are; whereas in the West the exact reverse holds good. The corruption in the East assumes the terrible form of being directed to the masses. When aged Samuel, when he invites the closest examination of his conduct, exclaims, 'Whose ox have I taken? or whose ass am I have taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any gain under oath thereof?' (I S. 12). Amos, in his denunciation of the rule of Jeroboam II., exclaims, 'They afflict the just, they take a bribe, and they turn aside the poor in the gate from their right' (Am 5:10).

In the OT the acceptance of a bribe is expressly forbidden (Ex 23:6-8, Dt 16:9), and one of the grievous woes of Isaiah is launched at them which justify the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteons from him' (Is 5:8; cf. Job 13:20, Am 2:9). While he gives the consent of the passions that shaketh his hands from handling of bribes . . . shall dwell on high (Is 33:26).

Accordingly, Jehoshaphat forbade his judges to accept bribes (2 Ch 19; cf. Ex 18), though it is only too obvious that the Hebrews were not means unfamiliar with corruption (Is 1:29, Exk 22:23, Mic 7:15, Mt 25:23, among the cases being the betrayal of our Lord by Judas. Talmudic Judaism was very severe on bribery, though it seems to have been permissible, before the time when the judge received a regular salary, for him to accept an equal amount from each of two litigant before trying a case (JE ii. 379-381).

Zoroastrianism, with its intense horror of falsehood, was naturally hostile to bribery, though no specific mention of corruption occurs in the extant Avesta texts. According to the late Pahlavi vision of Artio-Virdah (cf. lxxxix., ed. Haug and West, Bombay, 1872, p. 140), the soul of the bribe-taker suffered horrible torture in the world to come. Both in China and in Japan the corrupt judge is severely punished; and it may here be noted that in ancient America, among the Aztecs, such a judge endured the death penalty in grave cases of bribery, while for lighter forms of venality he was degraded from office, with the additional customarily of having his head shorn (Post, Grundrisse der ethnolog. Altertumskunde, Oldenburg, 1854-55, ii. 228). In the East it is always the people who bribe, it is always the officials who are bribed; and in India
the difference between East and West is conspicuous. It is perfectly true that the Hindoo law-books rank bribery in the class of 'open thefts,' and that the crime was punishable by fine, confiscation of property, banishment, loss of the case, etc. (Jolly, Roman Law, p. 125, 142) 1; but in spite of this, the native Indian under British rule is greatly puzzled by the apparent purity of the English officials. That they are really incorruptible he cannot believe. He looks on incorruptibility as Chinese, and questions the existence of that virtue. He knows he could not dare to offer a bribe to the 'Burra Sahib' directly. It must, he thinks, be conveyed through successive grades of native servants who entered the Court, and it will surely—after all, an Englishman is not different from other mortals—be accepted, if offered with sufficient discretion. No experience can teach him that pure administration of justice is an existing fact, or anything else but a means subtly devised for making small bribes ineffective.

A native became an Indian Civil Servant, and, as such, accepted presents. His principle in so doing was that of Francis Bacon: 'It is a matter on the merits of the case. If the plaintiff won, he kept his gift and returned that of the defendant, and the hard thing is that the Indians understood and admired the attitude of this judge, while that of his British colleague was incomprehensible to the native mind.

Thus regarded as a native and a judge, his virtue is clearly shown in a memoir of the Hon. Onocool Chunder Mookerjee, who tells that in the course of a discussion in the High Court, 'Such was the integrity of this remarkable man,' writes his nephew, 'that, having taken a brief from one party in a case and read it, immediately refused to listen to the other side.'

4. Great Britain and Ireland.—We turn from the East to the West, and we find the whole situation changed. With us the tendency is to corrupt the people in many insidious ways. In Stuart days the members of Parliament were not corrupted because they were not easily amenable to public opinion. It was then thought necessary to lubricate the wheels of political machinery with golden oil; but, as the people gained more control, this bribery of their representatives slowly passed away. Tampering with judge and jury was once common in England.

A statute of the reign of Henry vi., in the year 1394, recites that 'in regard to being appointed to certain public and judicial offices, the persons appointed with the consent of the Commons and the Lords, and with the approbation of the King, are more or less corrupted than others. The London judges and the London juries were purchased by having money papers fastened to their heads, setting forth how they had been bribed. A letter from a bishop of London to Cardinal Wolsey, given by Grafion in his Chronicles, says that a London jury would find Abol guilty of perjury. As a form of bribing, in his 'On the Civil Tribals,' it maintains that 'the proceedings against persons accused of State offices in the early parts of our history do not deserve the name of trial; they were a mockery of justice.'

The impecuniousness of Bacon made possible the long line of incorruptible judges and immaculate jurists that justly forms the glory of our police. Yet, in the days of the early. 19th century, 588 cases were treated near all for political jobbery (May, Constitutional History of England, i. 292). Bad matters were prevailing in England, in Ireland they were a great deal worse.

'Twas long,' wrote Lord Cornwellis, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to the Duke of Portland on 12th Dec. 1708, 'to kick those whom my public duty obliged me to court. My occupation is to negotiate, and I have not been much corrupted. I am under heaven's displeasure and hate myself ever for engaging in such dirty work, and am supported only by the reflection that without a moisture in the one hand, there are no opportunities in the other.'

Corruption in England, as in Rome, assumes the shape of bribery of the electorate. This reached its widest development in the days of George iii. Writer on the North, Richard Tilly is said, 'If the Duke of Northumberland requires some gold pills for the election, it would be wrong not to satisfy him.' Aristotle laid down that man was a political animal, but the evidence of election petitions goes to prove that man is an avaricious animal. If Rome gave her citizens bread and circuses, England was no whit less lavish to her electors. Charles ii. held that every man had his price, and this maxim holds of electioneering almost as true as to agree with him. If the struggle for the consulate in the 700th year of the Roman Republic produced an offer of nearly $100,000 for the vote of prerogatives, it is humiliating to reflect that this struggle over a hundred years ago, in 19, when Wilberforce contested Yorkshire against Lord Milton and the Hon. Henry Lascelles, the total expenses of the candidates exceeded a quarter of a million. In the same year, at Wetherby, the price of a single vote rose from twenty guineas to forty-five. From the will of Lord Vernon, L5000 seems to have been the recognized sum paid in 1812 for a seat in Parliament.

At so recent a date as the General Election of 1874, corruption was on such a large scale. The moment the trumpet is sounded for a General Election, deposition a witness before a Norwich Election Commission, 'there seems to spring from the ground, as it were, a host of employment-seekers.' This form of bribing of voters by offering good wages for the discharge of nominal functions during the period of election, is now the sublimest form of bribery, except perhaps the bribery which takes the form of munificence. Yet, within a few days, perhaps, a son of the days are gone when the beautiful Duchess of Devonshire could buy a butcher's vote with a kiss, when the gentle Dick Steele could win over the women with an apple—stuffed with guineas—as a prize for the ballot for the borough of Westminster.

5. America.—In the far Western world, our cousins do not seem to have got rid of corruption. Parts of the United States are no better than the small boroughs of Southern England. The case is strengthened before the Corrupt Practices Act of 1883. Venality occurs, according to J. Bryce (American Commonwealth, ii. 238), chiefly in connexion with private legislation. Foreign missions and consulates, department bureaus, custom-houses, revenue offices, army and navy contracts, postmasters and agencies, and places of all sorts are the spoils of the victors. The essence of the United States system is that paid officials are given and taken away for a price. A letter from a bishop of London to Cardinal Wolsey, given by Grafion in his Chronicles, says that a London jury would find Abol guilty of perjury. As a form of bribing, in his 'On the Civil Tribals,' it maintains that 'the proceedings against persons accused of State offices in the early parts of our history do not deserve the name of trial; they were a mockery of justice.'

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The effects of Andrew Jackson's famous doctrine of 'To the victors belong the spoils' can perhaps be seen in the operations of the Tammany Ring in New York City. The cost of erecting and furnishing the County Court House at New York in 1828 at $250,000, but before the end of 1837 about $13,000,000 had been expended upon it, and it was still unfinished. The items of $294,347 for 'Lawyering the Court,' $720,000 the way the money had disappeared. The total price which the city paid for the privilege of being ruled by Tammany from the beginning of 1806 to Sept. 1857—that is, thirty-two months—amounted to no less a sum than $87,000,000.
6. France.—France believes as thoroughly as America in the creed of Andrew Jackson. As in France, direct tampering with the electorate hardly exists. The Wilson scandals showed that political corruption was wide-spread in the Republic. The public and private bribery of the supporters of the Second Empire left many evil traces behind it. The embellishment of the capitol fostered a spirit of jollity, infecting all the departments of the State. The most dreadful of all the scandals was the Panama affair. The thefts of Panama and the subscriptions left standing for the piercing of the Isthmus of Panama, undertaken by M. de Lesseps. In 1892 it was known that most of the money had disappeared, and at the trial it was clear that corruption accounted for the disappearance. Floey, avowed that, when Prime Minister, he had laid hands upon £12,000 of the Panama funds, and had utilized it in combating the enemies of the Government on questions unconnected with the Canal (Bolley, France, p. 508). He based his defence on the perilous doctrine that, under normal circumstances, it was the right and the duty of the Ministry to supervise the distribution of such subsidies so as to prevent them from being used to the prejudice of the Government (Chamberlain, England, p. 189). In 1892 (23 December). This principle has been followed by ministers both before and since the days of Floey. The party system is probably the strongest purifying agent in Parliamentary government, so that, even in America, Rome, so in France. In neither country did the party system exist, and consequently, in both, corruption prevailed. No doubt, the general working of the Parliamentary system assists the operation of corrupt practice in France, by showing that the absence of government by parties means the presence of bribery. The great motive power, concludes Bolley (p. 515), "to keep wavering members on the path of parliamentary integrity is the party system, and this is wanting in France." Indirect tampering with the electorate can always be observed. There is a bridge to be built, or a lyric to be instituted, especially in the case of a reform which shows itself faithful to the Government. Here we must meet with the kind of corruption we are certain to encounter in the future. 'Perhaps we are at liberty to forget,' wrote Sir Henry Maine in his Popular Government (p. 146), 'that there are two kinds of bribery. It can be carried on by promising or giving to expectant parties funds paid out of the taxes, or it may consist in the direct process of legislating away the property of one class and transferring it to another. This last is likely to be the corruption of these latter days.'

Corruption used to appeal to individuals; now it appeals to classes. The farmer is bribed with an anticipation of prairie rent, and the artisan is bribed by the prospect of protective legislation; The future alone can disclose whether the old form or the new form of corruption is the more dangerous.


B. H. MURRAY.

COSMOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY.

Introductory (L. H. Gray), p. 125.
Babylonian (A. H. Sayce), p. 128.
Buddhist (L. De La VALLÈE Poussin), p. 129.
Celtic (G. F. W. Maisey), p. 130.
Egyptian (W. F. Middendorp), p. 144.
Greek (L. F. Burns), p. 145.

COSMOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY (Introductory).—By cosmology is meant the theory of the origin of the universe. The existence of a developed cosmology seems to be characteristic of a somewhat advanced degree of thought. Among the Australians, for example, such careful observers as Spencer, Gillen, and Howitt record no cosmological myths, and the aboriginal Australian and Indian tribes have but scanty legends of this type. On the other hand, the Polynesians and North American Indian stocks have cosmogogies of considerable elaboration. The reason for this deficiency in certain parts of the world evidently lies in the amount of abstract thought required for the development of a cosmology; for, though the existence of living beings, especially those of human kind, presents a creation problem which even primitive man endeavours to solve in many ways long before attempting to account for the beginning of the universe, these solutions do not come, strictly speaking, within the scope of cosmology, but rather within that of creation (q.v.). Yet it must be remembered that at least the rudiments of cosmogonic ideas may exist among tribes which are not now known to entertain them. A further element of difficulty is introduced into the study of primitive cosmogonies by the unconscious absorption of foreign elements derived from Christian missionaries, just as is the case with legends of the Flood. Throughout all cosmology run certain basic principles, and it is also noteworthy that legends of this character, at first discordant and contradic-
the god Marulk. This cosmic ocean rears in other systems as well, notably in some of the Hindu cosmogonies and in the Egyptian legend of the Creation. Yet in various parts of the Nile Valley different cosmogonies were held; at Elephantine it was believed that Khnum had made the vegetative parts of the Nile; while at Memphis, Ptah was said to have carved the earth, like a statue, into its present form. Among the Greeks, with their highly developed philosophic and abstract thought, a large number of cosmogonies were developed, with a distinction of the universe being ocean, according to Homer; earth, according to Hesiod; air, according to Epicnemides; fire, according to the rhapsodic cosmogony; water, and earth, according to Hieronymus and Hellenes. Water and earth according to Athenagoras; and water, according to Thales. The Greek cosmogonies may be divided into three classes: those beginning with a spiritual principle, as Zeus; those beginning with an abstract principle, as Chaos, Time, and Night; and those, beginning with a material principle, such as water, earth, and other. Of these, the third category is doubtless the most primitive, although even the Hesiodic cosmogony is highly so, so that it is a system of philosophy rather than theology. An almost equal degree of speculative thought appears in the earliest record of India's cosmogony. The late 129th hymn of the tenth book of the Rigveda describes the "That," or abstract universe, as fired with inward illumination that resulted in the creative Katyayana, which corresponds strikingly and curiously with the cosmogonic Eros of the Greeks. Other Vedic hymns vaguely ascribe the formation of the world to the gods, while a late hymn of the Rigveda (x. 90) declares that the world was formed from the different members of the body of a giant. In the later development of Hindu thought the universe is the creation of Brahma (or those who present the All, or an All-God), while the universe itself is conceived as a cosmic egg—a legend as early as the Brahmanus, and recalling the cosmic egg of Egypt, the Polynesian creation-myths, and the Greek Orciphe mysteries. It is also noteworthy that creation is ascribed to sexual congress in cosmogonies so diverse as the Hindu, Maori, and Taoist.

The Greek and Hindu cosmogonies may be termed quasi-philosophic, while the Babylonian creation of creation is not. In the Iranian legend of the origin of the universe the same element of opposition appears, and at the same time it may possibly illustrate the bond which links the two. The earliest form of the legend is marked by a conflict between Ormazd and Ahriman, and the entire cosmic process is a series of beneficent creations by the former and of maleficent counter-creations by the latter, thus affording an analogue, in a certain sense, with the conflicts of the children of Papa and Ra from the American and New Zealand creation-myth. At a later period, however, philosophic speculation evolved the doctrine of "boundless time," from which both Ormazd and Ahriman, represented by Light and Darkness in Manicheism, were sprung. It is clear that the unitarian tendency is a later development; and if one may argue from analogy it would seem that the earliest Greek cosmogony, instead of being philosophic like the Hesiodic version, was based on opposition, as Hesiod's account itself of the cosmic egg is but a reflection to imply.

The order of creation naturally varies in different cosmogenic legends. In one of the numerous systems of Egyptian cosmogony the primal spirit and primal matter co-exist from all eternity in indistinguishable form. The gods create, thus recalling the cosmic Desire (Kamit, Epos) of the Hindu and Greek systems. This results in motion of the primal material, whose basal qualities thus become visible. With the aid of one of them the cosmic egg is formed, from which arises Re, the god of light, who forms the world and all that is contained in it. In the Iranian account, as given by the Hāndōshān, the order of earthly creation is sky, stars, moon, sun, land, sea, river, plants, animals, and man. A certain similarity with the Greek cosmogonies, as represented by Hesiod, is shown in the Germanic version given by the Voedsel, in that the creation of the gods, to which the Babylonian and Athapascan tablets also refer, is elaborately described. The basal elements are primordial time, Ginnungagap (which corresponds, in many respects, to the Greek Chaos), and primeval matter. The gods Odin, Hoernir, and Loki raised the sun out of the rearing egg (or the earth). After this Midgard, the home of mankind, is built; the plants are produced by the warmth of the southern sun; the seasons are ordained. The home of the gods is then built, and the three Norns, or Fate, and the world of the cosmo
gloses and the creation of dwarfs and men. In this last system the cosmic egg, which plays so prominent a part in many creation-legends, is replaced by the cosmic tree, which is, at least to a certain extent, paralleled by the golden lotus of the Hindu Purāṇas.

A curiously isolated cosmogony is found in Chinese Taoism, which derives the four seasons from the conjunction of the male and female principles Yang and Yin. The four seasons, in their turn, produce the eight kuei, or phenomena of Nature, which are the source of the universe. Equally isolated is the general type of the North American Indian cosmogonies, which is essentially one of opposition. It presupposes the prior existence of another world before the earth of man. In this world dwelt the gods, who gradually came into conflict with each other, and in the struggle all, with a few exceptions, were metamorphosed into objects, both animate and inanimate, to which they were in disposition most closely akin, thus giving rise to beasts, birds, reptiles, trees, rocks, and everything else. Meanwhile, the divinities who had escaped metamorphosis departed to new regions, the present world being occupied by American Indians.

In entire keeping with the late development of cosmogony and its pre-eminent philosophic character, there is one immemorial postulated and yet being attached to it. Few peoples seem to have thought of a design for which the world was brought into being. The Iranians, however, held that the universe was created for the glory of Ormazd, who should find his triumph completely over the machinations and creations of the evil Ahriman. In conclusion, it must be noted that the concept of creation ex nihilo was practically unknown to the ancient world. It is present neither in Babylonian, Egyptian, nor Greek; its existence in the Iranian postulated and yet at least problematical. On the other hand, the keenest philosophers of antiquity, the Hindus, evolved the idea as early as the Rigveda, even though but vaguely, declaring in a late hymn (xii. 20): "in the primeval age of the gods being was born of non-being (devamâm pârâ yugâ yugâ atâkhyât)

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LOUIS H. GAY.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (North American).—1. Athapaskan family (widely distributed in northern North America, in Alaska, Siberia, and the Pacific).—The Athapascans of the North-west attribute the phenomena of creation to a raven,
COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (American)

whose eyes were fire, whose glance was lightning; soon the waters, when it rained, were sufficient to cause a deluge. With the descent to the ocean, the earth instantly rose, and remained on the surface of the water. From this being, also, the Athapascons traced their descent. Yet by name, it saved their ancestors from the flood, and they are named by them after the wave from heaven. It probably sprang, with the Mexican god Quetzalcoatl, from some common original form. The more eastern Athapascons believe their ancestors to have sprung from a dog, probably an allusion to that Indian type.

2. Iroquoian family (Hurons, Mohawks, Oneidas, etc., situated from the St. Lawrence to the St. Lawrence, and the Cherokee in Eastern Tennessee).—The Iroquois tribes believe in a similar myth. Their original female ancestress fell from heaven. There was as yet no land to receive her, but presently it suddenly bubbled up under her feet, and waxed bigger, so that ere long a whole country was perceptible. Some Iroquois tribes, however, believed that amphibious animals, such as the otter, beaver, and musk-rat, bearing her descent, hastened to dig up sufficient earth from beneath the waters to provide her with an island upon which she might dwell. Several Iroquois tribes report that the people of Oswego in New York State as the locality in which their forefathers originated, and the name of the Oneida (People of the stone) is held to indicate some such relationship.

3. Algic family (formerly distributed over an area embracing a space from Newfoundland to the Rockies, and from Churchill River on the north to Patuioxide Sound on the south).—The words for "light" and "rabbit" in the Algmic tongue are the same, so that Michaho or Michaho, the sun, their creative agency, has become conflated with them by the rabbit. The myth relates that one day, when Michaho was hunting, the wolves which he used as dogs entered a great lake, and disappeared there. He entered the lake to rescue them, but it rose suddenly, overflowed its banks, covered the land, and destroyed the world. Michaho dispatched the raven to find a piece of earth wherewith to re-build the land; but, after having searched everywhere, it returned and reported that it could find none. Then he ordered the otter to dive for some, but the animal returned to the surface without any. At last he sent down the musk-rat, which returned with a small piece, which sufficed for Michaho to re-erect his sun, which then presented itself by a lake. The trees having lost their branches, they shot arrows at their bare trunks, and the arrows became new limbs. He then avenged himself upon the malevolent beings who had caused the flood, and married the musk-rat, by whose aid he populated the world.

4. Muskogean family (Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles, etc., confined chiefly to the Gulf States east of the Mississippi).—The Muskoghees believe that before the Creation a great body of water alone was visible. Over the dreary waste two pigeons flew to and fro, and at last espied a blade of grass rising above the surface. Dry land gradually followed, and the mainland and islands took their present shapes. In the centre of the hill Yenne Chahe was the house of Evageth Emisse, the 'Master of Breath,' who moulded the first man from the clay which surrounded his abode. The waters still covered the earth, so that he was compelled to clad himself in the raiment of the fashionable men upon. When the soft mud had hardened into flesh and bone, he directed the waters to their present places, and gave the dry land to the men whom he knew. Here we cannot doubt that the appearance of the two pigeons signifies the brooding of the creative spirit upon the waste of waters. The similarity of this myth to the Creation story of Genesis is most remarkable.

5. Siouan family (Arapahos, Comanches, Mandans, etc., dwelling on the right bank of the Mississippi and Missouri valley).—The Mandan branch of the Sioux possess a very complete creation-myth, which bears a strong resemblance to those of the Caraya Indians on the Amazon and the Waran Indians of Guiana. They affirm that the entire nation resided in an underground village near a great subterranean lake. The roots of a grape-vine penetrated to their habitation, and some of the more adventurous of them climbed up the vine, and were rewarded with a sight of the earth, which they coveted because of its richness in fruits and the plentifulness of buffalo meat. The pioneers returned laden with grapes, the taste of which so enchanted the people that they resolved to forsake their subterranean dwelling for the upper world. Men, women, and children clambered up the vine; but when about half the nation had ascended, a corpulent woman who was climbing after her mother lost her hold and fell in the lake. Her fall filled up the gap which led to the upper world. At death, the Mandans expect to rejoin their forefathers in their original seat, the good reaching the ancient village by way of the lake, which the burden of the world will not allow them to cross. The cognate Minnetarees had a tradition that their original progenitor emerged from the waters of a lake, bearing in his hand an ear of maize—a typical example of the culture-hero myth. As regards the actual creation of the earth, the Mandans had a vague tradition, resembling that of the Muskoghees, concerning the brooding of pigeons upon the primate waste of waters.

6. Californian sub-families.—California was, and is now, spared to the ancient tribe, a number of Indian tribes belonging to as many as twenty-one distinct linguistic families. The mythologies of these tribes were, however, very similar to one another, and were characterized by unusually well-developed and consistent myths, which, in the case of the Maidu, had best typified by that of the Maidu, formerly dwelling in the Sacramento Valley and the adjacent Sierra Nevada. Their mythic era appears to fall into a number of periods, each of which is dealt with by a group of myths, which, however, differ one from another. One of the most remarkable things that their creation-myth makes its appearance, with the coming of Kodoyame the creator, and Coyote. They discovered the world, and proceeded to place it in fitting order for its first inhabitants. These they made from small wooden images, but, as they engaged in violent conflict, they were metamorphosed into animals. Kodoyame conceived an antipathy to Coyote, whose evil desires clashed with his beneficent wishes, and resolved upon his destruction. In this he was assisted by the 'Conqueror,' who destroyed many monsters and evil beings which later would have endangered the life of men who were yet unborn. In the last scene of the cosmic drama Kodoyame is defeated by Coyote, and takes his flight eastwards—which shows, at least, that he is not a sun-god. The Indians then spring from the places where the small wooden figures of the 'first people' had been buried. Unlike most American creation-myths, this is a veritable conflict of the race destruction of the universe. In the beginning was only the great primeval waste of waters upon which Kodoyame and Coyote dropped in a canoe. Of the origin of these supernatural beings the Maidu were ignorant; but a neighbouring people, the Achomawi, pushed their cosmogonic legend much
further back. According to them, at first there existed only the shoreless sea and the clear sky. A small cloud appeared thereon, which gradually increased in size and then descended until it became the silver-grey fox, the Creator. Then arose a frog, which, condensing, became Coyote. The Ashochni of California told of the drowning of the world so that no man escaped. But, when the waters retired, the Coyote went forth and planted the feathers of various birds, which grew into the various tribes of men.\(^1\)

7. **Chinookan family** (a distinct family, formerly dwelling on Columbia River).—The creation myth of the Chinooks is practically that of the Maidu, and relates how Itlapus, the Coyote, encountering a heavy surf at a place called Gofi', was afraid that he might be drifted away, and threw sand upon the surf, saying, 'This shall be a prairie, and no surf. The ebb and flow generations shall walk on that prairie.' The Chinook mythological rich in myths of the other world, and in cosmogonic sun, moon, and star-myths, which are dealt with at length in art. CHINOOKS.

The **Caddo family** (Pawnee, Kichai, Wichito, etc., dwelling in Nebraska and Arkansas).—The Caddo believed that they came originally from the under world, and related that the first individual to emerge into the light of day was an old man, covered with long hair and fire and smoke, and in another a drum. He was followed by his wife with corn and pumpkin-seed. They spoke of a creator, Atius Tirawa, intangible and omnipotent, whose house was the heavens, and whose messengers were the eagle and the buzzard. He it was who called sun, moon, and stars into being, and ordered them their various circuits.\(^2\)

9. **Shoshonean family** (Hop! or Moqul, Comanches, etc., inhabiting a territory from Mon to Texas, and from Nevada to Colorado).—The Shoshones held originally no conception of a Great Spirit. They speak of the earth as always having existed, and of the human race as having emerged through an opening in the earth. Called the Sho-po-ph, which was identified with the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. The dead they suppose to return to the under world. The Sky-father and Earth-mother they hold as responsible for the upkeep of the universe.

10. **Pueblo Indians** of Arizona, New Mexico, and New Mexico (Hopi, etc.).—The Pueblo believe that the Creator—Aamonawilona, Maker and Container of all—existed before the beginning of time, in the darkness which knew no beginning.\(^3\) He then conceived within himself, and, projecting his breath into the darkness of night, evolved gods pot with growth. He next took upon himself the form of the Sun, the father of men, who thus came into being, and by whose light and brightness the cloud-nests resolved themselves into water, gradually developing into the primeval sea. Then from his flesh, 'drawn from the surface of his person,' he made the seed of two worlds, and fecundated the sea therewith. By the heat of his rays green scums formed, which became the first earth, which filled the world, and the 'All-covering Father-sky.' Terrestrial life sprang from the embraces of these, and they separated. These twin were described as 'transmutable at thought, manifesting themselves in any form that the mind beheld by mask-making' (Cushing, op. cit. 379 f.). Then, from the lowest of the four worlds of the world, the seed of men and living things form and grew, until the lowest cave or womb grew over-full of living and half-finished creatures men among them, and the press became so great that Poshtaynanka, the

3. F. H. Cushing, "Rain Creation Myths," in *J. RBW*, 1896.\(^4\)

 Probably emanated from Nippur in northern Babylonia, and was harmonized with difficulty with the cosmology of Eridu (Sayece, Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia, pp. 375, 377).

The beliefs of Eridu are embodied in a bilingual (Sumerian and Babylonian) poem, discovered by Pinches (Jr. 18, 1891, pp. 333-408), which, however, in its present form has been much modernized by the introduction of lines referring to Babylonia and the other chief cities of later Babylonia, and the substitution of Merodach, the god of Babylon, for Ea, the god of Eridu. The original version began as follows:

No holy house, no house of the gods in a holy place had as yet been built.

No rest had grown, no tree been planted,
No house been walled, no city founded,
No city built, no man (adam) made to stand upright;
The deep was uncreated, Eridu unkind.

The seat of its holy house, the house of the gods, uncreated:
All the earth was sea,
While within the sea was a current ('literally watercourse,' 'pantmoni.')

Then we are told how

[Prim] the reeds (readi) together to form a weir in the water,
He made dust and mixed it with the reeds of the weir;
That the gods might dwell in the seat of their well-being;
The gods (بشر الجهد, Editions), the living creatures in the field, he created;
The Tigris and Euphrates he made and set them in their place,
Giving them good names.

Mesopotamia, the marsh, rush and reed he created,
He created the green herb of the field,
The earth, the jungle, the cow and its young,
The sheep and its young, the land of the field.

Of far later date is the so-called Epic of Creation, which perhaps existed in reality of Merodach and his overthrow of Tiamat and the powers of chaos. As this involved the creation of the existing world, the poem is prefaced by an account of the origin of the universe as it was conceived in the schools. The cosmogony is a frankly materialistic, abstract principles taking the place of the gods who are themselves the offspring of the principles, in flagrant contradiction of the rest of the Epic, in which the god Merodach appears as the creator.

The Semitic idea of generation is invoked in order to explain the creation, which thus becomes a process of evolution, the old animistic objects of Sumerian worship being introduced to form the links in the chain of development. Water remains the prime element, but its role is made to reconcile the antagonism between the two conceptions of this element, according as it is regarded as anarchic or as under the dominion of law, by making Ap[\textdagger] (the Deep) and Tiamat (the watery chaos) complementary principles whose union resulted in starting the evolutionary process.

The first lines of the Epic run thus:

'When above unannounced was the heaven,
(And) earth below by a name was uncalled, Ap[\textdagger] (the deep) in the beginning (riziz) being their beggetter,
(And) the flood (Mummu) of Tiamat the mother of them all,
Their waters were embers joined (in one place),
But no reed had been harvested, no marsh-plant seen;
At that time the gods had not appeared, any one (of them) by no name was called, nor death fixed.
Then were the gods created in the midst of (heaven),
Lakhmu and Lakham appear (at first).
The ages multiplied, they . . .
Anan and K[\textdagger]as (the Upper and Lower Firmaments) were created,
Long were the days, forth came . . .

The cosmogony of the Epic is reproduced by Danuscius, a contemporary of Jus-winnu (de Prin.), Princip. 125 [p. 384, ed. Kopf, 1826].

'The Babylonians,' he says, 'like the rest of the barbarians, pass over in a larger or smaller degree from the universe and constitute two, Tavthu (Tiamat) and Apsun (Ap[\textdagger]), making Apanu the husband of Tavthu, and denominating her "the mother of the sea." The name of the god (the father) derives only from son Ay[\textdagger]ne, which, I conceive, is no other than the intelligible word wVgVgV, proceeding from the two principles. From them another progeny is derived, Lakh and Lakhor (corrupted in the MS into Lakh, Lakhor); and again a third, Reisun and Assulun (from which have arisen Ass, Assunn, and Thulla, corrupted into Illinois) and Assu. And of Apsun and Davdik (Danakkil) is born a son called Ede (Bel Merodach), who, they say, is the endicator of the day.'

Here Mummu, the Flood or chaos, who is identified with Tiamat in the cuneiform text, becomes the son of Tiamat and Ap[\textdagger], and is accordingly explained by Danuscius as the ideal world— that is to say, the world as it exists in the mind before it is realized externally. Such an explanation, however, is excluded by the Epic, where Mummu would rather correspond with the darkness which in (Tn 1) is said to have been "upon the face of the deep."

According to the Babylonian legend, the appearance of the gods of light and order was followed by the revolt of Tiamat (or, as it would seem, according to another version, of Ap[\textdagger]). But the powers of darkness and chaos were overthrown by Bel Merodach, who cut Tiamat in two, and stretched the sky across one of the two halves, thus preventing the waters which were in her veins from breaking forth again, while the other half was similarly confined under the dry earth and the heavens above which it feeds. The conquest of Tiamat was followed by the creation of man, who was brought into existence in order to build temples and altars and offer sacrifices and prayers to the gods.

The world, however, was not yet to be prepared for the reception of man by fixing the movements of the celestial luminaries, and so regulating the sacred calendar, and then by creating plants and animals which could be offered or used in the service of the temple. The earthly paradise existed in reality with Tiamat, so that the deities with whom they were identified had been the offspring of the trinity or tried of Ann, En-Hi, and Ea. Indeed, Bel Merodach himself was originally a Sun-god.

In the Epic, allusion is made to another system of cosmology, which ascribed the universe to the creative word. Merodach is described as destroying and creating by his word alone, and so proving his fitness to destroy the forces of anarchy and create a world that should be governed by law.

Another system of cosmology was that which emanated from Nippur (now Niffer) in northern Babylonia. In this Tiamat, the dragon of the subterranean waters of chaos, was the elementary principle, the creator of which, in the form of a mountain. The brood of chaos, composite creatures who belonged to a first and imperfect creation, continued to exist in the dark underground, which was also the dwelling-place of the ghosts and demons of night. How the world-mountain was believed to have been formed we do not yet know. At the Syrian Hierapolis (Membij) the waters of the deluge of the Babylonian Sylhetes were believed to have drained off into a cavern beneath the temple, which was accordingly kept securely closed, and Simu, the daughter of the supreme god Hadad, was said to have put an end to the attacks of a demon by filling the pit in which the monster dwelt, with the water of the sea (Cureton and Raman, in Pitra, Quiriquina, Solesmesc, ii p. xlvii).

Literature.—H. Junkel, Schriften und Chaos (1805); A. H. Sayce, Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Egyptians and Babylonia (1893), pt. ii, ch. ii; L. W. King, The Seven Tablets of Creation (1892); M. Jastrow, Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens, Giessen, 1893.

A. H. SAYCE.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Buddhist).—1. Preliminary notes.—

(i) In the earliest times, speculations on the universe were apparently regarded as wrong. We may recall the attitude of the Buddha toward the rise of speculative dinners the infinity of the world (see Aoosntris [Buddhist], vol. i, p. 212), and his efforts to give a moral or psychological meaning to

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COSMOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY (Buddhist)

The researches of natural science, when a monk wants to know where the material elements (earth, water, fire, air) sit in their external relations, by way of answer, how people are delivered from desire and from existence. Obviously that is what the cosmo- and cosmo-analysts (sattvalokas) do, with their physical laws, or the formulae that the materials are subject to the exercise of virtues are ‘cosmological’ (sattvalokikā).

It is probable that a large number of Buddhists, imbued with the ‘morals’ of their master, avoided cosmological speculations of this kind. In this sense the materials of the sattvalokas are nembhāvatādina, the materialists. The formula, ‘The diversity of the world comes from the act,’ contains a well-informed Buddhist the Alpha and Omega of the necessary cosmological imposition.

But, long before the time when the Mahāyāna books demanded that the learned Buddhist, the preaching Bodhisattva, must have a knowledge of lay sciences, a Buddhist cosmology was formed, constituting a very well-developed collection of various opinions and systematizations; and, in fact, accurate information on cosmological questions seems to have been as ancient as the statements defending or ridiculing the speculations of the kind which is recalled above.

The aim of the present article is to give an outline of Buddhist cosmology, without entering into details (except on a few points which have not been published, or are obscure), and without spending time over variants. It should prove interesting, and profitable for the history of the sects, to study the history of the various theories, to distinguish the most ancient elements and aspects of them, and to note the succession of homemade arrangements. Such a study, however, is possible for only a limited number of the theories; we shall endeavour to pursue it wherever we can with profit.

I. Cosmology. — Cosmology seems to be the most accurate translation of lokoprajñapti, ‘world-teaching,’ a term denoting that part of the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma (‘summaries and systematization of matters of doctrine’ [see Abhidharma, vol. i, p. 19]) which deals with cosmological problems—the origin, arrangement, and destruction of the universe.

But the lokoprajñapti deals also with questions that it is more correct to call un- or marginal: the Buddhists, in fact (at least the Sarvāstivādin), distinguish two ‘worlds’ (loka)—the bhūjnahaloka, ‘receptacle-world,’ and the universe as the abode of beings (sattva), and the sattvaloka, ‘world of living beings.’ There are, accordingly, two lokoprajñapti, the first a ‘cosmology,’ the second a ‘zoology’ (sattva ca sūtra).

Tiers are, naturally, close connections between these two ‘worlds,’ for the first is made for the second, being created and arranged to form a shelter for it. The whole of demonology, anthropology, and theology (i.e. pantheology) is connected with cosmology. Although it is difficult to separate the two, we shall give special prominence to the facts considered by our source as relating to the ‘receptacle-world’ (bhūjnahaloka); e.g., the abodes of the gods, the length of their lives, the dimensions of their bodies, and their ‘non-embryogeny’ are ‘cosmological,’ while their psyches, their 299) capacities, etc., are subject to the exercise of virtues are ‘zoological’ (sattvalokikā).

1 Rys Davis, Dialogues of the Buddha, London, 1932, i, 290; cf. the ‘foolish questions’ in Milinda, p. 290 (SBE xxxii, 155).
2 Rys Davis, op. cit. i, 166, and Bendall’s review in Archives of the Buddhist Society; also Skr. Zeitschrift, p. 100.
3 Karmajñā lokacariyārūpa (Abhidharma-kosa, v. i, 31).
4 Abhidharma as the cause of the universe, see Abhidharma-kosa, ch. viii.
5 This last part, the destruction of the universe, has been treated in the article, ‘Aeneas the White’ (Buddh. J., vol. i, p. 153, The Abhidharma of the Pali language does not seem to include any lokapālīkī.
6 It is not possible to account for all the Asuras; see the vocabulary of the SBE.
7 The pitāmās pāṇiṣṭhā, which constitutes one of the sections of the Pitāmās Abhidharma (JPTS, 1933, 1937), mentions and définition of the various categories of ‘individuals,’ ‘noble individuals,’ etc., in a systematic fashion, particularly from the point of view of their progress in the ‘way of nirvāṇa’ (JPTS, 1906, 153).
8 The term ‘nirvāṇa’ in Buddhist psychology is undoubtedly the second
9 Rūpa is usually translated ‘form,’ ārya ‘formless,’ and ārya, ‘formless’ and ārya, ‘formless,’ but it is not possible to account for all the Asuras; see the vocabulary of the SBE.
10 It is not possible to account for all the Asuras; see the vocabulary of the SBE.
11 Generally 1597, p. 450, ‘spheres,’ but ‘desire’ is not adequate. There is desire, attachment (āsava), in the region of matter, but only ‘attachment to life’ (lokāsāra); in the region of consciousness there is also ‘attachment to sensual pleasures’ (kāmaśāra), ‘concupiscence.’
12 C. I. Tawney, op. cit., on the different classes of created beings and their names, lists four main divisions, the Brahmanas, religious speculation, the Asuras and Devas, the Nāga, and the jinn. But it is not possible to account for all the Asuras; see the vocabulary of the SBE.
13 Rūpa is usually translated ‘form,’ ārya ‘formless,’ and ārya, ‘formless,’ but it is not possible to account for all the Asuras; see the vocabulary of the SBE.
14 Asuras (asuras) mark the end of the last rebirth, and the beginning of the next.
15 Rūpa is usually translated ‘form,’ ārya ‘formless,’ and ārya, ‘formless,’ but it is not possible to account for all the Asuras; see the vocabulary of the SBE.
16 Tawney, Mio, xxxv.
17 See Kuttakantha, loc. cit., cf. JPTS, 1884, p. 158.
COSMOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY (Buddhist)

The Buddhist religion has four "great elements" (mahabhutas), called great because they are the substance of all material things; they are earth, water, fire, and wind. Ananda, a disciple of the Buddha, says in the Dhammapada: "This earth is the source of all things that are produced in the world. The world is composed of earth and water and fire and wind." (Pali; translated as "The wind-circle" by Waddell, 1938.)

The earth, water, fire, and wind are the four elements of the universe in the Buddhist cosmology. The earth is the base element, water is the fluid element, fire is the burning element, and wind is the circulating element. These elements are the building blocks of all phenomena in the universe.

The Buddhist cosmology holds that the universe is a finite, bounded system, with the earth at its center. The universe is divided into three realms: the heavenly realm, the human realm, and the animal realm. The human realm is further divided into four castes: the brahmin, the warrior, the merchant, and the laborer.

The Buddhist cosmology also includes the concept of rebirth, or the Twelve Steps of the Law. These steps are: right understanding, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. The goal of these steps is to achieve nirvana, or release from the cycle of rebirth.

The Buddhist cosmology also includes the concept of karma, or the law of cause and effect. This means that every action has a consequence, and that one's present life is shaped by the actions of past lives.

The Buddhist cosmology is a complex and rich system that is still studied and practiced today. It continues to be an important part of Buddhist thought and practice, and its teachings have influenced many other religious and philosophical systems throughout the ages.

References:


COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Buddhist)

Earth, water, iron, etc., which form (a) in the centre of the system, Mount Meru; (b) eight mountains, or concentric chains of mountains, seven of which (of gold) are contiguous below the Mount Meru and nearly each other, while the eighth (of iron) is almost at the very edge of the system; (c) oceans flowing between the concentric mountain-chains; and (d) islands, notably four great islands or continents situated in the largest of the oceans—the 'exterior' ocean, between the 7th and 8th mountains. 1

The outside mountain is called Chakravāla, and this name is also applied to the entire 'small universe,' lokottara, or chāṭardiṃśokottara, 'the 32th' mountain-universe.'

Chakravāla (Cēlota, Sūtra, the Sūtrakathā of Sp. Hardy) = 'circle,' 'bracelet,' 'horizon' (see E. Senart, Études sur les légendes du Bouddha, p. 17, Paris, 1885. p. 17). In the northern sources there are a chakravāla-mountain and a great-chakravāla-mountain, called 'black mountains' from Behar, or Aparate (Halle, 1869), p. 212; Lotus, in SBE xx, 233; Sūtra, in SBE xxv, 193, 200, etc. The great chakravāla consists of two hemispheres, each equal to a globe—a cosmic abyss, which recalls the unārārātathāhāritu, 'universe suspended in space,' and the Sarvatathāgata, in SBE xxvii, p. 314, 315, q.v. 194, 2, 397; Digha, com. on ii. 12, Sp. Hardy, Legends, p. 129; Burnet, Lotus, p. 832; and Beal, Catena, p. 64. 2

The iron-mountain-range, Chakravāla, like the continents on the golden earth. It is 312 leagues high and 312 broad, and 312 leagues above the level of the exterior ocean which it surrounds. This ocean is 225,000 leagues in extent, 5 and is bounded on the inner side by the Nāma-devā, 'globe-bearing,' 625 leagues in height and breadth, and 312 leagues in projection (above the ocean's level). Then there is an ocean of 1250 leagues; then Viṇaṭaka, 'inclined,' 1250 in height and breadth, 625 in projection; an ocean of 2950 leagues (horse-encircling); 2950 leagues in height, 625 in breadth, and 312 leagues in projection (above the ocean's level). The diameter of the whole is in 1,200,875 leagues (Abhidharmakośa).

As regards the order of the mountains, we have followed A. Schueller, Entwurf einer allgemeinen Prüfung der klassischen Mythologie (Stockholm, 1878), p. 140; Beal, Catena, p. 50; Skolfield, Meru, p. 29; and Saradāpa, Sarasvati, and Nāma-devā (date in vi. 231, 232). See also T. W. Rhys Davids, The Principle of the Mandala, pp. 19, 64, 71, 72. The names of the mountains are sometimes doubtful, e.g. Īddhārā, Īddhārā, Īddhārā, Īddhārā, Īddhārā. The dimensions of the mountains and oceans are also doubtful. The Pali documents have, as the starting-point of their calculations, a Meru of 105,000 leagues high, with base 8 x 105, and so the numbers become less accurate. Source, Agnttara, iv, 100. From this, if we adopt a scheme that appears as classical in all sources, we get 42,000 for the first ocean, and the name for the first circular chain of mountains, then 21,000 . . . . This gives a greater total diameter than that which we get according to the Abhidharmakośa. In fact, the Pali Agnttara has for the diameter of Chakravāla 1,199,440 (Sp. Hardy, Legends, p. 55, seems inaccurate), and the Vāyudhatuagga has 1,232,456, i.e. the number attributed by the Kanakakośa to the same diameter, which, according to A. K. Coomaraswamy, 2, excels Chakravāla by 2575. 3

Most of the sources give the generic name of Kauñāsika, 'principal, noble mountains.' They are composed of gold, being excrescences of the golden earth. They are like wandering trees, having nothing being equal. You may ask

1 See an excellent map of the Chakravāla (100,000 leagues to an inch) in Geyger, Geognosia Buddhica, Stuttgart, 1888.

2 There are numerous legends on this 'great ocean'; see Sp. Hardy, in SBE xxv, 191, 202. On the Mahānātha we must refer to Saṅgītaka, v. 411.

3 The generic name of the seven 'interior' oceans is Ādhañjula, which, native to the Abhidharmakośa, has for its particular names, see Dharmasphutagāra, § 135; Chikharās, n. Sudāgarā; Sp. Hardy, Legends, p. 84; Rémusat, op. cit. p. 89.

4 In the Pāli Agnttara, 'islands' or 'continents,' (abodes of mankind).—In the 'exterior' ocean, facing the eastern, southern, etc., sides of Mount Meru, and lit up in succession at distances of 6 hours after each other by the sun turning round Meru, are four islands (kappa, dipa). These are the four excellent, or the excellent earth, and rest on the golden earth, or circle of gold (kīrtikālakharā), with a depth of 80,000 leagues of water (cf. Dīghaṇakātā, p. 157, 7). These islands are supposed to be on a level with the ocean, and it appears that, in this western definition, the small variations that constitute our earthly mountains are not taken into consideration.

5 In the east is the Pārśvanātha, 'Eastern Man,' 4 in the form of a half or permanent mountain, to which are attributed, nevertheless, four sides: three 2000 leagues (yojana) long, the fourth 350 leagues (perimeter, 6550 leagues). The men in this continent dwell in towns and villages, and live for 250,000 years; they are greyish brown, their height, and their faces, like the continent itself, are half-moon-shaped. 5

6 In the south is the Jambudvīpa, 'Rose-apple-tree's continent,' 6 our continent, the continent where the gods and men are born. This form takes four sides: three 2000 leagues long, the fourth 35 leagues (perimeter, 6000 leagues). The men there live 100 years at most; their height is from 3'5 to 4' cubes; they resemble the continent in shape. If the west is the Jambudvīpa, the east is the Savantāvīpa, or 'Shining island.' These have various inhabitants of the continents, and notably one of them: the Blindfolds (good horses), Jambu, Ketumandya, Uttarānura (see E. W. Hopkins, JĀOS, 1919, p. 360; and Art. Cosmology are Cosmology and Hedin). 7

7 Saradāpa (Tibet. Dict. p. 1173 ff.) gives the names of the mountains of the several continents—five, four, and two respectively—with the names of the wild beasts inhabiting them.

8 Vīdita—the modern Tribhūma; Buddha kañcapaśa, 'noble body' (play on the Shr. word dharma, 'body'), because the human body there is of gold, and it is also said to be 'noble' (Buddhavāsita), because of the influence of the place, as well as the inhabitants of the Himalaya or the Yātidrā mountain, have particular characteristics (A. K. V., 2546; cf. Sp. Hardy, Legends, p. 65). Notice the breadth, height, and circumference of the Himalaya, which, according to A. K. Coomaraswamy, exceeds Chakravāla by 2575. 3

9 On this matter see art. Cosmogony and Cosmology (Indian), Agnttara, i. 104 (1883). According to Saradāpa (Tib. Dict. p. 1184), this continent is also named 'from the jambu tree sound made by falling of the leaves of the wishing tree into the river Ganges.' We are not concerned with the Buddhist geography of this continent (Sp. Hardy, Manual, p. 15, etc.).

10 The Sīkṣāsūtra (PT, 1901, p. 422) knows only one length of human life (84,000 years is the same as that of Jambu); evamāna alpam eva bhīmam iti. Life differs in one and the same continent according to the period of the age of the world (see A. K. V. or the Western Buddhist Handbook, p. 35). 9

11 This is, at least, the meaning of the Tibetan Nāb bar-lha-me, but math is a geographical name.
is round, i.e., it has three sides of 2500 leagues (perim. 7500); 1 length of human life, 500 years; height, 5000; breadth, 7000; and length and breadth, 7000, and 8000.

In the diagrams which the Buddhist cult (Great Vehicle and Thoroughfare) makes of the contents of the various heavens and hells, the continents are represented: (1) half-moon (avakshabhanda) and white, (2) triangular (tripura) and golden, (3) circular and red, and (4) square and dark blue.

According to the 'northern' sources, there are alongside each of these categories of continents (equivalents) of the same shape but half the size, in the following order, starting from N.E. : Dvādaśa, Madhavā, Kesāla, Mahāyakṣa, Saṅghavā, and Ālayavā. The 'western' and 'eastern' sources make the same division but are differently named, and the depths of the hells, in the following order, starting from E.: Vajra, Mahāvajra, Vajrakīla, Vajrapāda, Padmapāda, and Mahāpāda. There are also noted the 'southern' and 'northern' hells.

5. UHOOH LEAVES.—The day after Chhū (cf. Sūtra, vii, 76), a serene and auspicious day, is celebrated by the gathering of leaves of the Uhooh tree. Such a tree is called 'leafy'; it is a species of the Calophyllum family. The leaves are collected in the lime-shell, and the leaves are often called 'the powder of the heaven's lime-shell.'

6. THE HELL OF THE GYLPHS.—According to the 'northern' sources, the Hells of the Gylphs are divided into four parts, the name of each is followed by the name of the half-moon which surrounds it. These names are: (1) Akiu, 'fierce,' (2) Vajrasattva, 'fierce,' (3) Vajrapāda, 'forceful,' and (4) Mahāpāda, 'great.' The 'western' sources divide the Hells of the Gylphs into five parts: (1) Vajra, (2) Mahāvajra, (3) Vajrakīla, (4) Vajrapāda, and (5) Mahāpāda.

7. THE HELL OF THE JEWELS.—This is a very difficult and obscure passage. The 'northern' sources make the Hells of the Jewels into eight parts, each of which is named after a jewel. These are: (1) diamond, (2) emerald, (3) ruby, (4) topaz, (5) chrysolite, (6) sapphire, (7) beryl, and (8) diamond. The 'western' sources make the Hells of the Jewels into five parts: (1) diamond, (2) emerald, (3) ruby, (4) topaz, and (5) beryl.

8. THE HELL OF THE NIGHTMARES.—This is a passage in which one is forced to grovel in the darkness, all the material references of which are obscure. The 'northern' sources divide the Hells of the Nightmares into three parts, each of which is named after a nightmarish animal. These are: (1) elephant, (2) tiger, and (3) lion.

9. THE HELL OF THE WARRIORS.—This is a very obscure passage. The 'northern' sources divide the Hells of the Warriors into three parts, each of which is named after a warrior. These are: (1) sword, (2) mace, and (3) spear.

10. THE HELL OF THE TREES.—This is a very obscure passage. The 'northern' sources divide the Hells of the Trees into three parts, each of which is named after a tree. These are: (1) pine, (2) oak, and (3) walnut.

11. THE HELL OF THE COLD.—This is a very obscure passage. The 'northern' sources divide the Hells of the Cold into three parts, each of which is named after a place of cold. These are: (1) ice, (2) snow, and (3) frost.

12. THE HELL OF THE PARADISES.—This is a very obscure passage. The 'northern' sources divide the Hells of the Paradises into three parts, each of which is named after a paradise. These are: (1) paradise, (2) heaven, and (3) kingdom.

13. THE HELL OF THE JUICE.—This is a very obscure passage. The 'northern' sources divide the Hells of the Juice into three parts, each of which is named after a kind of juice. These are: (1) wine, (2) honey, and (3) milk.

14. THE HELL OF THE FIRE.—This is a very obscure passage. The 'northern' sources divide the Hells of the Fire into three parts, each of which is named after a kind of fire. These are: (1) fire, (2) flame, and (3) spark.

15. THE HELL OF THE WATER.—This is a very obscure passage. The 'northern' sources divide the Hells of the Water into three parts, each of which is named after a kind of water. These are: (1) water, (2) river, and (3) sea.

16. THE HELL OF THE LIGHT.—This is a very obscure passage. The 'northern' sources divide the Hells of the Light into three parts, each of which is named after a kind of light. These are: (1) light, (2) brilliance, and (3) brilliance.

17. THE HELL OF THE SOUNOSS.—This is a very obscure passage. The 'northern' sources divide the Hells of the Sound into three parts, each of which is named after a kind of sound. These are: (1) sound, (2) noise, and (3) scream.
COSMOGONY and COSMOLOGY (Buddhist)

1. Emergence of the world (kammadhātu) (c): On the fourth terrace of Meru is the retinue of the Four Great Kings (chaturmahārajāyukṣas, caḷanmahārajikṣes), 80,000 in all (5), and (higher up we believe Dīgha, i. 216), the Four Great Kings, rulers of the cardinal points. These are the first beings who regularly receive the name of 'gods,' and are classed as such. The length of their life is 500 years, a day being equal to 50 human years. Their dwellings is a kro[8] (½ yojana, 'league'). Perhaps the numerous servants and courtiers of the Great Kings, the gandharvas, 'celestial musicians,' etc., although they are not devas, ought to be regarded as belonging to this category.

2. Half-way up Meru are the chariots of the sun (51 leagues), of the moon (a league further down), and of the stars. These deities do not form a special class.

3. On the summit of Meru are the gods who have the Thirty-three at their head (trayastrīṇās; śivottāntas), to the number of 100,000 (7), and, above them (according to Dīgha), is their king, Suya[ama, the Indra of the gods. Their town, the 'infra-world,' is

4. There then are palaces which might be called aerial (vimāna): 8

5. 160,000 leagues above Jambudvīpa, i.e. 80,000 above the Thirty-three, and 80,000 leagues broad, the palace of the yanma gods, whose king Suya[ma, according to Dīgha, lives 80,000 human years, one day = 500 human years, height, ½ kro[8].

6. The abode of the tāṣṭas, 'satisfied' or 'blissful', is the residence of a future Buddha before his last existence; king, Suntusita; length of life, 4000 years; height, 1 kro[8].

7. The abode of the nirvāṇaratūtis, 'who have their pleasure in creation,' happy creators; king, Sumrīnata, 'well-built.' According to the A.K., the meaning of rūtis, 'all kinds of pleasures,' in contrast with the inferior gods, who enjoy objects which are presented to them on account of their deserts (cf. Śivottānta, p. 94).

8. Length of life, 8000 years; height, 1 kro[8].

9. (f) 1,283,000 leagues above the Thirty-three, 80,000 leagues broad, the abode of the 60,000 paramīvatāvatīra (paramīvatīra, and sometimes wrongly [7 pari], having Vassavatīr, 'the sovereign,' as king (Dīgha, i. 219). The name of these gods means 'rulers over the things created by

1. See Mahāyānaputtika, § 103, 26-35; Burnet, Introduction, p. 590 (quoting George, p. 489); Mahāyāna, L. 25; Dighāniyāsa, p. 518 (which mentions rōgans, 'dragons,' resting on the water (sahambhūta at the foot of Meru; Morris, J.PTS, 1915, pp. 21-26). These gods, dit marshes, are sometimes called devas, especially the kūḷapīṇaśas (Divparādāyana and Mahāyānaputtī); see also the hereditary titles in Lattisana, etc. Devaputra, 'god-son,' is sometimes an epithet of greater gods.


3. See A.K., iii. 66; Beal, Lattisana, p. 71; Spence Hardy, Manual, p. 56.

4. (f) a year or 6 months' (see above, p. 130; and art. Dīgha.

5. The Tibetan translation means 'non-measurable (a vi-maṇa) munias.' These palaces may be spiritual, i.e. they are composed of subtle material (such as, meru, pagodas, unattached palaces, invisible from place to place by an effort of will) (Childers, Dict. p. 574); see Vimaṇakappāthā, and Bollibggde-k, s.n. Vimaṇa.

6. The meaning of yonma is not clear. The Tibetan is lhahab- brtsas, 'free transference,' because they can move through the air, with the air. The same (p. 14, 13) in the Thirty-thre[3] have to do. The yonmas, as we have seen (§ 3), are created before the chariot-race. The kings are named in Lattisana, p. 44.
Brahmā were placed above the heavens of the *karma*-gods (gods owing to their merit) and the birth-gods (*Taitt. Up. ii. 8; Windisch, *Buddha’s Geburt*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 15). Being by his nature invisible to the inferior gods, he was known as the ‘solid’ body for himself when it pleases him to show himself to the Thirty-three (*Dīgha*, ii. 210). In this respect there is some resemblance between the *Kena*-sūkta and *Dīgha*, i. 228. This connection is still more unusual with *Mahāyāna* (*Dīgha*, vi. 250, vii. 290, 309). Brahmat (the god Brahmat then called Bodha, ‘Heron’) tries in vain to disappear from the eyes of Buddha; he was more successful with Varuṇa, the Vedic god.

The text which we have quoted, ‘divine . . . with all major and minor kinds complete’ (cf. *Mahāyāna*, ii. 17, i. 203), is clear enough: the *vipā:-*gods possess all the organs of the body. This opinion, however, came to be regarded as almost ‘heretical’ by *Mahāyāna:* the text is still more unusual with *Mahāyāna* (*Dīgha*, vi. 250, vii. 290, 309).

The Buddhas, making the most of the theory of the four *dvāpara-yānas* (‘trances’), have established very coherent systems on the hierarchy of the so-called ‘material’ celestial spheres. The complete table is as follows:

1. **FIRST-TRANCE HEAVENS.**—(1) Brahmaparāsyāya (or *Buddhakāya*), 1st retinue of Brahmat; length of life, 20 small ages of the world (20 *narakarākalpā-s*: great *kulpas*). Height: 12, length: 12, age: 12. This heaven is situated 2,580,000 leagues above Jambudvīpa, and is 1,290,000 leagues broad. These numbers have to be doubled for the following heavens.

2. **Brahmaparibhāsas, ‘Brahmā-chaupās’;** length of *life*, 24; height, 24; *kulpas*; number of *kulpas*, ‘Great Brahmat’; length of life, 2; *kulpas*; height, 12; age, 3.

The common opinion is that there are as many stages as there are classes of gods. But some say that *Brahmat* has no distinct form of his own; only in the heavens of the *parihāra*-gods is he represented by an enormous tower, and this is the abode of Brahmat. Every trance-heaven has a king, ministers, and people in it. The people are described in *Aśvaghoṣa’s* *Kathavagga* (iii. 120, where Brahmatakaśyapa (life, 1 *kulpas*) is the general name of the gods of the first trance). Contrast with this *Dīgha*, i. 236: the *parihāra*-gods are no *vīra*-gods and have no *kulpas*. It will be noted that this plural, ‘great Brahmat’, is strange, because there cannot be more than one. In former Buddhist theology there was not more than one Brahmat. But the early texts, when mentioning several ‘parihāra’-gods of Brahmat, probably believed in different classes of *kulpas* at different ages of the world, had opened the way for this new idea. On different classes of Brahmat, see below, § 9.

1. Mentioned in *Satapathābṛddhāna*, l. 145, 155. The *Lalitavistara* (p. 130) draws a distinction between *kāpya-kāpya* and *parikāpya* (p. 45) as also in *Parāśaragama-kusumānti*. 2. According to *Kalpadruma* (Feer (AMV. p. 325) says 256, i.e. double the height of life, or the height of the parihāra-gods. 3. We give the heights and lengths of life according to the *A.R.V.* ‘The first gods of the *rajya*-world are 12 in *jātaka* in number and height; another 12 are double the parihāraks; and one more double the parihāras. As regards the length of life, *rajya*-world the sources have nothing definite to say. Length of length of life, 4, 1, and 1 *kulpas* (Vijaghana, p. 424; Warren, p. 259). The text quoted in the commentary to *Kathavagga*, vi. 5, however, assigns a *kulpas* to each of the *rajya*-gods of the second trance, and one more double from the parihāras. As regards the length of life, *rajya*-world the sources have nothing definite to say. *Lalitavistara* (p. 130) draws a distinction between *kāpya-kāpya* and *parikāpya* (p. 45) as also in *Parāśaragama-kusumānti*.

(1) **SECOND-TRANCE HEAVENS.**—(1) Parāśatākshas (‘limited splendour’); length of life, 2 *kulpas*; height, 2 *kulpas*. These figures are doubled for the next five classes.

1. According to *Kalpadruma* Feer (AMV. p. 325) says 256, i.e. double the height of life, or the height of the parihāra-gods. 2. According to *Satapathābṛddhāna*, x. i. 3. 4; *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, i. 1-5 (Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, p. 158). 3. According to *Kalpadruma*, ii. 330, vi. 95; ii. 330, *Parāśaragama-kusumānti*. 4. The idea of the progressive refinement of the body of the gods is old (*Satapathābṛddhāna*, x. i. 3. 4; *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, i. 1-5 (Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, p. 158). 5. The worlds of Prapajñā (cf. *Mahāyāna*, i. 2) and *Buddhakāya*, it refers to a *kappeka-nāla*, i.e. a portion of a *kappeka-nāla*. The *Ačkārakāla-bhañja* (AMV. p. 320) is very similar. In the commentary, the same author maintains that *kappeka-nāla* must be taken to mean 1 *kulpas*, therefore 1, 1, and 1 *kulpas* (Vijaghana, p. 424; Warren, p. 259). The text quoted in the commentary to *Kathavagga*, vi. 5, however, assigns a *kulpas* to each of the *rajya*-gods of the second trance, and one more double from the parihāras. As regards the length of life, *rajya*-world the sources have nothing definite to say. *Lalitavistara* (p. 130) draws a distinction between *kāpya-kāpya* and *parikāpya* (p. 45) as also in *Parāśaragama-kusumānti*.

1. *Achakārakāla-bhañja* (AMV. p. 320).
measurable splendour." (3) Abhásvara (Abhás-
vara), 'Radiant.'

(ii.) Third-trance heavens.—(1) Purāṇa-
trākṣa, (2) Abhásvara, (3) Abhásakṣa, Im-
measurable beauty.

(3) Subhakṣāya (Subha-
kiṃya, wrongly Subhakṣiya), 'Complete beauty.'

2 length of life, 64 kalpas, i.e. until the return of the
destruction of the cosmos by wind (see Ages of
THE WORLD [Buddhist], vol. 1, p. 188); height, 64
leagues.

(iv.) Fourth-trance heavens.—(1) Aṣṭaka-
kratas ("Cloudless"); 125 kalpas and leages (not 128,
which would be double that of the Subhakṣāya); these
classes are not followed by anyone.

(3) Purāṇa-trākṣas (Vehāpphas), 'Abhānant fruit.'

(4) Aṣṭaka (Arhats), 'Effortless' (3), (5) Atapas
(atapastātāyāya), 'No heat,' 'Cool gods.'

(3) Subhakṣāyas (Subhakṣāya), 'Beautiful.'

(7) Subdāratā (Subdāratā), 'Abhāsakṣāya,' 'Sub-
bhakṣāya,' 'inhabitants of the Pure abodes.

(4) Arhats (Arhats), 'Effortless' (3), (5) Atapas
(atapastātāyāya), 'No heat,' 'Cool gods.'

(3) Sattvadīya (Sattvadīya), 'Spiritual.'

The total number of "places" or "stages" in the rāga-world,
therefore, is seventeen, according to the Abhidarmikas (iii.
2); the Katharnakas suppose one of them (see above, p. 189).
The Pali tradition of Abhidharma counts only sixteen; it has
never the Aṣṭaka-kṛatas nor the Purāṇa-trākṣas, but it adds
the Ākṣiṇāmāsās (Cetasa, 'unconscious beings, gods' as
follows: 1) Ākṣiṇāmāsās (i.); 2) Abhānantapphas; (3) Purāṇa-trākṣas,
fixed in number. (In later documents, e.g. in Abhi-
numadhi, the number of the heavens, etc., is 17; in Abhak-
ninga, p. 289, the Abhakṣās come after the Vehāpphas; and
the sanskritisation occurs in Northern texts, viz. Lātīni-
kottārā, p. 116; Abhakṣāya, i. 125; Beal, p. 36 (according to
the Vījñānabha, which add the Ākṣiṇāmāsās to the list of
the Kosa.)

Lastly, certain sources place the heaven of Mahābhaktāvara,
the Great Lord, Siva, above the Abhakṣās—a non-Buddhist
idea borrowed from

1 Abhāsvara appears in several early texts, not as the name
of the third category of the second trances, but (i.) the general
name of the gods of the first rank (Abhakṣāya, i. 114) above
Mahābhaktāra, (ii.) the general name of the gods of the second
trance in Abhakṣāya, i. 127 (life, 64 kalpas).

2 Aṣṭakās appear in several early texts, not as the name
of the third category of the second trances, but (i.) the general
name of the gods of the first rank (Abhakṣāya, i. 114) above
Mahābhaktāra, (ii.) the general name of the gods of the second
trance in Abhakṣāya, i. 127 (life, 64 kalpas).

3 See RajabhadRD, i. 26; Warren translates it "inquisitive."

4 See RajabhadRD for the general name of the fourth trance
in Abhakṣāya, i. 127 (life, 64 kalpas).

5 See RajabhadRD, i. 26; RajabhadRD, i. 26; Warren translates it "inquisitive."

6 According to the Vījñānabha, which add the Ākṣiṇāmāsās to the list of
the Kosa.)

Hinduism (Mahāyānaprāti, § 161; Tristiglot, 53; Rūmān, Fo-kouch-ki, p. 146).

We shall now go on to make some more or less hypothetical
remarks on the origin and development of this theological
world. It is probable that Brahmrā was at first regarded as
the greatest god. (See Dipa, i. 572; Mahāyānaprāti, § 161; etc.)
When Brahmā was again attached to the rāgas-world, and
in some cases the abodes of beings (vinnasāya-
na) he has (Aṣṭakāy, iv. 48), (1) Brahmarāgakṣāya, (2) Abhānantsaya,
(3) Subhakṣāya, and, according to the trances (Ākṣiṇāmāsās
of Abhakṣās), for which the catalogues of "abodes of beings"
(sattvadīya) have (Aṣṭakāy, iv. 48), (1) Abhānantapphas, Abhān-
antsaya, Subhakṣāya, Vehāpphas, and Abhānant.

To get a scheme very near the classical (scholastic) scheme, the
classes of Ākṣīnās Abha and Sutha had to be formed in imitation of the classes
of Brahmarāgakṣāya, Abhānantapphas; and this is what we find in
Mahāyānaprāti, i. 167; Purāṇa-trākṣa, Appamānibbha, Abhakṣāya,
Parittasāna, etc. The Vehāpphas of Mahāyānaprāti, i. 2, are kept,
and in place, the Abhakṣās and four Abhānantapphas.

Abhānantsaya. But Dipa, ii. 55, adds the fifth category,
Sudāsa (Sudarāna). It is possible, therefore, to follow to a
certain point the scholastic work which has amalgamated
several traditions and speculations; for instance, the Vehāpphas,
for instance, the Abhānantsaya, and the Abhakṣās and four Abhānantapphas.

8. Immaterial sphere (avāpābdha, ariyā).

There are two views on the ariyā. According
to the first, which keeps to the letter of the canoni-
cal text, the ariyā is not properly a part of the
world; it contains only 'spiritual' beings, free
from matter, disembodied intellects (vijnāna),
consisting in thought (sānānayāna). When the
transmigrating 'vijnāna' are re-born (if we may say
so) into this immaterial category, they become
an apparatus (nāman) for themselves, but do not
accumulate matter (rāpa), or organs of knowl-
dge (saddātana).

Instead of planes, the ariyā presents four
'species' (ākosa), according to the state of the
pure intelligences which constitute it. There are
the (1) realm of the infinity of space (abhānātay-
nta), (2) the realm of the infinity of intellect (vijnāna),
(3) the realm of nothingness (abhānātay-
nta), and (4) the realm of nothing-ness (or notion
or not-consciousness (nāmanasānayānta),
according to the kind of meditation in which the mind finds itself absorbed for
20,000, 40,000, 60,000, and 50,000 great
kalpas.

The first three realms are vijnānāsthitis (Dipa,
i. 69; Abhakṣāya, iv. 40), 'meditations on which
intellcit (vijnāna) dwells (abhi); an intellect which has in the
realm of vijnāna, the ground, space is infinite,' 'intellect is
infinite,' (4) there is nothing,' and finds itself, for
countless centuries, in the same meditation—vijnānāsthitis only, for intellect is
disincarnated and without any relation to matter (rāpa). Like the
Avidyājī the Abhakṣās are of four classes, the fourth
realm is not a vijnānāsthiti, but a nāmanasānayānta
"dwelling-place of beings," or an ayānta, 'place,'
for it does not include attachment to (or dwelling
upon) any kind of existence, being
established on an absolute indiffercence (upekṣap).

1 See also Abhakṣāya, p. 4, 12, 6, 12, 12, 315, 32, etc.

2 This is the orthodox theory (Vījñānabha, p. 53, 419; Kath-
adhivṚ, viii. 8, 224, 244, 244, 254; Chandraśākha, Purišhakṣhakṛapa). See Compendium of
Abhidharma (Pitolis, 1909), p. 64. It is also referred to in later
texts, from the Vījñānabha tradition as given by Buddhist tradition as previous to Sakyamuni (e.g.
Mahāyānaprāti, i. 164; Warren, p. 280).
Cosmology and Cosmology (Buddhist)

But we must not regard the double negative 'neither consciousness...nor the absolute negation of consciousness; thought (chitta) and its derivatives (chittavijnana) are the content of the actualized state.' In fact, if thought happened to cease in these immaterial existences, the result would be nirvana; and we know (Aguttara, i. 267) that 'non-converted persons (paryajnaka) may reach nirvana, although not worthy of the heaven of Brahma, without being free from the danger of falling back again into hell or among the preta.'

Several schools maintain the existence of 'matter' in the 'Birth-domain' (antarabhava), etc., in the form of 'unconditioned aggregate' (ungati-khandha), etc., which it also includes the five kinds of perceptible knowledge (tijjana-khandha) and their natural result (jijajjana-dvipada), etc., and a remnant of the same or the 'life-bride' (vajjika-dvipada), etc., explained as a diminutive (vaghartha). An argument in favour of this opinion (tijjana) needs a material support (arupa), and this support must be the special 'matter' called arupakaruna, 'heart-thing' (according to the A. K. F. opinion of the Tantrapaññas, i.e., the Buddhists of Tapanā, the Sinhaleses).

Another argument is that, according to the formula of 'original creation' name (intellectual data) and matter (rupa) proceed from nirvana.

Cosmic systems, chiloicosms.—It is the most ancient Buddhist cosmology did not imagine anything but the 'small universe,' the chakravāla properly speaking; but, in documents which appear to be very archaic (agreeing, in fact, with the Rigveda), there is a hypothesis of a 'thousand, millions of millions of millions, a thousand millions of billions; this is the middle chiloicosm, dviṣaṁśiṣṭa maṇjhika lokadhātu,' (two thousand-million universes); and (3) a system of a thousand million universes, 'great chiloicosm,' or the 'thousand-thousand-thousand-thousand universe,' tisatva mahāsahāsri lokadhātu.'

See Kathavattu, iii. 32; Beal, Ceylon, p. 101; C. A. F. Rhys Davids, Beal, Kathavattu, p. 329; i. 267, and in the 'Birth-domain' (antarabhava), etc., in the form of 'unconditioned aggregate' (ungati-khandha), etc., which it also includes the five kinds of perceptible knowledge (tijjana-khandha) and their natural result (jijajjana-dvipada), etc., and a remnant of the same or the 'life-bride' (vajjika-dvipada), etc., explained as a diminutive (vaghartha). An argument in favour of this opinion (tijjana) needs a material support (arupa), and this support must be the special 'matter' called arupakaruna, 'heart-thing' (according to the A. K. F. opinion of the Tantrapaññas, i.e., the Buddhists of Tapanā, the Sinhaleses).

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See Kathavattu, viii. 8; cf. Warren, Buddha, p. 178, l. 15, and see also Nisessa, xxxii. 13.

The Śrāvakas admit the infinity of the world upwards and sideways (see Pāñcavisākāvāsaka, xvii, 2, 6; in Hopkins, 'Gods and Saints of the Great Brahma,' p. 71, Boston, Connecticut, August 25, July 1900). The theory that the world is infinite, both in space and in upward and downward directions, is condemned in Dīgha, i. 23 (Rhys Davids, Dīghakosā, p. 96; see Averulentm [Buddhist], vol. i, p. 234, note). A tradition which was not then being attrited (Athāthakavāsaka, p. 234, quoted in Dīghakosā, p. 234, 1st part, of, and Introduction, 509; the scope of the ancient in the hindu philosophy is well known (Beal, Kathavattu, p. 178, l. 15, and see also Nisessa, xxxii. 13).

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Mahāyāna-buddhist cosmology considers that the number of chiloicosms, or 'fields of Buddha,' is infinite in every direction (e.g. Lotus, xi. 5; SBE, xxii, 232), and there are not limited by either the 'great universes' (e.g. Karuṇāyapundarakāra) and in the Avatamsakas we get a systematic arrangement of these chiloicosms. On whirlwinds in the Yama Ocean, which carries an infinite number of world-garlands (lokabhis); from it there issue lotuses infinite in number—very far removed, indeed, from each other. Each one of these (great chiloicosms), above which (separated by whirlwinds) there are three, there is a whirling and so on in both directions, where there are 20 great chiloicosms. We are not told whether this development of a 'world-garland' is in the form of a triangle or of a fan, or whether it is to be understood as 'wicker' (catuspadaka)
COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Chinese)—Chinese theories of cosmogony and cosmology may be said to be of comparatively modern date. They profess, however, to be based on a system which claims an antecedent immemorial antiquity, i.e. the 8 trigrams, which are usually attributed to Fu-hsi (2582 B.C.), though somewhat contradictory accounts are given as to their ultimate origin. These figures were intended to represent the stages of the world (P'ermint-sbirivu), which were employed by diviners in close association with the lines which were produced on the shell of the tortoise, as described in art. COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD (Chinese) vol. iii. p. 721.

The starks were divided into longer and shorter lengths, and the order in which they were drawn and disposed, in varying combinations of long and short or ‘strong’ and ‘weaker’ lines, was interpreted 1 according to the arbitrary methods which prevailed from time to time, but of which the details have not been handed down. It may, however, safely be assumed that the function of the trigrams was limited to questions of tribal or domestic interest, and that nothing of a theological or cosmological character was attached to them.

The trigrams were arranged in 8 groups thus:

A new arrangement was invented by Si-peh (= King Wen), appended to each of the hexagrams an explanatory outline, giving the general sense supposed to be conveyed by the figure, and his son Tan, better known as Chow-kow (Duke of Chow), added an analysis, showing how each line of the hexagram was to be interpreted so as to contribute to the general conclusion which his father had established. The deductions of King Wen and the Duke of Chow form the text of the Yi-king. Throughout the 64 chapters of the original work there is nothing whatever of a cosmological character; the compilers were entirely occupied with political and personal matters, endeavouring to draw from the oracles furnished by the starks and their representative symbols the probable results of certain courses of conduct which were in contemplation. The harmless divining, as it seemed to his father, with which the prisoner, Si-peh, employed his leisure, was in reality a means by which he was able to develop his revolutionary schemes without let or hindrance; none but himself knew the significance attaching to the harmless starks with which he amused himself; and when, in course of time, his liberty was restored, he was enabled to consummate his schemes with complete success.

A new element is, however, introduced in the 10 A PENDIX TO THE Yi-king, written by the imitator of Confucius, though it seems probable that only the first and second are properly attributed to him. To Confucius it seemed inevitable that the thought which had been expended upon the hexagrams should pass so easily on to his son, could not fail to be of permanent value, and that, though the political conditions which had first inspired their studies no longer existed, the lessons which they contributed might be applied with equal value to the troublous circumstances of his own times. Hence Confucius, in later life, devoted a great deal of attention to the study of the Yi-king, frankly acknowledging the difficulty he experienced in the interpretation of its cryptic phraseology and in adapting its lessons to his own enlarged conception of the scope of the work. Later commentators, building upon the theory that the three lines of the early trigrams represent the three powers—Heaven, Earth, and Man—attempt to transfer the lessons of the figures from the smaller stage of human affairs to the larger theatre of universal Nature. In the Appendixes, therefore, we discover, in an ever-ascenting scale, the application of the hexagrams to the constitution and course of Nature, and various later commentaries, in some of the material out of which Chu-hsi (Chuen, A.D. 1130-1290) developed his scheme of cosmogony and cosmology, which now represents modern Chinese philosophic thought on the subject.

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system of the Yi-king. Each trigram bears a distinctive name, as well as a local habitation or direction, together with a natural allusion, quality, etc. Thus the 6th group, as arranged by Si-p'eh, or Pi-tao, the head of that group according to the earlier system, consisting of 3 unbroken or 'strong' lines, is designated K'un, which means 'untiring,' 'strength,' etc., and represents Heaven, a sovereign, a father, etc. Its locality or direction is north-west, its principal virtue is its fertility, etc.

The hexagrams are formed by the combination of 2 trigrams, and also have distinctive names. Each line bears a certain relation to the other lines; thus the first or bottom line in the lower trigram is related to the first line of the upper trigram, i.e. to the 4th line of the hexagram. The position of the various lines is a most important consideration—sometimes a 'strong' line is found in an 'empty' place, and vice versa.

An illustration of how this is the case is the Yi-king (SSE, xi. 71) may serve to indicate the method of interpretation. The 7th hexagram, known as K'un, is written thus: —consisting of the 2 trigrams K'un and K'ung K'un representing water, and K'ung K'un representing earth, suggesting, by the combination, waters collected on the earth, or, in the language of the diviner, multitudes of people musterling for purposes of defence or attack. The 'strong' or unbroken line occupies the most important place in the lower trigram, or the middle, second only to the middle place in the outer, or upper, trigram, which is the paramount position in the whole figure. The 'strong' line, therefore, occupying a secondary position, must stand for that of the weaker force: the line that occupies the highest position, i.e. the 5th line from the bottom—the middle line of the upper trigram—he would represent the sovereign. These, of course, are perfectly arbitrary preconceptions.

The Duke of Chow thus interprets the figure: 'The first line (receding from below), divided, shows the host going forth according to the rules (for such a movement). If these (rules) be not the good, there will be evil.' Legge adds: 'The line is divided in a strong place, a perfect stroke, this justifies the caution which follows.'

The second line, divided, shows the leader in the midst of the hosts. There will be good fortune and no error. The King has thrice conveyed to him his charge.'

The third line, divided, shows how the hosts may possibly have many commanders; (in such a case) there will be evil.' Legge explains this: 'If a divided triple place is on the line, it should be occupied by a strong line, instead of which we have a weak line in it. But as it is the top of the lower trigram, and its subject should be in office or active; there is a suggestion that perhaps the subject has vaulted over the second line, and wishes to share in the command. This would be true if the King were commander-in-chief. The lesson of the previous line is made of none effect. We have a divided authority in the expedition. The result can only be evil.'

The fourth line, divided, shows the hosts in retreat; there is no error.' Legge comments thus: 'The line is also weak, and victory cannot be expected; but in the fourth place a weak line is in its correct position, and its subject will do what is right in his circumstances. He will retreat, and a host is for him the part of wisdom.'

The fifth line, divided, shows birds in the fields, which it is advantageous (to capture and destroy). There will be no error. If the oldest son lead the host, and younger men be (also) in command, both will return safely; he may be, there will be evil.' Legge interprets the Duke's finding thus: We have a divided scene, and there will be trouble. The oldest son has vaulted over the second line, and wishes to share in the command. This would be true if the King were commander-in-chief. The lesson of the previous line is made of none effect. We have a divided authority in the expedition. The result can only be evil.

The topmost line, divided, shows birds in the fields, which it is advantageous (to capture and destroy). There will be no error. If the oldest son lead the host, and younger men be (also) in command, both will return safely; he may be, there will be evil.'

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If the eldest son lead the host, and younger men be (also) in command, both will return safely; he may be, there will be evil.'

The topmost line, divided, shows the great ruler delivering his charges (to the men who have distinguished themselves), appointing some members of the ruler to the post of commander, etc.; the eldest son is head of the clan. But small men should not be employed in such places, as they would give rise to complaints: 'The advantage of the hexagram has been gone through. The expedition has been conducted to a successful end. The enemy has been subdued.

His territories are at the disposal of the conqueror. The commander-in-chief has done his part well. His sovereign, the 'great ruler,' is pleased upon the success, and rewards the officers who have been conspicuous by their bravery and skill, conferring on them titles and lands. But he is warned to have regard to the moral character of the officers. Small men, of ordinary or less than ordinary character, may be rewarded with riches and certain honours, but there will be no reward for his territory should not be given into the hands of any who are not equal to the responsibility of such a trust.'

To turn now to the main deduction of King Wen, of which the above is the detailed explication. We find the lessons of the hexagram thus expressed: 'See indicates how (in the age which it supposes), with firmness and correctness and (a leader of) age and experience, there will be no error.'

It will be observed, from this example, how the character of the lines (whether divided or un-divided), their place in the hexagram (whether odd or even, e.g. 1, 3, 5; or 2, 4, 6), and their interaction with other lines (corresponding to 5, etc.) are all of great importance in the explication of the lessons they are supposed to convey. The mutual relation of the 2 trigrams in each hexagram is also a matter of importance.

This specimen will serve to show how little there is of any cosmological element in the original Book of Changes, and how far the modern commentators have wandered from the intention of the compiler and his earliest expositors; in fact, it was only by an extraordinary form of the inner or lower trigram, by various modes of divination, and the introduction of entirely new ideas in the Appendixes, that Chucius succeeded in building up the system which is attributed to him, and which has only the slightest affinity with the diagrams of King Wen. A parallel might be established between the diagrams and our modern playing cards, in which the calendar may be said to be represented, though with no cosmological intention, the 4 suits representing the 4 seasons; the 13 cards in each suit = the 13 sidereal months; the 52 cards = the 52 weeks of the year; the 364 pips (including the value of the 'coat' cards) = the days of the year, etc.; and, as the cards are now employed by pretended 'fortunetellers' as a key to the secrets of human existence, so the hexagrams of King Wen came to be applied, in course of time, to issues much larger than were ever contemplated by their inventor.

The chief exponent of the modern system was Chucius, whose name is prominent amongst the philosophers of the Sung school of the 11th and 12th centuries in China. Confucius and Mengius were practical philosophers, but Chucius was not content to accept the traditional Heaven and Earth, which had been sufficient for the great teachers who preceded him; he endeavoured to establish a systematic theory of the origin of all things, finding in the Yi-king, as he supposed, a groundwork for his researches.

He was further aided in his speculations by Taoistic and Buddhist suggestions, as well as by other philosophic concepts which may well have reached China by that time, and which to an ardent and omnivorous student would prove attractive. It is highly probable that he was familiar with Persian and early Christian ideas propagated by the Nestorian teachers in the centuries preceding him.

It is very important to bear in mind that the earliest conception of cosmology (the universe was a theological one, while the later system of Chucius is philosophical); and it is owing to this fact that Chucius found himself involved in frequent difficulties in the endeavour to harmonize the two. The Taoistic or philosophical concept takes its starting-point from Shang-ti, or Heaven; the Taoistic or philosophical concept goes no further back than the 'Great Extreme'; but Chucius, though professedly no theologian, appears unable to elimin-
COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Chinese)

ate from his system some traces of the ancient conviction that behind all phenomena there is a power, variously described as Heaven, the 'Controller,' the 'Great Framar' (or 'Potter'), etc., while he shrank from any suggestion of anthropomorphism, and disclaimed the view that that power actively interfered in the affairs of men.

As a matter of fact, the theories of Chucius are not intended to account for ultimate beginnings; his conception of the present world is that it is but one of a long series of similar existences which have-flourished in turn, and have been corrupted, exhausted, and destroyed, and have given place to a new world. He makes no attempt to explain how the primal element came into being, but finds its starting-point in the theory of the existence of a Natural Law which he denominates Li, or 'Robot.' He calls Ki (pronounced Chee). He does not inquire wherein this Law resides, or where this vital 'breath' is derived from. The theologian may contend for the recognition of a Divine creator or framor, but Chucius, though he does not take the argument, declines to discuss the subject.

In inquiring, therefore, into the evolution of this present world, he finds its material basis in Ki (vapour, breath, air, etc.), and its active principle in Li, and both are divided in their nature, as existing before the clock of time began to strike, yet admitting of a priority of order in the case of Li. The alternate action and inaction of Li, in the sphere of K', produced the positive and negative forms, Yang and Yin, variously represented as Light and Darkness, Heaven and Earth, Male and Female, etc., whose vices are the Tao, or Course of Nature, as reflected in the 4 seasons, the alternations of day and night, etc. The Yang and Yin contain the 'Five elements' in embryo, viz. metal, wood, water, fire, and earth, of which water and fire are regarded as the simplest forms. Each element possesses a Yang and a Yin quality, and all are pervaded by the Tao. As a result of the interaction of these two forms—ie. the Yang and the Yin, which are in constant motion—a certain amount of 'sediment' is precipitated to the centre of the whirligig mass and becomes Earth, whilst the Yang and Yin have a central axis: the Earth is divided by the spontaneous coagulation of the finer essences of the five elements in the Yang-Yin, forming a hermaphroditic being, which, in course of time separated and gave birth to the male and female species which now constitute the human race.

It will be seen at a glance how far removed these theories are from the system of divination attributed to King Wen, and it seems inevitable that they represent an interpretation of that system entirely alien to the purpose which inspired its first exponents. From Chucius' own words, we are led to conclude that the study of the Yi had made little progress during the centuries which had elapsed from the days of Confucius until his own time. It seems probable that the later Appendices, popularly ascribed to the great 'Master' himself, belong to a period long posterior, and they seem to reflect opinions which began to be current only in Chucius' days. Philosophers such as Shao-yang (A.D. 1017-1073), to whom is attributed the circular diagram of the Great Extreme, apparently made use of the Yi as a vehicle of Taoistic ideas, and applied to the 'strong' and 'weak' lines of King Wen the system of Yang and Yin, which nowhere appears in the text of the Yi, but which is suggested by the words of Lao-Tze in the Tao-Te-King):

'Two produced unity; unity produced duality; duality produced trinity; and trinity produced the innumerable objects; the innumerable objects, carrying the feminine or shadow principle on the one side, and the masculine or sunlight principle on the other, created a just balance by their respective clashes of primitive impulse or ether' (Parke's tr.).

It may be assumed, therefore, that the Chinese cosmogony is of comparatively recent origin, and that the ancient philosophical system is an attempt to accept the fact of the universe without abstruse theorizing as to its origin and method. The Sung philosophers adopted the trinomial figures of the Yi, but devised a new diagram of what they called the 'Great Extreme,' which circle intended to represent the ultimate principle Li, which, in their system, indicates the limit of philosophical discussion. This circle was subdivided thus:

To illustrate the interaction and constant gyrations of the Yang and Yin, i.e. the primal essence, or K' in its 2 forms, the motive power in which is Li. Another circle represents the K' as divided into its constituent elements, i.e., the five active principles—water, fire, wood, metal, and earth. Sometimes the four seasons are represented.

From these we may learn that, according to Chucius, the world came into existence as a result of the operation of Li, or 'Natural Law,' setting in motion the K', or 'vital essence,' which, by the interaction of its two forms, Yang and Yin, containing the 5 elements, threw off, in its perpetual revolutions, the excreta which coagulated respectively into Heaven, on the outward edge, and Earth, in the centre; and that the vices or essences of Yang and Yin account for the regular succession of day and night, the alternate waxing and waning of the same being the cause of the four seasons; and that, when the great cycle, pre-determined as occupying a kalpa, or 129,600 years, is accomplished through the exhaustion of the Yang element in man, as exhibited by moral declension and universal corruption, the whole system is resolved into its constituent elements, and a new heaven and earth are called into being.

Man's place in Nature.—As to the place which man occupies in this system, since man is compounded of the five elements constituting the K', or vital essence, in which the Li operates, he is described as a microcosm—a world in miniature—from which it follows that every man has within him a 'spark of the Divine.' In some men the Yang predominates; in others the Yin. Of the former are the Sages, the great men of past and present times; the latter are represented by the 'mean' men, the dull, the criminal, etc. As in the case of Nature, so man has his seasons of spring, summer, etc., and his days and nights, and, like the world, comes to an end by the exhaustion of the K', or vital breath. His great business, therefore, is to frame and fashion his life so as to live in conformity with the Tao, or observed order of the universe. No contrariety must be his motto. By so doing he may attain in time the proud distinction of being an associate of Heaven and...
Earth. As to his future, neither Lu-tze, Confucius, nor Chucius has anything to say; probably, from the philosophical point of view, death to them, though they would not discuss it, meant a return to the origin, rendering the idea of being at the end of its cycle of existence; or, to express it in the polite but equivocal phrase of ancient and modern days, a 'return to Heaven.'

The philosophic idea was, however, too lofty and remote to receive general comprehension, and, during the Sung dynasty, the tradition of a 'first man' was evolved, ascribing the ancestry of the human race to a certain Pan-ku, of whom it is stated in the Lu-shè (Mayers' tr.):—

'... it is said that the Tu had given birth to the two primary forms, and these had produced the four secondary figures, the latter undergoing transformations and evolutions, whereas the natural objects depending from their respective influences came abundantly into being. The first who came forth to rule the world was named P'an-ku, and he was also called the 'Undeveloped and Unequilibrated' (i.e. the Embray).'

This idea is now almost universally accepted by the mass of the uncultured in China, and by not a few of the scholar class, being, as it were, a sort of commonplace of the<D>ideal</D> thinkers of the Chucian philosophers as to the origin of man.

The place occupied by spiritual beings.—Though Confucius and Chucius (16 centuries later) were unwilling to enter into the question of spiritual existence, they did not declare the difficulties involved in such a theory, the fact that the earliest records refer so frequently to the existence of spirits made it necessary that a place should be found for them in the Chinese philosophy, and, accordingly, the ideas of Heaven and Earth being adopted as representing, so to speak, in personal form, the activities at work in the changing phenomena of Nature; but the ancient doctrine that the spirits are the ministers of God, carrying out his behests, and that the officers of State fulfilling the decrees of the sovereign, survives, in a somewhat debased form, in the popular opinion which invests the earth and air with a numberless host of good and evil spirits or demons.

The place of God.—In the earliest days of which we possess any record, Shang-ti, or God, appears to have occupied a chief place in the mind of China's rulers, but at the beginning of the Chow dynasty (c. 1100 B.C.), 'Heaven' and 'Earth' coming into prominence, representing the operations of God in Nature and Providence, and, as a consequence, Shang-ti is removed to a greater distance than that intimate relation in which he seemed to have stood, for his votaries in the earlier days. Later developments contributed towards the increasing of this distance, and the attitude of Confucius towards metaphorical and transcendental questions tended to whiten the chasm. Chucius appears to have relegated God to a position of infinite remoteness and unknowableness, though he did not deny the possibility of there being an ultimate ruling power, of whose existence individual students must satisfy themselves; and he referred to the 'Great Frame,' the 'Root of the Great Extreme,' the 'Heavenly decree which set in motion the primal elements,' etc. His conviction seems to be that God, or the 'Infinite,' invested the K's, or vital essence, with His own Li, or Law, and then allowed the creation to develop itself spontaneously, He Himself taking no further active share in the affairs of Nature or of human life. Such a contention, indeed, was directly contrary to the earlier beliefs, and led Chucius to adopt the theory of origin, to which he received opinions. He, however, steadily refused to discuss the matter, and insisted that every man should be 'fully persuaded in his own mind' and make his own investigations. Here again the agnosticism of Chucius was unable to overcome the immemorial persuasion of his fellow-countrymen, that the 'Supreme Ruler' interferes actively in the affairs of the nation, and sends forth His agents, including spirits and demons, to fulfill His behests. Hence it happens that Shang-ti is still worshiped officially by the Emperors of China, and Heaven is invoked by the mass of the people, whilst the spirits are solicited to exert their influence on behalf of their petitioners.

The theological conception has thus survived the philosophical, and, by a strange inconsistency, the materialism of Confucius and Chucius, as represented by the modern Chinese literate, is exhibited in a country which, above all others, is remarkable for its active provision of and frenzied addiction to the propitiation of spirits and demons.


W. GILBERT WALSH.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Christian).—Christian Cosmogony was not seriously perplexed by questions of cosmogony. They had come into a heritage, whereby they had grown up into the current Palestinian-Jewish ideas of the origin and constitution of the world. Moreover, they had pronounced the whole realm of Nature from the purely religious standpoint. 'In the beginning God' (Gen 1) was the primary article of their faith. It was Jahweh, the God of Israel, who had measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and strewed out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance. . . . It is He that sitteth upon the circle of the earth. . . . that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in. . . . I am Jahweh, and there is none else. . . . I form the light, and create darkness: I make peace, and create evil. . . . Jahweh do all these things' (Is 40:12-18, 21f; Ps 89:10f; 104:3). The Book of Job is likewise pervaded by this belief, and the same is true of Ps 89:29-33. Thus, 'Heaven' and 'Earth' (Mt 1:1) were derived from the sources from which the early Christians drew their conception of the material cosmos and God's relation to it. This simple religious view found free expression in their prayers: 'O Lord, thou dost make the heavens and all that in them is' (Ac 4:24). And Jesus had expressed His faith in the same direct and simple way. To Him God was 'Lord of heaven and earth' (Mt 22:45), who 'maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust' (Mt 5:45). His heavenly Father also feeds the birds of the heavens, and clothes the grass of the fields (Mt 6:28f). The disciples, like their Master, were absorbed in the thought of the loving care of God for His creatures, and the_palette_3675 visualization of all His creatures. 'In him,' says St. Paul, 'we live, and move, and have our being' (Ac 17:28).

But the profound and enduring impression which Jesus made upon His followers soon constrained them to associate Him with the Father in the work of creation. It was He who had brought redemption from sin, and given them a glad new sense of sonship with God. But Lordship in the spiritual world must and did ultimately involve personal Lordship in the universe, and the whole realm of the Divine activity. This idea was early expressed by St. Paul, who says: 'To us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto him; and one Lord, Jesus
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Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him (1 Co 8:6; 1 Cor 12:13) for in him (the Son) were all things made; and things invisible, . . . and he is before all things, and in him all things consist (Col 1:16; cf. Heb 1:3). By faith we understand, says the author of the Ep. to the Hebrews, that the worlds have been framed by the word (Heb) of God (He 11:3). In the beginning was the Logos, says St. John, and the Logos was with God, and the Logos was God . . . all things were made by him (Jn 1:3; cf. Rev 4:11). The specific use of the word Logos by the Fourth Evangelist completed and confirmed a development which had been in progress for several decades, by which Jesus as the Son was definitely classed with God the Father, and associated with Him in the creation and government of both the visible and the invisible world. It also tended to reconcile and adjust the Christian faith to the late Jewish development of the concept 'wisdom' (Pr 8, Sir 24, Wis 8, and the like) and the current Hellenistic idea of the Logos (Book of Wisdom, Philo Judaicus, and the like). Christian cosmology henceforth was definitely related to the Person of Christ.

But the tragic fate which overtook Jesus, and his own utterances concerning the machinations of the 'prince of this world,' together with his telescopic sense of His 'dualistic' judgment, and the 'last things,' made a deep and solemn impression upon His disciples. Everything seemed to constrain them to believe in the presence of an opposing Satanic power in the universe (Ac 8, 27, 53; Jud 1:4). How was Satan to be accounted for? The early Christians assumed him in the form of the lawless one . . . whose coming is according to the working of Satan (2 Th 2:8); he declares that the 'whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now' (Ro 8:22), and that 'our whole being is now in a state of lessening, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places' (Eph 6:12). The Book of Revelation attempts to describe this great world-drama, this duel between good and evil, and the final triumph of the 'Lamb that hath been slain.' In this more or less incoherent and dualistic view of things, we have the outcropping of Babylonian and Persian ideas, which for the Jews had found a place in Jewish thought (see Test. Trev. Patriarch, Bk. of Jubilees, Bk. of Enoch, Assumpt. of Moses; cf. Mt 4:8-10; 15:23; 24:15. Bk. of St. Paul's teaching against the Jews infected by the half-assumption of the physical basis of sin, and he exhibits a distinct tendency toward asceticism (Gal 5:22; 1 Co 3:17; 7:25, Ro 7:14-16). The whole trend of thought within the Christian Church gradually became reactionary and ascetic. Some began to withdraw from material and social relations and to flee from the world. Asceticism entered as a constituent element into Christian ethics, and soon coloured the whole view of things, giving rise to certain cosmologies. If evil is inherent in matter, or, rather, if matter is inherently evil, the question of the creation and government of the world by an all-wise and beneficent God becomes seriously complicated. The Christians were, as a rule, inclined to emphasize the Genesis story of the 'Creation' and the 'Fall,' and thereby to shield God from complicity in the introduction of evil. But there were other and diverse accounts of the origin of the cosmos and the entrance of evil into it.

The Gnostics were not only the 'first Christian theologians,' but the first cosmologists and cosmologists. Indeed, their primary concern was to discover and develop a theory of the cosmos which should shield the Supreme Being from all complicity in, or responsibility for, its creation, which seemed to them to involve also the production of evil. They, accordingly assumed that the material cosmos arose through the more or less blind and perverse activity of the Demiurge, who was far removed from the Supreme God and the heavenly Piera. Although man was created by the Demiurge, he yet received, through 'Sophia,' form from the Divine nature, and is struggling to get free from his material bondage. Ascetic discipline is, accordingly, one of the means by which the Gnostic is to overcome 'sin in the flesh,' and secure salvation. Another means is the rational revelation which the Logos made to the world when he became manifest in the Christ. The 'prince of this world' must be overthrown by the Supreme God, who has sent his Son to rescue men from their bondage to evil. In these views we have but the exaggeration or perversion of ideas that were then present in current Christian thought, and which had come as a heritage from Judaism and environing paganism. In other words, Gnosticism betrays the seeds of the Christian faith, and its crude and fantastic cosmologies were, after all, only abortive efforts to solve the riddle of the universe in a supposedly Christian fashion. The cosmic views of the Gnostics persisted in material form in Neo-Platonism (q.v.) and in Manicheism (q.v.).

The Apologists, contemporaries of the Gnostics, fell back, as a rule, upon the simple 'Creation' and 'Fall' stories of Genesis, and thereby escaped the worst excesses. They also made ample use of the Platonic-Stoic-Philonian Logos idea, and emphasized the mediatorship of the Logos in the work of creation. They were likewise surcharged with a belief in demons and opposing Satanic powers, but these were a later development of the material cosmos and the overthrow of all hostile forces. Justin Martyr and Athenagoras speak of God as having fashioned the world out of formless material (639), but Theophilus declares that God created all things ex nihilo (Eccles. 33). Each based his assumption upon Gn 1:1-26 (Justin, Apol. i. 10, 29, 59, 67; Athenag. Apol. for Christ. i. 5; Theophilus, Autol. i. 6, 7, 10, ii. 4, 6, 10; cf. Tatian, Adtr. to Greeks, 5 and 12; Aristides, Apol. 1 and 4). The Apologists, as a rule, thought of evil as inherent in matter, and accordingly were inclined towards asceticism; but they preserved, to a degree, the simpler religious view of Apostolic times, which they derived mainly from the OT.

Irenaeus and Hippolytus rejected the Gnostic theory of the creation of the world by the Demiurge, and emphasize the function of the Logos-Son in the whole realm of the Divine activity. The NT writings are now quoted as authoritative Scripture, but the OT is also heavily drawn upon to explain God's relation to the cosmos. But, as was to be expected, these men were 'children of their own times,' although seeking to pass on a heritage. Some of the errors of the Apologists, especially the belief in evil as somehow inherent in material things. With some slight aberrations, the Church Fathers of the 3rd cent. were true to the unformulated cosmology of the OT and NT, coloured by the speculations of the Apologists. 

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There was little thought upon these subjects. The leaders of the Church were content to follow the teachings of the Fathers, and Augustine's interpretation of the formation of the world was accepted without question. But there was no such accepted belief, or to try to explain it in a philosophical way, was John Scotus Eriugena. In his history of the writings of Dionysius he became acquainted with Neo-Platonic ideas, and he tried to apply these to the Biblical account of Creation. He departed from the views of the Fathers by bringing in the theory that all things emanate from God. His views are expressed in his book entitled Concerning the Division of Nature, including under the term 'Nature' the whole of cosmology, admitting that this sense is divided into four species: that which creates and is not created; that which is created and creates; that which is created and does not create; that which neither creates nor is created.

The first of these—that which creates and is not created—is God as the essence, source, and substance of all things, the one Being who truly exists. Eriugena's view is pantheistic, in that he teaches that God created the world out of His own essence. He believes that God is the universe, which He is and which is all. It was easy for Him to reconcile his apparent pantheism with the teaching of the Church, by saying that the Divine essence was the nothing out of which the world was created.

Through the Middle Ages the Schoolmen gave little attention to the subject of Creation. They were content to accept the views which had been handed down to them, and those who failed to agree with the views of the Church authorities were excommunicated. It was agreed that the universe came into being and was sustained and governed by the Divine will. Whether the six days of Creation were days of twenty-four hours each was open to some discussion; but two points must be agreed to by the orthodox, viz. that the universe was created out of nothing, and that it was not from eternity, but had a beginning in time. The most profound thinker on this subject in the medieval period was Anselm of Canterbury, who modified the traditional views by the introduction of Platonic ideas. He explains (Monolog. ix.) the meaning of the expression EX nihilo by saying that there is no way by which anything can be made by anyone unless is is in the mind of the one making it. Before creation things existed eternally, from God and in God, as ideas. They did not exist as individuals, but in the sense that God foresaw and predestined that they would be made. They were in the Divine mind as an example, similitude, or rule of what was to be made. Before the making of the universe it was in the thought of the Supreme Being, but no material existed of which it was to be made. Yet there is nothing in its relation to the mind of the One making it. By reasoning in this way Anselm is able to reconcile his philosophical views with the accepted interpretation of the account given in Genesis. There is one passage (Carm. Deus, Hymn. 1. 58) in which he implies that perhaps the six days of Creation were different from the days with which we are acquainted. Thomas Aquinas discusses the subject at considerable length, but adds little to the current views. He accepts the Biblical cosmology, and there is room for a difference of opinion about the six days. Like Albertus Magnus, he teaches that Creation was a miracle which cannot be comprehended by the natural reason. He believed that it was unable to think in its relation to the matter was not eternal, depressing the efforts of other men to make the temporal character of the material universe a matter that could be proven.
COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Egyptian)

He taught that it was an article of faith to believe that the world was created in time.

Contemporary with the schoolmen were the various heretical sects, differing in one respect from the orthodox in their views of the creation and government of the world. The most divergent from the commonly accepted views were the dualistic sects, which at the same time claimed to be Christian. They went by various names, such as Cathari, Albigenses, and so on. They seem to have gained their heretical views from contact with the religions of the East, where dualism was very common at the time. In general they held that there were two distinct creators, which had to do with the making of the universe visible and invisible. These two were the good and the evil, and both were from eternity, though some held that the evil spirit was originally good and became evil from his first estate. The evil spirit was the author of the OT, and the maker of all visible nature. He had created man as a physical being, and was the cause of all natural phenomena and all disorders in nature. The good spirit was the author of the NT. He was also the creator of the human soul, which had been captured and imprisoned by the evil spirit.

In the later Middle Ages there arose various schools of thought, some of these were heretical and frankly pantheistic. Others, like Eckhart, considered themselves orthodox Christians, but were unable to escape the suspicion of pantheism. Eckhart was in agreement with Aquinas in his belief that there existed from eternity a world of ideal, distinct entities from the world of creatures. He explained what seemed to his contemporaries to be pantheism, by saying that creatures are made in time and out of nothing, and that they exist from eternity in God in the same sense that a work of art exists in the mind of the artist before it takes material form. The existence of the creation from all time was in the Divine reason. God exists in created visible objects. The external world is but the reflection of the innermost essence of God.

The modern Roman Catholic Church holds to the teaching of Aquinas, but allows a difference of opinion on unimportant points. What a Roman Catholic must believe to-day in regard to cosmology and cosmogony is defined by the Vatican Councils. The Council declared against the statement that matter alone exists, and in opposition to the view that the substance and essence of God and of all things created are the same as in opposition to the view that finite things, both corporeal and spiritual, or at least spiritual, have emanated from the Divine substance, or that the Divine essence by the manifestation and evolution of itself became all things, or that God is universal or indefinite Being, which, by determining itself, constitutes the universality of things. The positive statement by the Council was that God from the very beginning of time produced out of nothing the world and all things both spiritual and corporeal.

The Protestant position, as given in the earlier creeds, is merely a paraphrase of the cosmology found in Genesis. The Westminster Confession states: "It pleased God in the beginning to make or create out of nothing the world and all things therein in the space of six days." (xv. 1.) The Belgic Confession is more explicit: "We believe that the Father by the Word created of nothing the heavens, the earth, and all creatures," and all things therein in the space of six days." (Art. xii.)

There is, of course, no authoritative statement for Protestantism relating to Christian cosmology and cosmogony. With the freedom of investigation which is now so general, there are many divergent views. Some still hold to the statements of the older creeds, and believe that the conclusions of science have nothing to do with religion. The extreme holders of this position are the Unitarians, by whom the world was made in six days of twenty-four hours each, but this view has a decreasing number of adherents. Others believe that the account of creation given in Genesis is strictly scientific, and that the statements there found correspond to or spirits, or to both. Others consider that the account in Genesis agrees with the facts only in a general way. Others regard the account as a myth or legend corresponding to the creation stories in Assyrian and Babylonian literature. The only points upon which modern Protestants agree are that God is the source of the universe; that it came into being as a result of the free exercise of His will; and that it is continually under His care and control.

See also art. Creation.


COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Egyptian).—We shall here divide this subject into three stages: (1) earth-myths, (2) sun-myths, (3) theology.

1. Earth-myths.—The attention of primitive man was naturally first directed to explaining tangible Nature—the earth, the sea, and the mists which lay on the land. The most elementary division between racial views is the sex of the earth and of the abyss or sea, which from its blue-slime was naturally thought to be the same nature as the blue sky—the heavenly ocean. In Egypt the sky (Nut) was feminine, the land (To) was masculine. Exceptionally in the 19th cent. B.C., when Scimitic influence was strongest, the sexes were reversed, so that Nut, the sky, was masculine, and Uaum, or 'earth' is feminine. Similarly in Babylonia, Ea (the deep) and Anu (the sky) are masculine, while Enkiu (the land) is feminine. The same attribution is adopted by Greek, Latin, and German, and in the New Zealand mythology. Egypt was, therefore, exceptional in the sex of land and sky.

These elements of land and water were thought to have been evolved in the primal chaos of the universal ocean (Nu or Nun), when 'not yet was the heaven, not yet the earth, men were not, not yet born were the gods, not yet was death' (Pyramid of Pepi I., I. 683).

This idea passed to Hebrew, along with the same sexes as in Egypt: 1 From chaos were generated Erebos (mascul) and black Night (fem.).

And from Night again were generated Ether and Day, Whom she brought forth, having conceived from thebraces of Flame. (Theog., 138 ff.)

He probably derived it through the Sidonians, who, Damascene asserts, 'believed that the first things place Grenos, and Osiria.' And by a connexion between Petos and Osiria, as the two principles, are generated Air and Aura.' This view then seems to be also shared by the Egyptians. (Petos, 1.)

The lifting of the watery mists, which are seen rising each morning from the Nile, the parting of them from the earth and the raising of them to the sky, was a work variously attributed.
(to Ra (the sun) or Shu (the atmosphere). The heaven (Nut) was forced apart from the earth (Keb or Seb); and usually Shu is represented as thrusting it upward. Similarly in New Zealand, the earth and heaven clave together in the darkness, and had produced gods and men. The gods try to part them, but cannot until the god and father of forests, birds, and insects drives in; his head is now thrust up on his mother the earth, his feet raise up and rest on the sky and firmament, and he exerts mighty effort. Now are rent apart Raangi and Papi, and with cries and groans of woe they shriek aloud. . . . It was the force thrusting of Tane which tore the heavens from the earth, so that they were rent apart, and darkness was made manifest, and so was the life.' (G. Grey, Polynes. Mythol., Lond. 1855, reprint, p. 33.)

In Egypt it was similarly assumed that Seb and Nut had produced Ra or Shu before they were separated.

2. Sun-myths.—The genesis of the sun (Ra) is variously attributed to Seb and to Nut. According to the view, Ra was 'the eg of the great cackler,' Seb being, by a play on words, equated with the goose. In another view, Ra was born as a calf of the celestial cow, or child of the sky-goddess, and this may be the motive for regarding the sky as feminine. Another, and a more general, view, when the theologie frame of creation came forward, was to posit the formation of Ra direct from the chaos Nun, and so make him an ancestor of mankind. There is no reason to suppose that the Heliopolitan Ra-worshippers, as distinct from the older Seb- and Nut-worshippers in the Nile valley. Ra came into being 'while as yet there was no heaven, . . . and there was nothing that was with him in the gloom where he was. . . . the last of all in the waters of Nun, and he found no place where he could stand' (Erman, Religion, p. 26). Ra then united with his own shadow, and from his seed created Shu and Tefnut, in the midst of the chaos. Shu certainly represents gods symbolized by an ostrich feather; Tefnut represents moisture. From Shu and Tefnut were born Seb and Nut; and from them, in turn, the Ostride family, and mankind.

The heaven was regarded as an ocean parallel with that on earth. It was on the heavenly ocean that the sun, the moon, and the stars sailed in ships each day and night. To explain the sun's re-appearing in the morning, they supposed a man, with his boat, with whom the sun sailed as by day. The dead were, on this view, considered as joining the boat of Ra, and sailing, under his protection, through the hours of the night as well as of the day.

258. Other deities associated with creation are many. Khnum, 'the Shaper,' who shapes living things on his potter's wheel, 'created all that is, he formed all that exists, he is the father of fathers, the mother of mothers . . . he fashioned men, he made the gods, he was father of the beginning . . . he is the creator of the heaven, the earth, the underworld, the water, the mountains . . . he formed a male and a female of all birds, fishes, wild beasts, cattle, and of all worms (Greek). Homer, vol. I, verses 150, 190, etc.; He, vol. I, is figured always with the ram's head, to signify his creative power, and was worshipped at the source of the Nile—the cataract. Pith, 'the Great Artificer,' the Demiurge, shapes the sun- and moon-eggs on his potter's wheel; he is the god of law and order who created all things by Mmrt, truth or exactness. Osiris 'formed with his hand the earth, its water, its air, its plants, all its cattle, all its birds, all its winged fowl, all its reptiles, all its quadrupeds; he was the embodiment of the primitive idea of Osiris as a god of vegetation. Amom-ka, also, on the growth of his worship when Thebes was the capital, became 'the father of the gods, the fashioner of men,' and all other things (see Wiedemann, loc. cit.), Thoth, according to Hermopolite legend, when in the chaos of Nun, created Seb and Nut by his word; and they were parted asunder at Hermopolis. This tradition is an essentially highly spiritualized idea of later times, and is seen in the Kore Kosmou (500 B.C.), where Thoth-Hermes is first of the gods.

Other sky-gods are Anther, 'He who goes above,' god of Themis or Orithyia and Horus as the sky-supported by four pillars who are the four sons of Horus. The mixtures of ideas in later times are so complex, and so combined with the theology, that we cannot touch on them here. Our object has been to show the primitive idea in the various nuclei of thought which were combined.


Since the word 'cosmogony' describes the origin of the universe by the figure of birth, it suggests to us in the first instance accounts more truly poetic and mythological kind. Yet science also has its fairy tales, and one who sought for information about Greek cosmogonies might not unreasonably look at Homer, for example, which is contained in the Timaeus. If this be introduced, so should those of one or two other philosophical systems. We propose, therefore, to deal first with what may be called the poetic cosmogonies, and afterwards with the philosophic. We shall devote rather more space to the former, as being probably less familiar to most readers. In the case of the latter, we shall take three typical examples, describe them briefly, and try to show the primitive idea in the history of Greek thought as to the relation between God and the world.

1. Poetical Cosmogonies.—I. Homer.—We find in Homer not only a cosmic cosmogony, but ideas of a cosmogonical kind, or, rather, of a geogonical, as all he is concerned about is the world in which we live. In H. xiv. 246, Oceanus is the father of all the gods, and in xiv. 201 he is the father, and Tethys the mother. The latter name is derived from the Greek term, on which the word in its full form, cosmogonion, p. 154 n. from θεόθεν, 'to suck' (θεόθεν = 'nurse'). Tethys will then symbolize the sucking mother, Earth. But behind these Nature-powers stands a third still more august, the goddess Night. In H. xiv. 244, she is referred to by a term, which, however, is not a word for a goddess, but, indeed, but more potent, than Oceanus; Night, on the other hand, even Zeus fears to offend (ib. 259 ff.). Lukas, therefore, follows Damascius (6th cent. A.D.), our chief authority on the first principles of the Greek cosmogonies, in supposing that, for Homer, Night was the supreme geogonical conception (Damasc. περὶ παρέχοντος τῆς ζωῆς, c. 124, ed. Kopf, 1826, p. 382).

2. Oldest Orphic cosmogony.—To this head Lukas refers those fundamental conceptions which in various fragmentary notices are directly ascribed to Orpheus. Not the least evidence of their antiquity is their practical identity with what we have found in Homer. Eudemos the Peripatetic declared, according to Damascius (loc. cit.), that Orpheus made his beginning with Night. John Lydus (6th cent. A.D.) stated that Orpheus' three first principles were: Night, Earth, Heaven (Lobeck, Aglaoph. 1829, i. 494). Plato, again, quotes a complete set of the gods as from Orpheus, and states that he was the discoverer of the first theological pair (Cret. 402 B), while he informs us in the Timaeus (41 A) that Oceanus and Tethys were the offspring of Earth and Heaven. As the former statement is expressly referred to Orpheus, we may be sure that he had the same

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real or fancied authority for the latter. In this Orphic cosmogony, it will be seen, Oceanus and Tethys are a degree less venerable than in Homer; Earth and Heaven are the older pair. Yet the difference is insignificant, and here, as in Homer, they are not quite genuine beyond. According to the Gruppe (Griech. Culte, etc., 1857, i. 613 f.), the cosmogony of II. xiv. was borrowed from the Orphics. But the question of their relation is an extremely difficult one, and cannot be disposed of here.

3. Hesiod.—In the introduction to his Theogony, Hesiod actually names Earth, Heaven, and Night—the reputed Orphic trinity—as the sources of the gods (verses 106–107); and one feels that, whatever its origin, he is using a familiar and probably ancient formula. But, at the outset of the poem proper, he proceeds to give us what in fact, though not in name, is a cosmogony of his own (verses 116–136). Its outline is as follows: In the beginning was Chaos, after whom, on the one hand, came Gaia and Eros, and, on the other, Erebus and Night. Erebos and Night were the parents of Ethe or Light) and Day. Gaia of herself produced, first Uranus (Heaven), that he might live in seclusion, and that she might be a secure dwelling-place for the gods; and after him the mountains and seas. Lastly, mating with Uranus, she became mother of all the gods, except the few who sprang from Erebos and Night. At the beginning of Hesiod’s cosmogony stands Chaos. Its meaning has been variously interpreted by ancient no less than by modern commentators. It has been taken for Water, Air, Fire, and Space (cf. for ref. Lukas, op. cit. p. 157 f.). Etymology has been appealed to in connection. But no derivation seems more probable than that from χαος (the root of χαορε, ‘to gape,’ χαορε, χαορα, Lit. hiceo, hieus, etc.). Thus we get the meaning of Space, and this further accords with the manner in which Hesiod seems to have arrived at his first principle, viz. by abstraction. In pondering the origin of the universe, he thinks away one by one its various contents, until he reaches Space as the final presupposition of all things. As Time comes to the Orphics, as the Phicomimata of the Greeks, and, as we shall see, in some Greek cosmogonies, so does Space in this of Hesiod. Zeller (Pre-Soc. Phil. i. 83 f.) agrees with Lukas that Space was Hesiod’s first principle, and that he reached it by abstraction, but that Hesiod took it as an innumerable, waste, and formless mass, while Lukas understands it by the mere unlimited void.

On the next cosmogonic stage we have two pairs, of which the first is Gaia and Eros. Gaia is Earth, not however as an element, but as a vaguely conceived mass. There is, at first sight, something detached about the appearance of Eros. He enters the stage with the others, but seems to perform no role. But the reason is that he is a potency rather than a person. He is the soul of all the unions here recorded. He is the Eros, not of art, but of early local cult like that at Thephae (‘Paus. ix. 27. 1), who was life and love in one, and was taken over by the Orphics (cf. Gomperz, Gr. Thnikos, i. 89, and, for the connexion of Eros with the Orphics, J. Harrison, Proleg. to Gr. Relig. ch. xii.). We are not told how Gaia and Eros came into being. They may symbolize matter and spirit, but not derived from Chaos as a higher principle. The ruling principle of the cosmogony is not that of cause and effect, but that of sequence in time. We only hear that Gaia and Eros came afterwards (ετερα). And the same is doubtless true of the ‘pair, Erebos and Night. They are said to have come εκ Xaορο, but the εκ may be merely local (Space being referred to), or temporal, or both. Accordingly Gaia, Eros, Erebos, and Night occupy together the second cosmogonic stage.

A step further removed from Chaos are Αθας and Day, who are children of Erebos and Night. So the unrelied darkness gives place to the brilliance of the sun. At this stage Hesiod gives birth to Heaven, that he may shield her with his vault, to the mountains also and the seas; and then, when all is ready for their reception, Earth and Heaven coming the parents of the gods. In Hesiod’s cosmogony there is no real attempt to explain the causes of things. But it has, according to Lukas, two elements of speculative worth—the conception of purpose in creation (the provision of a safe home for the gods), and the far-reaching abstraction by which the poet goes back to Space, and then step by step reconstructs the world.

Passing by Aemilius, a prose chronicle of the 6th cent., and, like Hesiod, a native of Boeotia, whose cosmogony, contained in Damascius, resembles Hesiod’s, and has also a marked Orphic colouring (Lukas, op. cit. pp. 162–163), we come next to—

4. Pherecydes.—He was a native of Syros, but lived at an uncertain period. His works have been come down to us from ancient times, and which relate to various parts of his cosmogony, enable us to form, though with reserve on some disputed points, a tolerably full as well as reliable estimate of his system (cf. Lukas, op. cit. p. 124, ed. Kopp, p. 384) and Diog. Laert. (i. 119). Pherecydes derived the universe from three first principles—Zas (=Zeus), Chronos, and Chthonia (or Chthon). At the summit of the cosmos, then, stands Zeus. He is probably best regarded as a purely spiritual principle (so, e.g., Arist. Met. xiv. 4, 1091 a, and many others, but cf. e.g. Zeller, op. cit. i. 91), so far as mind was consciously distinguished from matter at that early date. The Cosmological problem is therefore confirmed by the statement of Proclus (5th cent. A.D.)—which at the same time presents a new and interesting phase of the cosmogony—that the Zeus of Pherecydes changed himself into Eros when he meant to create the world (Το ζεύς τον χρόνιον τον κόσμον τον ζεύς τον κόσμον τον ζεύς). Besides the three first principles of Pherecydes were alike eternal (ευζων ζεύς).

The cosmogony begins when Chronos produces from his seed Fire, Air, and Water, who then in turn beget the five families of the gods. Thus gods and elements alike are the offspring of Time. And Zeus—Eros plans to create the world. But at this stage, according to Max. Tyrins (Dissert. xxix. p. 301, ed. Davis; cf. also Celsus op. Origem c. Cels. vi. 42, et al.), a fearful conflict intervenes between Chronos (not to be confused with Chronos) and
dragon Ophionenus for the lordship of Nature. Only when Cronos wins and the dragon is cast into the sea can Zeus set about his creative task. The epiphany is not quite of a god with the cosmogony, since Zeus is from eternity,—there is no Cronos before him. But there is no reason to doubt that Pherecydes employed the myth. Perhaps, as Philo of Byblus states (op. Esp., Prep. Ev. i. 10, 33), he borrowed it from Phenician sources. In any case the meaning is clear: before the ordered world, the chaos can be established, a victory must be won over the forces of disorder.

The final stage is related by Clem. Alex. (Strom. vi. 621 A). Pherecydes, the Syrian says: Zos makes a mantle, large and fair, and broders it on earth and ocean and ocean's dwellings.' Again he speaks (ib. 642 A) of 'the winged oak and the embroidered mantle that rests upon it.' The winged, or borrowed of Pherecydes before than Gomperz, the embroidered if the Pherecydes found of the World-Egg. In the other hand, there is a certain suggestion of science in the cosmogony. The four elements are named before the formation of the world. So far, indeed, as our accounts go, Pherecydes does not work the suggestion out. On the other hand, he clearly treated Eros (Love) as a cosmical principle, and one cannot but suspect that, if his whole work had reached us, we should have found that Zeus—Eros used the elements as materials for his creative task.

Damascius (c. 124, ed. Kopp, p. 385) gives a fragment of a cosmogony by the Cretan Epimenides (c. 600 B.C.). In this cosmogony we meet for the first time among the Greeks the doctrine of the World-Egg. It is little more than a suggestion, and so we shall pass at once to give some account of the later Orphic cosmogonies, in which it plays a prominent part.

5. Later Orphic cosmogonies. — In a former section we dealt with the stories of the origin of the world which were ascribed to Orpheus, but here we are dealing with entire systems. They are highly mystical and pantheistic, and, though fanciful and grotesque, are most natural and inevitable. They form the third, and probably the last, great philosophical synthesis. Hence some critics like Zeller (op. cit. i. 100 ff.) refuse to regard any of them as earlier than the 1st or 2nd cent. B.C. Others, however, assign a much earlier date to the one which Damascius tells us was contained in the current 'Rhapsodies,' and which he describes as the usual Orphic theology. Thus O. Gruppe (in Roscher, s.v. 'Orphes') argues strongly, but cautiously, in favour of the view that it was formed in the 5th cent. B.C. on the basis of a still earlier Orphic myth. To this system we now turn our attention.

(1) Rhapssidiot cosmogony.—This includes what the Orphies taught both about the Divine nature and about its relation to the world. The fullest account of the former is contained in Damascius (c. 123, ed. Kopp, p. 380). He must, indeed, be used with caution, owing to his Neo-Platonic bias. Lukas points this out, but thinks he may be trusted for the main principles. In any case the evidence is still earlier Orphic principles. In this he seems to go too far, but, if we combine all that is essential in Damascius with what we learn from other sources, especially Orphic fragments (for which cf. Gruppe, loc. cit. p. 1130), we reach the following result, which will be found in essential agreement with what, for example, is contained in Zeller (op. cit. i. 104) or in Gruppe (in Roscher, s.v. 'Phanes'). At the summit of the system stands Chronus (Time). Next comes Aether (bright, fiery substance, cf. 'Stoic cosmogony' below) and Chaos (Space). Lukas observes that, though Time is named before Space, it is not viewed as producing it, but merely as the active principle, while Space receives that which arises in Time (but cf. Zeller, l.c.). After Aether and Chaos comes the Egg, which is viewed sometimes as the offspring of Chronus and Aether (fr. 53), sometimes as that of Aether and Chaos (Proclus, Tim. i. 138). In either case it springs from the Sea, as Lukas calls it, an Egg of Light. Damascius elsewhere describes it as ?arkfepwv, 'silver-white.' And it deserves the name, not only because it was formed from the light of heaven, but because from it, as we shall see, Phanes, the light of the world, proceeded. Finally, there issues from the Egg the first Orphic god. Damascius, who favours trinities, calls him Phanes-Ericapens-Metis, which is generally interpreted 'Light, Life-giver, Counsel.' But, above all, he is Phanes 'Light.' Phanes will give the light of reason, the light of life, and—for he is also Eros—the light of love. As first-born of the gods he is Protogonos. There is something sublime in these concepts, but the Orphic also 'polymorphic, a best-mystery god, a creature monstrous and grotesque, as in the fragment quoted by Proclus (Tim. ii. 130):

'Heads had he many,
Head of a ram, a bull, a snake, a bright-eyed lion.' (J. Harrison, op. cit. p. 563.)

Such was the Orphic doctrine of the Divine nature. It had one feature which, according to Lukas, gave speculative value to the Rhapssidiot cosmogony. This is the effort to explain the evolution of the world. While many cosmogonies begin with a Divine being, the Orphic sees in his God the last stage in the evolution of life out of the life-less.

We have next to consider Phanes' relation to the world. He had in him all the forces, or e'tpwrpa, out of which it sprang. Hence, though he was sometimes called its creator, he was generally thought of as having given it birth. The idea took the form that the succession of dynasties of gods represent the successive stages in the evolution of the world. In this process, part of the god became the world's life; with the other he withdrew as sun into the heavens, where only Night could be with him: yet this, while his splendour amazes the other gods. But when Zeus attained to sovereignty he devoured Phanes. Thus the old order was dissolved, but thus also Zeus became the sum of all things. He became Phanes (see next section), and from him a new race of gods, a new world, sprang. In his son, Dionysos, the god of the mysteries, Phanes was born again. Like Phanes, Zeus became the world—Ze?a sov? ?arh, ?e? 7r' a tara r?r?vra (fr. 125),—but, with Dionysos, he is not apart, for his mind was the other (Gruppe, in Roscher, s.v. 'Orphes' and 'Phanes'; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. 'Orphes'; Zeller, op. cit. p. 104 f.; J. Adam, Relig. Teachers of Greece, p. 95 f.; Lobbeck, Aigypt. 515 ff.; fr. 129 f.).

The story of the swallowing of Phanes has usually been explained as a device to recover for Zeus his ancient dignity as source of life—for had he not long ago devoured Metis and borne Athena? This could be done by assuming that Rhapssidiot Phanes who was also Metis. But Gruppe sees in the story a different motive. It was to depict the periodic renewal of the universe, which he regards as the ground thought of the Rhapssidiot cosmogony. This was a feature of Stoic cosm-
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The cosmogony (see below) to which the Orphic doctrine has other points of resemblance—especially its pantheistic materialism, and its view of Αθήνας as the principle of Divine life. On the whole, it is difficult not to believe that they were in all of the two cosmogonies, on which ever side the borrowing lies.

(2) The cosmogony of Hieronymus and Hellanicus is often theistic ever be published (see also) and, as far as its original form, in accordance to the same law which governs every living thing.

(3) Before leaving the Orphic cosmogonies proper, we may note three others of minor importance.

(a) The first and the best known is that of Apollonius Rhodius (3rd cent. B.C.), who in the Argonautica (I. 494 ff.) puts into the mouth of Orpheus some version of the world cosmogony. In this the separation of the four elements is ascribed to the action of Discord—an idea evidently borrowed from Empedocles. The legend of Orphic cosmology and chronology, which was by Pherecydes in Proto-Orphic cosmogony, is not what different and, judging by internal evidence, less authentic form (cf. Gomperz, op. cit. i. 91).

(b) Alexander of Aphrodisias (3rd cent. A.D.) gives us the following series: Chaos, Oceanus, Night, Uranus, Zeus. This, it will be seen, resembles the older rather than the latter form of Orphic cosmogonies.

(c) Lastly, the author of the Clementine Recognitions (x. xvii.) gives a brief summary of Orphic doctrine. Some of the first principles, notably the Egg and Pan, are found in the Rhapsodist cosmogony, but the account as a whole is less coherent, and strikes one as probably less accurate, than that of Damascius.

6. Aristophanes.—In one famous passage (Ae. 692 ff.) he says, Here Time is viewed as force—force which presupposes matter to work on. The Orphic imagination runs riot in depicting this force. Chronos is a winged dragon with the heads of a bull and a lion, and betwixt them a serpent.—In the Choruses of Hecuba, Chronos-Herakles—Ananke—Adrasteia. Herakles betokens his might, Ananke his necessity, Adrasteia his inevitability. Next, Chronos produces Αθήνας, Chaos, and Erebus. We met Αθήνας in the Sphere of Chaos in the Rhapsodist cosmogony, but here they follow after the primary matter, and so Αθήνας is more grossly conceived as άνακτόρ (ένακτορ). In the same way Erebus is μιστή (μιστήνεα). Lastly, in the midst of the vaporous space, with its mingled light and gloom, Chronos produced an Egg (φελλός, φέλλος). This naturally implies that it partook of the substance with which space was filled. It was, therefore, formed out of grosser elements than the Egg of the Rhapsodist cosmogony. Thus also we are told out of the void or space within it the female, and likewise of all manner of things without life. For this reason it better deserves to be called a World-Egg. But it is not an Egg of Light. And, lastly, we have the same contrast in the Divine Being, the Maker and Ruler of the world, who issues from the Egg. In his monstrous and grotesque form he resembles the first-born God of the other cosmogony. But he has lost his title of Φάνας, the god of light, and appears as Progynos-Zeus-Fan.

As compared with the current Orphic doctrine, that just examined is marked by a certain coarse realism. Both in form and spirit it is less distinctively Greek. In some points, indeed, it closely resembles the Phoenician cosmogony, and Zeller maintains that its author borrowed directly from that source (op. cit. i. 102-3 n.; but, on the other side, cf. Gruppe in Roscher, s.v. Orpheus, p. 141).

In describing the Orphic doctrine, Athenagoras, who was a Christian, might have selected the cosmogony of Hellanicus and Hieronymus because he saw most in it to condemn. But what specially concerns us is the form in which he presented it. The series begins with Water and Slime, and out of these Chronos-Herakles is evolved. But here the resemblance to Damascius is made. Both the firstborn ones are made of Chaos, Chaos, and Erebus. Chronos-Herakles produces a gigantic egg, which breaks into halves, of which the upper forms the heaven, and the lower the earth, as in Orphism. In none of the two cosmogonies does there exist any notion of speculative value. The egg has no special significance beyond its shape. On the other hand, in the cosmogonies described by Damascius, the World-Egg is an expression of the profound thought that the universe is an organism, gradually formed from its original form, in accordance to the same law which governs every living thing.

7. Aristotle calls those whose doctrines we have been considering, represent a perfectly distinct phase of Greek thought. 'Their mind was less scientific than that of the philosophers. It was only the need of male and female, and likewise of all manner of things without life. For this reason it better deserves to be called a World-Egg. But it is not an Egg of Light. And, lastly, we have the same contrast in the Divine Being, the Maker and Ruler of the world, who issues from the Egg. In his monstrous and grotesque form he resembles the first-born God of the other cosmogony. But he has lost his title of Φάνας, the god of light, and appears as Progynos-Zeus-Fan.'

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the universe from a single, and that a material first principle. They discussed more or less fully the nature of the changes which the primary matter underwent, but the ultimate cause of the movement, by which the world in all its parts was formed and developed was stated in which the Pythagoreans subscribed to which Thales and his immediate successors had little or nothing to say. The reason was that they regarded the cause as inherent in the nature of matter itself (Gomperz, op. cit, i. 56). This was also true of Heraclitus of Ephesus (600 B.C.): to him also matter was ‘organically alive’ (ib. p. 60). But a great step in the history of Greek speculation is marked by his doctrine of the Logos, by which he gave expression to the thought that the world-first created ‘by Logos’ was a continuous development, a process, by which the world was being formed. He taught, indeed, that all reality is reason, and that the primary element is Fire; but, as he assigned to the latter the attribute of reason, he called it also the Logos. In other words, the Logos is the Fire viewed on its spiritual side, was the Logos (J. Adam, op. cit. p. 224). Here, then, a first principle was postulated, which was at once rational and material, and it is on this basis that the whole of his cosmology (see below) was afterwards reared. But before that time the great thinkers of Greece had sought to show that the world was framed by God as at once a rational and non-material being, and Heraclitus at least passed the threshold of this conception when he endowed his First Cause with the attribute of reason.

2. The first Greek philosopher who traced the world to a non-material agency was Empedocles (c. 480 B.C.). He did this in his doctrine of the four elements, whose movements were determined by the twofold agency of Love and Discord (J. Adam, op. cit. p. 245). But a far more important step in the direction of idealism was taken by Anaxagoras, who, though not quite as early as Empedocles, probably had the work of the latter before him when he wrote (ib. p. 234). According to Aristotle, it was Anaxagoras who first pointed to the real cause of the movement by which the world was formed, this cause he named Nous, or Reason, to which also he seems to have contributed, if not exclusively, transcendent existence (ib. p. 371).

3. Plato.—Though Anaxagoras did not make much use of his great conception, it led to far-reaching results. Its influence is seen in the view the opposition between matter and spirit. The opposition may not be absolute, but it was naturally the distinction between the two which first occupied the attention of philosophers. It was the chief problem of Plato's Dialectic. But it is with its cosmological aspect that we are here concerned. If the First Cause was purely immaterial, how could he act on matter at all so as to create the world! In this question and the answer to it lies the chief significance of the cosmogony which Plato has set before us in the Timaeus:

Even apart from much that does not strictly belong to it, the cosmogony of the Timaeus is fascinating, but here it will be enough to consider its main ideas. For a fuller exposition and discussion the reader may be referred to Jowett's Plato, vol. iii., or to Adam, op. cit. p. 260f.

God formed the world out of matter so tractable that it could not be completely moulded to his will. But he introduced into the primary substance 'as many proportions as it was possible for him to make,' in order to give it all the powers, which thus resists the Creator, Plato calls 'Necessity.' It is the root of evil in the world, and as it will not wholly yield to God, 'the Creator in Plato is still subject to a remnant of Necessity which cannot wholly overcome' (Jowett, 'Plato,' iii. 391).

In forming the world, God gave it a Body and also a Soul. (1) The Body. On certain portions of primary matter, which was formless and chaotic, God imprinted various mathematical 'forms' and numbers' (Tim. 53 B). Thus arose the four elements of which the body of the universe was composed. The idea of a Divine mathematician, who, under the guidance of the Logos, created the World-Soul, is one which runs through the whole account of creation. According to Plutarch, Plato said that God is always playing the mathematician (θέα δὲ γεωμετρεί). (2) The soul. Plato describes the elements of which the World-Soul was composed, but his account is highly metaphysical, and need not detain us here. It is enough to examine its attributes. Of these the first is Motion. It is manifested in every movement (Tim. 30 D), but in other aspects, not directly referred to in the Timaeus, which are important in estimating the nature of the World-Soul. According to the Laws (x. 866 A), the essential quality of soul is self-movement. Further, the Soul is the cause of movement in other things, and by movement (κίνησις) Plato understood every kind of change (ib., Phaedrus, 245 C). The World-Soul, therefore, is the cause, not only of the motion, but also of imotion, growth, decay, and dissolution (J. Adam, op. cit. p. 368). The second attribute is Intelligence. It is here to be taken in the widest sense, for we are given to understand that the World-Soul apprehends not by ideas, but by intelligences, and such as lie between the two (ib. p. 369 f.). On the other hand, 'the World-Soul, as described in the Timaeus, has nothing analogous to the principles of anger and desire . . . which, according to Plato, constitute the necessary causes of the actions of the human soul' (ib. p. 370). Plato speaks of the World-Soul as created. In what sense he used the term he nowhere precisely explains, but there can be little doubt that he thought of an uncreated principle. Such is the view of the author just quoted, who thus sums up the cosmogonical process: 'At the beginning of Time, God created the Universe. A spirit or soul went forth from him, and inhabited the body which he redeemed from chaos by imitating mathematical forms on primordial matter' (ib. p. 373).

The universe, thus formed of body and soul, is described as ἄνθρωπος καί μοίχη, μαντεία, 'image of its Creator, only-begotten.' Thus it is related to the One, as the Son to the Father. Hence the Ἰδέα αὐτοῦ, or 'perceivable god' (Tim. 92 C). On the other hand, the Creator is a Being mysteriously remote, 'hard to discover' (ib. 28 C), who, when He had made the world, 'abode in his own nature' (ib. 42 E).

We may now see how the Platonic cosmogony was an attempt to explain the world on dualistic principles. Since God as pure thought could have no contact with matter, Plato was obliged to assume for the work of creation some formative principle separate from God Himself. Hence the separate existence of the mathematical forms imprinted on matter, and especially of the World-Soul incorporated within it. It is from this point of view that Cædr describes the World-Soul as 'a kind of bridge to connect two terms which it is impossible really to unite' (Evolution of Theology in the Gr. Phil. ii. 206).

4. Although Aristotle (q.v.) effectively criticized the theory of 'Ideas,' which Plato held to exist apart from matter, yet his own doctrine was fundamentally dualistic, as appears from his view of the Divine life as an energy of self-contemplation. But after his Greek thought swung round to the opposite pole, an attempt was made to see in which mind and matter, subject and object, were opposed to each other as mutually exclusive realities, it sought to explain the world by means of
a single principle. This men sought where they
felt surest of finding it, in their own subjective
experience. Thus they hoped for a certainty which
they could never have about an object with whose
appearances only they were acquainted. It may
be better in the history of the theory in philosophy
be part of a general movement affecting the last
epoch of Greek national life, from Alexander the
Great onwards (Schwegler, Hist. of Phil.; pp. 121-
122). Now, the subjective life itself has two sides,
the one universal and spiritual, the other individual
and material. It was on the latter view of man's
nature that the Epicureans based both their ethical
and their physical theories. The Stoics, on the other
hand, appealed in their Ethics to man's rational
nature, while in their Physics they derived the
world from a material principle (for the reason of
this apparent inconsistency, see Schwegler, op. cit.
p. 125). It will be seen that in their use of a single
principle the Stoics and Epicureans returned to
the point from which philosophy had stood back after
the time of Heraclitus, but, as R. D. Hicks
remarks (art. Stoics, in EB 11), 'until dualism had
been thought out, as in the Peripatetic school, it
was impossible that monoism or any rate material-
listical philosophy could be distinctly and consciously
maintained.' Both the Epicureans and the Stoics
had what may be called a materialistic cosmogony,
but that of the Stoics is in several ways the more
important, and to it therefore we now turn.

5. Stoic cosmogony.—The Stoic first principle
was akin to the Fire of Heraclitus, but of a subtler
nature—a fiery breath (πνεῦμα) or ether (αἰθήρ).
But in a more important respect it differed from
Heraclitus' principle. For the Stoic primary
substance was matter regarded in its distinctively
active aspect as force. Viewed in relation to the
actual world, it is thus described by R. D. Hicks
(loc. cit.):—

'Before there was heaven or earth, there was primitive
substance or Pneuma, the everlasting presupposition of particular
things. This is the totality of all existence; out of it the whole
visible universe proceeds, hitherafter to be again resolved into it.
Not the less is it the creative force, or deity, which develops and
shapes this universal order or cosmos.'

So the theory runs much of the
which we have already met with in other systems. But
the mode of the creative activity, as conceived by the
Stoics, was altogether new. The Stoic primary
substance, be it remembered, is matter and force in one;
the thirty years, 'the force in which force . . . is in itself something material,' etc.). Its force is that of tension, the expansive and
dispersile pressure due to heat, and the extremity of the
tension is seen in the fact that all distinction of particular things, due to relative density, is lost
within it. It cannot long withstand the intensity of this inward
pressure. It sways to and fro, and this movement cools a little the glowing ether.
Condensation begins, and with it the first dis-
tinction within the primal substance—the separation
of force from matter. Matter is now the
relatively passive; but, as first formed, it differs
but little from the pure activity of the substance
from which it sprang. It is the element of fire.
But again, as condensation proceeds, fire produces
air, and this in turn the grosser elements of water
and earth. Throughout the process, however, the
more active substance never quite surrenders its
own nature. Thus only a portion of air becomes
water, and so a certain portion of earth remains in
the ether which stretches above and around the world. As already seen, the dis-
tinction of active and passive in the case of the four
elements is only relative; and this appears still
further in the blending with the other.
In the universe thus formed the finer substances are
those in which the tension of the primary substance
is greatest, and the solid are those in which it is most
relaxed, and in which matter appears most inert
and passive. And, finally, all the shapes and other
attributes of things are referred to the ethereal
phosphorus. It is the underlying force of which we
most felt. And in fact the force moving in the
world was to the Stoic the Soul of the World.
Although material, it was, like the Fire of Heraclitus, also intelligent, even as the Λόγος
spoken of by the Eleatics before the dawn of creation slumbered within it.

The Stoic cosmogony was the chief attempt
made by the Greeks not merely to derive but to
explain the origin of the world from a purely
material first principle. It was ingenious, and its account of the manner in which force works
in the material world contained elements of permanent
value. But it went too far in treating force as a
genetic first principle. For material energy is always relative to matter as passive and inert.
Nor does it, indeed, appear that the Stoics
conceived of force as anything else than the formative
aspect of matter (cf. Zeller, L.c.). Nevertheless, by
regarding it as a primary substance out of which
the world was evolved, they inspired it with
within himself, and thus made it an independent reality. Hence the Stoic
first principle was an abstraction which could explain
nothing.

6. Neo-Platonic cosmogony.—Before leaving the
Greek cosmogonies, we may notice briefly a
second and very different attempt to explain the
origin of the world from a monistic standpoint.
We refer to the system of the Neo-Platonists, who
belonged to the last period of Greek thought,
which, when Stoicism and Epicureanism had run
its course. The Neo-Platonists taught that the ultimate
source of being was neither matter nor spirit, but a real unity transcending both. In this
they might seem to quit the subjective standpoint
of the later philosophical systems. Yet in reality
theirs was the most subjective of all. They found
the key to the Divine nature solely in the subjective
side of human experience, in the unity given to outward impressions by the thinking subject.
They sought to establish the real and perfect than the ideal world, that intellectual cognition is the pathway to truth and
goodness, and that actual contact with these
realities is attained only by means of an 'ecstasy,' in
which the distinction between subject and object disappears.

The Neo-Platonists claimed that their doctrine
was the direct outcome of Plato's teaching, but
in this they did less than justice to the objective
element in the latter. No doubt there were
features in Plato, especially the terms in which he
described the transcendence of God, which gave
some support to this claim. But Neo-Platonism
owed far more to Oriental influence, the causes of which we need not inquire (cf. Ueberweg,
Hist. of Philos., i. 222 f.). It is, in fact, a blend of
Greek and Oriental elements. It may be added that
such as the religious philosophy of the Alexandrian Jews
and the Gnostics of early Christianity are products
of the same elements, but under an Oriental form
(ib., p. 223).

Plotinus (A.D. 204-270) is the most representative
teacher of this school. Of his doctrine, contained
in the six Enneads, which were published by his pupil
Porphyry only after his death, nothing was
made public until the works of St. Augustine and
some of the school of Alexander. It is the first system,
from which Plotinus derives the universe, is called by him the One, or the
Good. This supreme essence is absolutely
transcendent, and incognizable. It cannot be
described as either good or intelligible, for the epithet
which would imply a limitation of its absolute
unity. It is τὸ δευτέρου, and also τὸ ἄνωθεν.
Cosmogony and Cosmology (Hebrew).

—There are generally recognized in the Hebrew Scriptures two formal cosmogonies, the earlier of which is contained in Gn 2, beginning with v. 4, or rather v. 2.

I. Cosmogony of J.—This story, as we have it, belongs to the pre-critical, historical Prophetic narrative of the Judæan kingdom (J), which was in course of composition from about the time of Solomon until the middle of the 8th cent. B.C. The cosmogony, as much as we have of it in Gn 2, presupposes the world in a state, and explains its condition, only with its preparation for the use of man.

With it is connected the story of the Garden of Eden, the Temptation, and the Fall and its consequences. The object is not so much to answer the question, How was it made, as the question: Where did man come from? Why does man differ from the beasts? especially, Why does man have a sex consciousness and a sex shame, which the beasts do not have? and, Why man, who is the crown of creation, toil and labour to get his bread, and to reproduce his kind, by the sweat of his brow and the agony of his body? So far as the nature of man is concerned, this cosmogony, while naively primitive, is full of a childlike wisdom and sweet spirituality, which has commended it to all succeeding ages, and which was doubtless the cause of this part of the J narrative being preserved at a time when the Pentateuch was cast into the present form and confirmed by the great cosmogony of the Priestly Code (Ge 1-2).

In the cosmogony of Ge 2, the earth is assumed as already in existence, a bare place on which there were no streams and no herbs, because Jacob's Elohim had no need of a name on it, and because—a charming bucolic touch, characteristic of the anthropomorphism of the whole narrative—there were no men to till the ground. But references to the heavens and the earth which came all the same, into the river of the world. In this narrative the waters
COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Hebrew)

earth and watered all the face of the ground (v. 9). Then, out of the dust of the ground, molded by this water, Jahweh Elohim, like a potter, made man, and, having made him, breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living creature. And, because he was made out of the dust of the ground, therefore, they called him 'man' (Elohim). Then Jahweh Elohim planted a garden in Eden, far away to the east, and caused all sorts of beautiful trees and goodly fruits to grow and the tree of life; and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Through the garden, coming from the fountain which connected with the waters beneath the earth, flowed a great stream, watering the whole place, and dividing, as it left it, into the four great rivers of the world—Pishon, Gihon, Tigris, and Eabani.

Jahweh Elohim put man in His garden to till it and guard it, and permitted him to eat of all the trees in the garden, except only for the knowledge of good and evil. Then, seeing that the man was alone, He planned to give him a helper or companion, a mate. So He took one of his ribs, into which flesh and made it out of woman; and the man, thus recognized as his mate, bore to him flesh and named him Eve. Woman (ishshah) was the called, because derived from man (ish). There was no mate for man. Then Jahweh Elohim caused man to fall into a profound sleep, and, taking one of his ribs, clothed it with flesh and made it out of woman; and the man, thus recognized as his mate, bore to him flesh and named him Eve. Woman (ishshah) was the called, because derived from man (ish).

The story here told is in many of its particulars identical to the cosmogonies and cosmologies which we meet elsewhere. The thought is world, a thought, the out-thinking of primitive man almost anywhere. When he asks himself the question, Of what is man created? the natural answer is: Dust, out of dust; tree of life out of dust; and so, as the potter makes vessels out of clay (dust mixed with water), God made man. So breath, which is wind (a part of God's breath), is the element of life; and, if the wind or breath goes out of the man, he is dead. So, too, the relation of name to thing, which plays so important a part in this cosmogony, is not characteristic of any one people, but is a very widespread conception of primitive man. Name and thing are one. To know the name is to know the essence of the thing; and to know is to have power over—

...Utterance by Adam of the names of the beasts puts these beasts in subjection to him who had given them their names. The serious plays upon words—'God made man, and Adam called the name of every living creature'—are based upon the same theory of the identity of name and thing. Of course, this assumes that the primitive language was Hebrew, in accordance with the universal belief of primitive peoples that their own language was inspired by God Himself. The story of the origin of mankind, told in the person of a being bearing the name 'Man,' is common also to various national cosmological myths. The same is true, too, of the relation of man and woman here described, and, to a considerable extent, of the garden of God in which man was placed. But, while much in the story may be classed as universal primitive thought, there are also certain earmarks which unmistakably indicate a Bab. connection for at least some of the fundamental thoughts of our tale.

The park or garden which God plants, and in which He sets the man whom He creates, is far off, in a remote land far away to the east. This is the case also with the Egyptian paradise; but, when we note the name Eden, apparently the Bab. eden, 'place of delight,' and, in referring to the names of the rivers which have their source in it, we are obliged to recognize the influence of Bab. thought. The garden, it is true, is not in Babylonia, yet beneath the earth are assumed; it is only with the rain, which comes down from Babylonia, that we are concerned. Cf. Skinner, ed. loc.

1 This story is a man's story, homo sexualis. In general it is an interesting example of the methods of primitive thought. Man measures the universe by himself. He explains the relations of all about him by what he knows of himself. Woman depends upon man, and woman was made for man, who, as a subordinate but very intimate part of himself. The rib is chosen for a material support and construction because ribs are relatively numerous, and therefore superficial, in man's composition; while at the same time a rib belongs so much to the inward part of the body, it is easily in use in the construction of woman the most intimate relation with himself.

2 Of, for the latter, the P version of the Flood story (Gen 8).
material indirectly derived, it shows, in the last stages of its development, the high, spiritual thought of the Prophetic narrators of the 9th and 8th cent. B.C., who paved the way for the great writing prophets of the succeeding centuries.

The story was evidently popular among the Hebrews, not on the ground of its cosmogony, but for its account of the Garden of God in Eden and the Fall of man, which we find particularly used in later literature in the Book of Ezekiel (cf., for instance, ch. 28, and the other chapters of which fall of Tyre). It is this element also which has profoundly influenced Christian thought. The cosmogony proper is negligible in its influence on later thought, and is manifestly itself very incomplete. 2. Cosmogonic myths in Hebrew cosmology.—A more complete and more systematic cosmogony is contained in Gn 1. The composition of this chapter dates probably from the early post-exilic period, but it is founded on old myths, which appear in much older passages, and which display a striking similarity to the cosmogonic myths of Babylonia. Some of these passages it is worth while to consider before we analyze the more systematic and elaborate cosmogony of Gn 1. The Jewish cosmogonic origin (as is shown clearly by the use, in v. 12, of Tabor and Hermon as landmarks of north and south), now forming part of a later Psalm, this is one of those Psalms whose words imply a polytheistic conception of the world. With this strength, He was equal to Jahweh among the sons of the gods? Jahweh is described as ruling the waves of the sea, stilling the tumult of its billows. He has smitten and contemptuously treated Rahab. With His strength and His fear, He has bounded the earth. This is referred to as a part of the Creation work by which He founded the heavens and the earth, the world and its fulness, Creation being depicted as connected with a battle of Jahweh against some monster, here called Rahab, and its allies, who are foes of God or of the gods.

Ps 74:12-17 is similarly an ancient passage, apparently of north Israelitic origin, 1 in a Psalm which, in its later form, is Maccabean. Here God is described as having, in olden time, done wonderful works in the midst of the earth. He divided the sea by His strength, He smote the heads of dragons or sea-monsters on the waters, He crushed the heads of Leviathan and gave him food for food to the fowls of heaven. He made darkness a devouring deep, and imprisoned it with bars and gates. 2 According to the cosmogonic ideas of this book, 'God spread out the sky, strong, as a molten mirror' (57:2); this rests upon pillars (28:8), and above it are the waters and fountains of the earth. He becometh the sea, and imprisonment to which reference is made in Ps 89. That this is a part of a Creation-myth is shown by the following description, where, as the result of this battle with the sea-dragons and Leviathan, God digs out the fountains and the valleys in which their waters run, dries up the primitive rivers, forms night and day, moon and sun, establishes the boundaries of the earth, etc.

The Book of Job, while itself of relatively late origin, is notably full of old traits. In it we find a number of references to mythical monsters, with whom God contended in connexion with the creation of the world. Of these the most noteworthy passage is that of Job 40-41.

1 With his strength he troubled the sea, And with his skill he pierced Rahab. His wind spread out heaven, His hand slew flying serpent.

We have here two monsters—Rahab (connected with the sea), and the flying serpent (connected with the heavens). The battle with the sea, indicated in the first line, is connected with the piercing of Rahab; and bound up with this is the spreading 1 of the wind. Among other things, the most exclusive reference in the Amahh Psalms is that of Ps 150, which speaks of the Psalms of Solomon, of Pompey; but in both cases the ancient myth is clearly in mind.

2 In Ps 40:14 the plural of this rhabim, appears to mean 'false gods'; and rhab is used in the same sense in 1 S 12:20 and Is 43:19.

3 Folklore frequently exhibits this phenomenon. So, for instance, in the Wendish Spreewald one finds old fairy tales, identical with those collected by Grimm, told about Frederick the Great, Zieten, and others of the same period.
by the same means (cf. the late Isianic Apocalypse, Is 24–27). Here, however, we have (27) three monsters which are 'the third serpent,' and which correspond to Job 4, inhabiting the waters above the firmament and causing the eclipse; Leviathan the crooked serpent, which is the sea encircling the earth; and the dragon in the depths of the sea, which is the second Am 9.

In a somewhat similar picture of the reduction of the earth to chaos through the wrath of God, in Jer 4, birds, men, and beasts are destroyed; mountains and hills lose their solidity and sink to and fro; the light of the heavens is turned into darkness; and the earth becomes waste and void—tōhā and bōhā—the technical words for 'chaos' used in Gn 1.

Out of these various references we may reconstruct the general cosmogonic conception of the Hebrews: first, a condition of chaos and darkness, a waste of waters, inhabited by monstrous and noxious forms; then a battle of Jahweh, with the approval and rejocing of the gods (divine or semi-divine beings, stars, etc.), against the deep and the monsters of chaos, in which in some way He uses the wind. By means of this He spreads out a firmament above, resting upon pillars, provided with windows through which the waters above may be let down upon the earth. Beneath, upon the great void, He spreads the earth, a dwelling-place for living things, under which is the sea or abyss (Thkhlm). In this abyss, as also in the heights above, there are all great monsters, whom the Lord has preserved there, whom no other than He can control, and who are dangerous and noxious to men and to the works of men.

This was not only the cosmogonic thought of the Hebrews, but it also formed an element of their religion, and was represented in their ritual and religious paraphernalia. So, in the temple of Solomon was a great laver, the so-called 'sea,' representing the Thkhlm; and on the candlesticks of Herod's temple, as represented on Titus' Arch at Rome, are apparently pictured the monsters of that Thkhlm which Jahweh had overcome. This cosmogony clearly is closely related to that of Babylonia, where we have the same contest of gods for the earth, whom, however, largely supplanted with a great female monster, Tīnmāt, which is by root the same as the Heb. Thkhlm. This monster he splits in two, after infesting her with a great wind. He renews her strength by submission, and, after treating her corpse with contumely, he divides it into two parts, out of one of which he makes the heaven, and out of the other the earth, the waters being thus separated into two great seas, the one above the firmament of heaven and the other beneath the earth.

3. Systematized cosmogony of the Priestly Code.—The Bab. cosmogony, as we know it in the cuneiform texts, is contained in seven tablets. Such a systematization, however, is not to be found in the Priestly Code (Gn 1–2), which formulates and develops in a scientific and exact manner the popular belief, is divided into seven days.

The consonances with the description of a condition where the earth was tōhā and bōhā (i.e. chaos)—two words evidently handed down from antiquity. This chaotic condition is described as 'darkness upon the face of the Thkhlm.' Thkhlm, as already stated, is radically identical with the Bab. Tīnimāt (here used without the article), and is evidently, like tōhā and bōhā, a technical term of the cosmogonist. Following this description of the condition of darkness, chaos, and confusion, the narrative of the creation of the world begins. The earth was, it seems, for the seven days, a field or a plain. Out of the face of the Thkhlm God was rushing upon the face of the waters. Here perhaps we have a reminiscence of the myth which represents Marduk using the wind as his weapon against Tiāng (cf. Job 4).

Having thus condensed the mythical material, which bulked so largely in Talmud, etc., and story, and which is to an equal extent a result of the teachings of the Priestly narrator, it proceeds on a higher plane and presents the result of seven utterances of God. The order of these creative utterances may be taken as a clue to the historical development of the story. seven tablets, although this cannot be stated certainly, owing to the fragmentary condition of these tablets.

First came light, second, the firmament. Third, the waters, to divide the waters beneath from the waters above; third, the separation of dry land and the springing of verdure, trees, and the plants upon the earth; fourth, the days and the years, the sun, moon, and stars, which are set in the heavens, both to give light and to rule the day and the night—the latter, perhaps, containing a trace of the polytheistic conception of the celestial worship, which it is intended to correct by stating that these rulers of day and night are creations of God; fifth, the creatures of the sea and the birds of the air, both of them created out of water, among which it is noteworthy that the writer recognizes the continued existence of the great sea-monsters, dragons, serpents, etc., of the popular belief (v. 23), included in Job, Ps, and Esdras, under the titles Behemoth and Leviathan. The sixth day covers the creation of the creatures of the earth and of man. In the note of the creation of man (v. 26) we have the remnant of the mythological and morphic conception of God, of which the writer could not entirely disavow, as is the statement concerning the names of the image of God; and perhaps also an echo of the earlier polytheism in the words put in the mouth of Elohim: 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.' Such a myth of more than one God of Israel, but he cannot yet altogether divest himself of the thought of a plurality of gods in human shape. The role of Elohim on the scene is thus emphasized, and its fulfillment in connexion with that of an eternal Sabbath, which is peculiarly Hebrew; for, although a rudimentary Sabbath existed among the Babylonians, it played no important part in Bab. religion or mythology. The seventh tablet of the Bab. Creation-series, with which to Hebrews corresponds the establishment of the Sabbath as a part of Creation itself, contains a hymn of praise to Marduk as the creator.

The question arises, To what extent was this cosmogonic myth of Bab. origin? We have already seen that, in general, it is a statement, in precise, scientific, monotheistic, and unmythological form, of cosmogonic views prevailing among the people of Israel from an early period. Certain resemblances have also been pointed out between those cosmogonic myths and the cosmogonic myths of the Babylonians. It would seem that at some early period Bab. cosmogony became known to the people of Palestine. The general view at present is that the Bab. cosmogony, after its adoption into the Pentateuch, was modified by the Hebrews. From the narrative in the Bab. cosmogony became the common property of Palestine and surrounding regions during the centuries of predominating Bab. influence, in the West (c. 2000 B.C.), and that the Hebrews adopted it as cosmogonic, after its adoption into the Hebrew Scriptures, and modified it to fit into their religion, eliminating the polytheistic and grosser traits, and spiritualizing and rationalizing the residue. The cosmogonic myth, accordingly, pursued the same course

1. Commonly rendered 'the spirit of God was brooding,' etc. This rendering of the Heb. רַעָשׁ is supported by a supposed connexion with an Aram. root. In Hebrew it occurs elsewhere only in Dt 33, in a description of the vagina teaching its young to fly, where it has been translated 'hovering.' This is manifestly incorrect (but see Skinner on Gn 1). The parent birds do not feed their young for a year, but go out over the sea to the next to fly for themselves, but make rushes at them, and away from them. The LXX has preserved the correct tr. of the word properly 'dove.' This agrees with other references in Heb. Literature to the use by God of wind in creation (see above), and also agrees with the Bab. myth.

2. Unfortunately we lack, up to the present time, a sufficient knowledge of Phoenician cosmogony and the cosmogony of other neighboring people of the period, to be able to say. True, certain fragments of Phoen. cosmogony have come down to us, claimed to be the relics of the myths of a certain Sanchuniathon; but, in the first place, it is very doubtful whether such a man ever existed, and, in the second place, what has been handed down in such a form is too remote to be identifiable to its original form. Hence, we find, in Phoen. cosmogonic, one passage, which is the Third tablet of the Thkhlm and the Bab. Tīnimāt, and a Bab. tablet, which appears to be the Hebrew bāhā, to that extent Phoen. remains may be said to support this hypothesis.
COSMOGONY and COSMOLOGY (Indian)

5. The highest and final Hebrew thought concerning Creation.—The cosmogony of Gn 1–21, lofty as it is in its monotheistic conception of the power of God, did not reach the highest limits of Hebrew thought. Hampered by the old myths, it stood perilously near dualism in reckoning chaos, darkness, and the deep as existing, independently of God, from eternity. There were men of the same period, but a different school of thought, with prophetic vision, and a higher, less hampered spirituality, who had perceived and were teaching a still higher thought, namely, that God was the Creator of darkness as well as of light, of chaos as well as of the ordered world. The Deutero-Isaiah, familiar to us, was the highest expression of this new thought, and the deep to God he utterly rejects. 'I am Jahweh, and there is none else, forming light and creating darkness, making prosperity and creating evil' (Is 40:25). This is the highest expression of the creative thought in the Old Testament. In Pr 8:22–31 Creation is an expression of the wisdom of God, which is almost hypostatized. In some of the late Psalms we have very beautiful and spiritual conceptions of Creation, especially in Ps 19:1–6. It is formed an integral part of the religion. The Bab. seven tablets of Creation were ancient. Their 'sevenness' is an element which would naturally have impressed itself on a people so thoroughly monotheistic, and that one and only one regarding the number seven as holy; and, while there is no other evidence in the Biblical passages, indicating acquaintance with the cosmogonic myths, knowledge of this 'sevenness', it is not impossible that it formed a part of the popular scheme of cosmogony, even though the events of the days of Creation may not coincide altogether with the order of events in the Bab. tablets, than that it was borrowed by the ancient writers directly from the creation scheme of the Priestly Code. The author of the Priestly Code cosmogony was concerned rather with those things which differentiate the Heb. from the Bab. versions of the cosmogony. And, indeed, the difference between the two is far more strikingly marked than is generally thought. There is a wonderful how out of the fantastical, puerile, and gross fancies of the Bab. original there has been developed so sane, so lofty, and so spiritual a system of cosmogony as that contained in Gn 1–21. In fact, it is quite possible that there are the same parallels to be traced between the popular cosmogony and cosmogony of P.—How does it happen that two cosmogonies so radically different in conception continued to exist side by side? As already pointed out, ch. 2 deals, not with the water of the world, but with the problems of man. It finds him on the barren hills of Judea. It does not concern itself with their creation, but with the manner in which they are made habitable, and the problems of the man who inhabited them, who had been driven out, for their sins, from the beautiful Garden of God in the fertile far east, to live on, and till, this land of thorns and thistles. Had the narrator been asked how the dry land, the heaven above, and the water of the sea, into existence, and rendered in-}

1 Cf., for instance, the form of the Fourth Commandment in Ex 20, which, however far removed from the form of the original 'Word,' is at least much earlier than the Priestly Code.

2 Cf. also Ps 33:9.
achieved, even in the Pur\'anas; for all statements, however contradictory, contained in the revealed literature were regarded as truth, and might be reproduced by later writers. Cosmogony, on the other hand, had another fate. Different writers of the same period are much more nearly at one regarding the structure of the Universe, at least in its main outlines, than regarding its origin and development; but it goes without saying that both sets of ideas—cosmogonic as well as cosmographic—are equally fanciful, and lack the basis of factation

1. Vedic period. — The world, according to Vedic notions, consists of three parts—earth, air, and sky, or heaven. But, when the idea of 'Universe' is to be expressed, the phrase most usually employed is 'heaven and earth.' Both Heaven and Earth are regarded as gods and as the parents of gods (deva-patra), even although they are said to have been generated by gods. Sometimes one god, Indra, or Agni, or Brahma, or Soma;—sometimes all the gods;—are said to have generated or created heaven and earth, the whole world; and the act of creating is metaphorically expressed as building, sacrificing, or weaving. That heaven and earth should be gods of the gods, that the same time have been generated by them, is a downright self-contradiction; but it seems to have only enhanced the mystery of this conception without lessening its value, since it recurs even in advanced speculation, and is advocated in the incarnation that another Aditi is everything, and brings forth everything by and from herself, in another place it is said that Aditi brought forth Daksha, and Daksha generated Aditi. Here Aditi is apparently the mythological expression for the female principle in creation, and Daksha for the male principle or creative force. The latter is more directly called Pur\'us\'a, man or male spirit, and is conceived as the primate male who is transformed, or who transforms himself, into the world. To him is dedicated the famous Pur\'us\'as\'kta, Rigveda, x. 90, which recurs, with variations, in the Atharvaveda (ix. 6), the Vajasaneyi S\'asth\'a\'ha (xxxii.), and the Taittir\'iya \'Arany\'a (lii. 12), and greatly influenced later theosophical speculation as a statement of Vedic cosmogony we subjoin Mi\'\'s translation of it (from Orig. Skr. Texts, v. 368 ff., though it, or rather the original, contains many obscure points:

Pur\'us\'a has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, and a thousand feet. On every side enveloping the earth, he transcended (it) by a spear which (he) burst. (1) Pur\'us\'a is this whose universe, whatever has been, and whatever shall be. He is also the lord of immortality, since through food he expands (it). Such is his greatness; and Pur\'us\'a is superior to this. And existing things are a quarter of him, and that which is immortal in the sky is three-quarters of him. (2) With three-quarters Pur\'us\'a mounted upwards. A quarter of him again was produced here below. He then became diffused everywhere among things animate and inanimate (4). From him Vir\'a\'j was born, and from Vir\'a\'j, Pur\'us\'a. As soon as he was born, he extended beyond the earth, both behind and before (5). When the god and-sacrifice, up burned Pur\'us\'a, as a sacrifice, the spring was clarified, butter, summer its fuel, and autumn the (accompani- ment) libation (6). This victim, Pur\'us\'a born in the beginning, then is explained on the nature of the sacrifice. What he offering, the gods, S\'ad\'hy\'a, and R\'i\'si sacrificed (7). From that universal sacrifice, in consequence the god Pur\'us\'a was divided (8). He then distributed Pur\'us\'a into how many parts did they distribute him? What was his mouth? What were his arms? What were called his thighs and legs? (9). When the Brahmanas was his mouth; and the R\'aj\'ug\'a his arms; the Va\'s\'i\'s his head, the Vish\'nu from his feet (12). The moon was produced from his soul; the sun from his sleep; and Indra from his breath; and Agni from his mouth; and V\'ayu from his breath (13). From his navel came the atmosphere; from his head rose the sky; from his thighs the earth; from his head came the four quarters; so they formed the worlds (14). When the gods, in performing their sacrifice, bound Pur\'us\'a as a victim, there were seven pieces of wood told for him round the fire, and three seven pieces of fuel employed (15). With sacrifice the gods worshipped the sacrifice. These were the first institutions. These great beings are then addressed to the heaven where the gods, the ancient Vidy\'a, reside (16).

The unity of the Godhead as the cause of the world, which is recognized in the above hymn, is directly expressed in others where he is called the One, the Unborn, and placed above all gods. In two hymns (Rigveda, x. 81, 104), he is identified by the name Vis\'v\'ak\'ar\'ma, 'All-creator,' who in later mythology became the architect of the gods; in another remarkable hymn (x. 121) the poet inquires who is the first-born god that created the world and upholded it, and to this he answers, as Pur\'ja\'pati, 'Lord of the creatures.' Pur\'ja\'pati later became the current designation of the creator, and synonymous with Brahma. In connexion with Vis\'v\'ak\'ar\'ma and Pur\'ja\'pati occurs what seems to be an ancient mythological conception; the highest god is said to have originated in the primeval waters as the Golden Germ (Hiranyagarbha) which contained all the gods and the world, or became the creator. This idea was afterwards developed to that of the world-egg, and of Hiranyagarbha = Brahma.

An entirely different treatment of the cosmological problem is contained in the philosophical hymn, Rigveda, x. 129 (cf. Taittir\'iya Br\'ahas\'pa, x. 8, 9, 3-6). Such, for example, as a practical translation of Mu\'\'r (op. cit. v. 336, note 530):

'Then there was neither Ang\'\'i nor Nought, no air nor sky, beyond. What covered all? Where rested all? In watery gulf profound? Nor death was then, nor deathlessness, nor change of night and day. That One breathed calmly, self-sustained; nought else beyond. It lay

Gloom hid in gloom existed first—one sea, shining view. That One, a void in chaos wrap, by inward fervour grew. Within it first arose desire, the primal germ of mind,

Which Nothing with Existence links, as sages searching find. The kindling ray that shot across the dark and drear abyss,— Was it beneath? or high aloft? What hard can answer this? These fermenting powers were found, and mighty forces grew,—

A self-supporting mass beneath, and energy above. Who knows, who ever told, from whence this vast creation rose? No gods had then been born,—who then can ever tell the truth delineated? Whence sprang this world, and whether framed by hand divine or nature's serried hands? Is its lord in heaven alone can tell, if even he can show.'

In the Atharvaveda we meet with some cosmological hymns, chiefly of the Pur\'ja\'pati type, in which the highest god and creator is conceived under other forms, and invoked under various names, such as Rohi\'ta (the red one), An\'\'day (the ox), Va\'s\'i\'s (the cow), K\'\'ala (time), K\'\'ama (desire), etc.

1. Lippert, in 'The Blanket of the Brahmans and the Upanisads.'
or the like; and therefore, after a few general remarks on the creation of the world, they plunge again into the same discussions (see the specimens given by Deussen, op. cit. p. 183E). But the little information they give is sufficient to show what were in their time the popular opinions about the origin of the world.

lso, it is to be noted that the beginning of things, there are others, according to which the waters seem to have been believed to be coeval with him or to have preceded him. Thus it is said (Taittirya Brăhmana, v. 6, 4, 2, and similarly elsewhere) that Prajapati, the creator, became nothing but the waters, and Prajapati, as wind, went over them or floated on a lotus leaf. Connected with this order of ideas is the now more commonly developed conception of the world-egg in Sātvatī (Brahmana, i. 1, 1, 1 ff), which runs as in Muir’s translation (iv. 25):

“In the beginning this universe was water, nothing but water. The waters desired, “How can we be reproducered?” So saying, they talked, they performed austerity. While they were performing austerity, a golden egg came into existence. Being produced, it then became a year. Wherefore this golden egg floated about for the period of a year. From the end of a year a period (pūraṇa) came into existence, who was Prajapati. . . . He divided this year. . . . In a year Prajapati desired to speak the world. “Bhrū,” which became this earth; “bhūmā,” which became this firmament; and “svār,” which became that sky. . . . For two periods Prajapati perceived the further end of his life as one may perceive the opposite bank of a river. Desiring offspring, he used to go on water and the goddess. . . . With his mouth he created the gods, etc.”

We take of comparison, another ancient account of the world-egg from the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, iii. 19 (SBE i. 1. 411): “In the beginning this was non-existent, in the midst of non-existent became this egg. The egg lay for the time of a year. The egg broke open. The two halves were one of silver, the other of gold. The silver one became this earth, the golden one the sky, the thick membrane of (the white) the mountains, the thin membrane of (the yolk) the mist with which the wind went over the earth. And what was born from it was Aditya, the sun, etc.”

While the authors of the Brähmanas treated cosmogonic myths from their liturgical point of view, the authors of the Upaniṣads used them in order to illustrate their great philosophical tenet of the transcendent oneness of Brahmā and its presence in all created things. Accordingly, they frequently substitute for Prajapati philosophical abstractions, e.g. Brahman, Atman, Not-Being, or Brahman and refer to this first principle the words, or the Vedas, or those escholitical and psycho-physical agencies which explicitly express their speculations. They develop and combine these notions in ever-varying ways, but it is not well understood, or properly stated, that the first principle, after having created things, entered them, so that it is present in them, and in a way, identical with, and yet different from, them. It is impossible to reduce the variety of opinion on the origin of the world, contained in the Upaniṣads, to one general idea underlying them: we shall, therefore, illustrate them by some selected specimens.

In Brhad Aranyaka, i. 4, the creation is ascribed to Atman in the shape of a man, as such there was nothing but himself, he felt no delight, and therefore “made this his Self to fall in two, and thence arose husband and wife.” He embraced her, and men were born. In the same way he created all things that exist in the worlds. Then he created other things, developed them by name and form, and ‘entered thither, to the very tips of the finger-nails, as a razor might be fitted in a razor-case, or as fire in a fire-place’ (SBE xxv. 87). The account for the egg of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad has already been quoted above. Of a less mythological and more speculative character is a passage in Taittirīya Upaniṣad, i. 1, according to which from this Self (Brahman) sprang space, from space wind, from wind fire, from fire water, from water earth, from earth food, from food seed, men, and all creatures. An older account in Chāndogya

Upaniṣad, vi. 2. 2 ff, mentions only three elements: it runs thus (SBE i. 93 E):

(“Uddalaka speaks to Śvetāculo.”) “In the beginning, my dear, there was only that which is (śūnya), one only, without a second.” Others say, in the beginning there was only that which is (śūnyaḥ), one only, without a second; and from that which is not, that which is born.”

“The father of the creation said, ‘How could that be, which is born of that which is not? No, my dear, only that which is, was in the beginning, only with this, only, only. . . . May I be many, may I grow forth.’ It sent forth fire. That fire thought, ‘May I be many, may I grow forth.’ And therefore whenever anybody anywhere is hot and perspiring, water is produced on him from fire alone. Water thought, ‘May I be many, may I grow forth,’ without fire (food). Therefore whatever it rains anywhere, most food is then produced. From water alone is eatable food produced.”

That Being (i.e. that which had produced fire, water, and earth) thought, “Let me now enter these three beings (fire, water, earth) with this living Self (jīva stūpa), and let me then reveal (develop) names and forms.” Thus being, having said, “Let me make each of these three tritāpita (so that fire, water, and earth should become of this original ingredient, besides the admixture of the other two) entered into these three beings with this living self only, and revealed names and forms.”

Here we have the first forerunner of Sākhya ideas, which are more fully developed in the Svetāvatara and some later Upaniṣads which form the connecting link between this period and that of the Epics and Purāṇas. The genesis of the evolutionary theory of Sākhya can be traced to these Upaniṣads (see 4, 9, 1 p. 216); but we pass this subject over here, as it will be treated in § 3.

The notions as to the structure of the Universe entertained by the Vedic poets continued to hold in the period of the Brāhmanas, and Upaniṣads, where frequently the Universe is spoken of as a tritāpita: earth, air, and sky, symbolized in the three ‘great utterances’ (vyāhrtis), ‘bhūr’, ‘bhūmā’, ‘svār’. In Aitareya Aranyaka, ii. 4, 2, however, it is said that Self sent forth the worlds of Ambha, Marichi, Mara, and Ap. ‘That Ambha (water) is above the heaven, and it is heaven, the support. The Marichi (the lights) are the sky. The Mara (mortal) is the earth, and the water below the earth is the Ap world.”

Nine or ten worlds are enumerated in Brhad Aranyaka Upaniṣad, iii. 6, viz. the worlds of wind, air, Gandharvas, sun, moon, stars, gods, Indra, Prajapati, and Brahman; each again into the next, so that other one, ‘like wap and wool’.

More importance is attached to a sevenfold division of the world. This was introduced by the augmentation of the vyāhrtis from three, the usual number, to seven, which is indicated in Taittirīya Aranyaka, x. 27 ff. There we find the following vyāhrtis: ‘bhūr’, ‘bhūmā’, ‘svār’, ‘mahār’, ‘jānuś’, ‘tapas’, and ‘satyam’. Now, as the second, the original vyāhrtis (‘bhūr’, ‘bhūmā’, ‘svār’), symbolically denoted the three worlds (earth, air, sky), so the four added vyāhrtis (‘mahār’, ‘jānuś’, ‘trivas’, ‘satyam’) became names of still higher worlds. Thus, in some later Upaniṣads seven worlds are mentioned, and in the Aranyaka Upaniṣad of a non-seven worlds (bhūr), and distinguished from seven other worlds: Atala, Pātala, Vitala, Sutala, Rasātala, Mahātala, and Talatala. This last conception of a twice sevenfold world was, in the next period, developed in doctrine that exists today.

3. Period of the Epics and the Purāṇas.—While in the preceding period cosmogonic myths are of an episodic character, the same subject is now treated more at length, and for its own sake. Its importance is fully realized by the cosmogony as a secondary creation—i.e. the successive destructions and renovations of the world—belong to the five characteristic topics (pañcakanyakā) of the Purāṇas.

1 In the cosmography of the Yajurveda, which will be dealt with in § 3, the views of the highest celestial spheres are Mihendras, Prajapatyas, and Brahmas.
COSMOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY (Indian)

The variety of views as to the origin of the world which obtained in the preceding periods still continues; but there is a decided tendency towards introducing some order. The mythological elements of cosmogony are mostly adopted from Vedic literature, and, in one form or another, harmonized with some modern views. Both elements are variously combined. These mythological elements are as follows: (1) the highest godhead, Brahma or Atman, identified with Narayana, Viṣṇu, Sambhu, etc., according to the sectarian tendency of the author; (2) the primeval waters or darkness; (3) the Purusa or Hiranyakarṣa, who sprang up therein; (4) the world-egg, which brought forth Brahma (or Prapata, Pātanaḥ); (5) the lotus, from which sprang Brahma; the lotus itself came forth either from the waters or from the navel of Viṣṇu; (6) the intermediate creators, or mental sons of Brahma, numbering seven or eight, Marici, etc.; (7) the successive creations and destructions of the world. Though the last-mentioned conception can be traced to a greater antiquity, it was only then developed into a gigantic chronology of the world which reckon by kalpas, manvantaras, and yugas (see art. AGES OF THE WORLD [Indian]).

The Vedic view is shared by all, though conflicting views on the origin of the world by assigning some cosmogonic processes to primary, some to secondary, and creation, and by distinguishing the several secondary creations. But all these are vouched for in the medieval writings in greater or lesser conflation, for primary and secondary creations were inextricably mixed up with one another. The framers of cosmogonic systems in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas freely laid under contribution the mythologies of the several nations. We thus see the evolutionary theory as taught by Kapila, or they tried to improve on it. As it formed the theoretical foundation of cosmogony, a brief sketch of it must be given here.

According to Sānkhyā philosophy, there are two principles, entirely independent of each other: (1) the souls, Purusas; and (2) Prakṛti, original nature, or Prakṛti (principle, viz. matter), which is made up of the three guṇas (secondary elements)—darkness (taddāla), goodness (sattva)—in the state of equipoise. When this equilibrium is disturbed through the presence (or co-inexistence) of the Purusa, then from Prakṛti is developed Mahābhūta or Brahma, the thinking substance, the ideal world, from which all the guṇas arise. He, who can be conceived by the internal organ (alone), who is subtle, indiscernible, and eternal, who contains all created beings and is inconceivable, shows forth of his own will (7). He, desiring to produce beings of many kinds from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and showed his seed in them (9). That seed became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun; in that egg he himself was born as Iraṅga, the principal ākāśa (space) of the goodness (sattva)—in the state of equipoise. When this equilibrium is disturbed through the presence (or co-inexistence) of the Purusa, then from Prakṛti is developed Mahābhūta or Brahma, the thinking substance, the ideal world, from which all the guṇas arise. He, who can be conceived by the internal organ (alone), who is subtle, indiscernible, and eternal, who contains all created beings and is inconceivable, shows forth of his own will (7). He, desiring to produce beings of many kinds from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and showed his seed in them (9). That seed became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun; in that egg he himself was born as Iraṅga, the principal ākāśa (space) of the goodness (sattva)—in the state of equipoise. When this equilibrium is disturbed through the presence (or co-inexistence) of the Purusa, then from Prakṛti is developed Mahābhūta or Brahma, the thinking substance, the ideal world, from which all the guṇas arise. He, who can be conceived by the internal organ (alone), who is subtle, indiscernible, and eternal, who contains all created beings and is inconceivable, shows forth of his own will (7). He, desiring to produce beings of many kinds from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and showed his seed in them (9). That seed became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun; in that egg he himself was born as Iraṅga, the principal ākāśa (space) of the goodness (sattva)—in the state of equipoise. When this equilibrium is disturbed through the presence (or co-inexistence) of the Purusa, then from Prakṛti is developed Mahābhūta or Brahma, the thinking substance, the ideal world, from which all the guṇas arise. He, who can be conceived by the internal organ (alone), who is subtle, indiscernible, and eternal, who contains all created beings and is inconceivable, shows forth of his own will (7). He, desiring to produce beings of many kinds from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and showed his seed in them (9). That seed became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun; in that egg he himself was born as Iraṅga, the principal ākāśa (space) of the goodness (sattva)—in the state of equipoise. When this equilibrium is disturbed through the presence (or co-inexistence) of the Purusa, then from Prakṛti is developed Mahābhūta or Brahma, the thinking substance, the ideal world, from which all the guṇas arise. He, who can be conceived by the internal organ (alone), who is subtle, indiscernible, and eternal, who contains all created beings and is inconceivable, shows forth of his own will (7). He, desiring to produce beings of many kinds from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and showed his seed in them (9). That seed became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun; in that egg he himself was born as Iraṅga, the principal ākāśa (space) of the goodness (sattva)—in the state of equipoise.

The last, combining with one another, form the five gross elements (māhābhūta): space (or air), fire, wind, water, and earth. These are the twenty-five principles (tattva) of Sānkhyā. They and the corresponding productions have been adopted, and adapted to the order of ideas taught in the Upaniṣads, by the authors of those parts of the Mahābhārata which deal with this system when employed in that work. In order to reconcile Vedic cosmogony with the principles of Sānkhyā philosophy, those didactic poets invented various changes of the latter or of their arrangement, though none of these attempts was generally adopted. We shall mention only two points in which the epic writers departed from the Sānkhyā system and, at the same time, disagreed among themselves. (1) The established belief in a first cause, Brahma or Atman, was radically opposed to the Sānkhyā doctrine of two entirely unrelated elements, Purusa and Prakṛti; yet both views had to be harmonized somehow. No wonder that opinion differed widely on this head. For instance, Purusa is identified with Prajñāna, or Hiranyakarṣa with Buddha, or Brahma with Ahaṅkara, etc. (2) The Sāṅkhya doctrine, which derived the elements (of modern origin; some of the Vedic) and the interposition of the transcendental tanmatrās seems to have been thought unduly abstruse by those poets who preached to a mixed audience. They therefore usually omit the tanmatrās, and make those who meditated upon the tanmatrās, just as in the Upaniṣads the elements are said to have sprung directly from Brahma. It is needless for our purpose to multiply instances; for details the reader is referred to E. Washburn Hopkins' work, The Greek and Indian Systems of Philosophy, in which epic philosophy is exhaustively treated (p. 85 ff.). It must, however, be stated that some scholars, e.g., Dahlmann, and Densen, are of the opinion that epic Sāṅkhya represents a preliminary stage of speculation, from which systematic Sāṅkhya was developed.

The cosmological passages of the Great Epic belong to an age of transition, and none of them seems ever to have been generally accepted as an authoritative statement of the events of the world. Though, different from another document which may roughly be assigned to the same period—the cosmogonic account in the Laws of Manu, i. 5 ff.; for (or parts of it) is quoted in a great number of works, it may serve to illustrate the state of the views on cosmogony which prevailed before the time when the Purāṇa took their present form. We quote here Bühler's translation in SBE xxv. 2 ff.

'This (universe) is composed of the elements of Darkness, unperceived, indistinguishable, of knowable, wholly immersed, as it were, in deep sleep (5). Then the divine Self-existent [svāyabhūta, himself] indiscernible, (first) making (all) this, the great elements and the rest, discernible, appeared with irresistible (creative) power, dispelling the darkness (6). He who can be perceived by the internal organ (alone), who is subtle, indiscernible, and eternal, who contains all created beings and is inconceivable, shows forth of his own will (7). He, desiring to produce beings of many kinds from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and showed his seed in them (9). That seed became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun; in that egg he himself was born as Ishvara, the principal ākāśa (space) of the goodness (sattva)—in the state of equipoise.
COSMOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY (Indian)

The puruṣa, and creation

The puruṣa, the天空, the oceans, the mountains, the planets, the sun, and the moon. In this way, pleasure, desire, and anger, this whole creation he likewise produced, as these being called his seven elements of creation. Moreover, in order to distinguish actions, he separated merit from demerit, and he caused the creatures to be affected by the principle of Prakṛti, or the gunas, which are the three primary qualities of goodness, badness, and neutrality.

Puripañcarat, and creation

The puripañcarat, the brauhma, the yuga, and the siva, is the passage from heaven to earth. The puripañcarat, which is the seven elements of creation, was the seventh, and was that of man. There is an eighth creation, the Aranyakas, which possesses both the qualities of goodness and badness. Of these creations, we are secondary, and three are primary. But there is a ninth, the Vaisñava creation, which is the third creation of Prakṛti. These are the nine creations of the great projector of all, and, both as primary and secondary, are the radical causes of the world, proceeding from the seven primary causes.

The seventh chapter relates how Brahma after the creation of the world created 'other mind-born sons like himself'; about the number and names, however, of these Prajañapis, or mental sons of Brahma, the different Puripañcas do not agree. Then Brahma created Manu Śvayambhuva, for the protection of created beings. Manu's daughter Prusūti was married to one of the Prajañapis, Dukṣa, who thereby became the ancestor of a great number of divine beings, of the sacerdotal character, as personified virtues and vices.

The preceding abstracts from the Vīṣṇu Purāṇa give some idea of the heterogeneous character of the cosmicogonic theory which henceforth was generally adopted. Mythological and allegorical notions inherited from the Vedic period have been combined with notions of later origin—genealogic legends, the evolutionary system of Sāṅkhyā, and the scheme of the ages of the world—in order to give a rational theory of the origin and evolution of the universe in the world, in harmony with the teachings of the Vedas. But the materials proved too refractory, or rather the authors were not bold enough in re-creating the old traditions; hence their work leaves the impression of disparate parts, ill-combined or only formally united.

The authors of the Puripañcas succeeded better in delineating a plan of the Universe; for the cosmogonic notions which are actually connected with the Vedas, and which have been sketched above under § 1, lent themselves readily to such an undertaking. The Great Epic added little to the old stock of cosmogonic ideas, except a detailed description of the earth and some particulars about the hells. There was, indeed, the ancient belief in worlds of Indra, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Agni, Aditi, Yama, etc., but the notions as to the situation of these worlds (except those of Indra and Yama) seem always to have been rather vague, so that the Puripañcas were not over much prejudiced by tradition in their endeavours to devise a systematic cosmography. The system is practically the same in all Puripañcas; the following description of it is based on the Vīṣṇu Purāṇa; the details, in details the reader may be referred to Wilson's notes in his translation of the Vīṣṇu Purāṇa.

The whole system of the worlds contained in the world-egg may be divided into three parts in agreement with the current expressions tribhava, tṛílokya, etc., the 'three worlds.' The middle part, which is, however, many times nearer the base than the top, is formed by the earth, an enormous disk of five hundred millions of yejunus in extent; it is circumscribed by the Lokāhala (the atmosphere) and contains the continents and oceans. A description of the earth need not detain us here, as it will be given in the art, GEOGRAPHY (Mythical). Above the earth are the heavens, and below it the nether worlds, or Patala. But actually the Universe is divided into two parts; for it consists of seven upper regions, the lowest of which is the earth, and of the seven nether regions. Hence frequently two divisions have been added to the six, one of which is the lowest part of the Universe. The number of

hells seems originally not to have been fixed (Viṣṇu Purāṇa, ii. 6), though Manu (iv. 87) gives their number as twenty-one.  

Omitting the hells, there are seven nether worlds (Atala, Vitala, Nitala, Gahastinat, Mahātala, Rasatala, and Cenatala) and the seven upper worlds (Būhr [the earth], Dyaus, Svar, Mahār, Janas, Tapas, and Satya). Patāla—for this is also the collective name of the seven nether worlds—extends downwards 70,000 yojanas below the surface of the earth, each of its seven regions having a depth of 10,000 yojanas. Patāla is the abode of Nāgas, Daityas, and Dānāvas, and it equals the heavens in beauty and magnificence. Below Patāla, the dragon Aprasen, who 'bears the entire world like a diadem upon his head, and who is the foundation on which the seven Patālas rest.' As said above, the hells, or narākas, are beneath Patāla; but their exact situation cannot be made out, because some place them below, some above, the waters which encircle the Universe. The cause of this uncertainty with regard to the hells seems to have been that originally they were not distinguished from the nether worlds. For, as will be seen below (§ 4), the seven hells are seven Patālas instead of seven Patālas, and find room for the Asuras in caves below the earth and above the first hell, instead of seven Patālas. The upper regions begin with the terrestrial sphere, Bhūrloka; the next, Tapaloja, looks below to the seven hells, which reach even to the sun; while from the sun to the pole star extends the Sarasvata, or the heaven of the gods. These three worlds are destroyed at the end of each kalpa. The next higher world, Mahāloka, is not destroyed, but at the end of the kalpa its tenants repair to the next region, Janaloka, the inhabitants of which are Sanandana and other sons of Brahma. The sixth region is Tapaloja, peopled by the Vaiṛāja gods; and above it is the highest region, Satyaloja or Brahmaloa, the inhabitants of which never know death. It must, however, be stated that the different Purānas do not agree regarding the inhabitants of the higher heavens. The distance of these regions from one another increases from below upwards: Mahāloka is ten million yojanas above the pole star, Janaloka twenty, Tapaloja eighty, and Satyaloja a hundred and twenty, millions of yojanas above the next lower region.

A somewhat different description of the Universe is given by Viṣṇu in the Yogābhāṣya, iii. 23. This account, which may be ascribed to the 7th cent. A.D., is much more detailed than that of the Purānas, with which, however, it agrees on the whole. But it has also some curious affinities with the Buddhist description of the world, in proper names as well as in the part played by contemplation. The entire Universe is contained in the world-egg, which is but an infinitesimally small particle of the Pradhāna. The bottom of Bhūmaloka are the seven hells, one above the other. The lowest is Bhūrloka, which extends from the lowest hell to the top of mount Meru. The second region, Antarikṣa-loka, reaches to the pole star. The third is termed Svar- or Mahār-loka; the fourth Mahār- or Prājañatapaloka. The fifth, sixth, and seventh regions, called Jana-, Tap-, and Satya-lokas, form together the tripartite Brahmaloka. Bhūrloka is subdivided into hells, Patālas, and cast. The top of Bhūrloka is the bottom of Bhūmaloka, and the bottom of Bhūrloka is the top of Bhūmaloka. They have therefore no cosmogony, but they have a cosmogony of their own which differs widely from that of the Brahmanas, especially with regard to the upper spheres or heavens.

The Universe seems to be divided into two parts, that part of which lies beneath Viṣṇu's heaven, Vaikuṇṭha, is wanting in these lists of heavens. Apparently the authors of cosmogony did not come under that influence, so popular in Vaishnavism or Saivism.

1 For particulars, see Wilson, op. cit. ii. 215, and Hall's note to that passage.

2 For variations in other Purānas, see Wilson, op. cit. i. 208.
circumstance, is called Lokākāsa; the remaining part, Alokākāsa, is an absolute void and perfectly impenetrable to anything, either matter or souls. The Lokākāsa is coterminous with the two substances Dhārma and Adhārma, the substrata of moral and mental events are, therefore, the only sensible conditions of the presence of all existing things. ‘The world is figured by the Jaina as a spindle resting on half of another; or, as they describe it, three cones, of which the lowest is inverted; and the uppermost meets at its circumference the middle one. They also represent the world by comparison to a woman with her arms akimbo.\(^{1}\) Older, however, is the comparison with a man (purusa). The disk of the earth is in the lower part of the spindle, and forms the waist of the purusa; below the earth are the hells, and above it the upper regions. The entire world rests on a big layer of ‘thick water,’ this on one of ‘thick wind,’ and this again on one of ‘thin wind.’ The lowest, the middle, and the upper regions of yojanas. The seven lower regions (bdhāmis), one below the other, are Ratnaprabhā, Sarkaraprabhā, Vahukaprabhā, Paukaprabhā, Dhunaprabhā, Tamahaprabhā, and Mahatamahaprabhā. Another set of lower regions are Vimala, Umsvālī, Dharma, Vamśa, Saiva, Añjīra, Ārṣita, Madhavā, and Mādhavi (cf. the double set of names for the hells in the Yogabhāṣya, above, §3). These regions contain the hells; the lowest one has but five, while the uppermost has three millions of hells. Their inhabitants are the damned, nirakās, whose stay in hell is not without end, but for fixed periods of time, varying from 10,000 years to 33 oceans of years, when they are re-born in the lowest of the hells, and separated from each other by layers of 10,000 yojanas containing no hells; but in the layer separating Ratnaprabhā from the earth are the dwellings of the Bhavamāsin gods; these dwellings are apparently the Jain counterpart of the Brahmanic Pātālas. Above the seven regions of the hells is the disk of the earth, with its numerous continents in concentric circles separated by rings of oceans; these are described [Mythical]. In the middle of the earth the Mount Meru begins the threefold series of heavenly Vimalas, and is inhabited by the Vāmānīya gods. These three tales are as follows: (1) the twelve kulpas, Saudharma, Asāīna, Samatikumāra, Māhendraya, Brahmaloka,\(^{2}\) Lāntaka, Mahāmakara, Sahasrāra, Anata, Pranata, Arana, and Antarata (the Dwighantottam). Before Lāntaka; Kāpāṭha and Sukra after it, and Satāra after Mahāsukra); (2) the nine Gravīrīgakya (these heavens form the neck [ghruṣa] of the man figuring the world; hence their name); (3) the five Ānutāras, Vijaya, Vajayanta, Jaya, Arajayanta, and Sarvārtheśa. The gods in the Ānutara Vimānas will be re-born no more than twice. It is to be understood that all these twenty-six heavens are one above the other. Above Sarvārtheśa-the topmost of the universe, is situated Isatprābhā, the place where the souls resort on their liberation (nirvīpa). The following description of it is given in the Uttarādhyāyaṇa Sūtra, xxxvi. 57 ff. (SBE xlv. 211 ff.):

yojana above the (Vimāna) Sarvārtha is the place called Isatprābhāhara, which has the form of an umbrella (58). It is forty-five hundred thousand yojanas long, and as many broad, and it is somewhat more than three times as many in circumference (59). Its thickness is eight yojanas; it is greater in the middle, and decreases toward the borders, until it becomes thinner than the wing of a fly (60). This place, by nature pure, containing white gold, resembles in form an open umbrella, as has been said by the learned scholar (61). This place (called Sīla), which is white like a conch-shell, the akṣara-stones, and kumāra-flowers; a yojana thence is the end of the earth (62). The pure souls penetrate the sixth part of the uppermost krūsa of the (above-mentioned) yojana (63). Thereon at the top of the world reside the blessed perfected souls of all re-transmigrations, and arrived at the excellent state of perfection (64).\(^{3}\)

In concluding our exposition of Jain cosmogony it may be remarked that the knowledge of it seems always to have been popular among the Jains, for the plan of the Universe as described above is always before the mind of Jain authors, and they presuppose an acquaintance with it on the part of their readers.

**Literature.**—The above account of Jain cosmogony is based chiefly on Umāvati’s Utpattihārṣikā Sūtra (ib. by the present writer in ZDMG ix. Leipzig, 1890).\(^{4}\)

**COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Iranian).—**The chief Iranian texts on the creation of the world are Firdawsi’s Shahname; the Zend-Avesta; the fae. of the Hāft-patshāh and the more elaborate is the latter, and according to it both Ormazd and Ahriman have existed from all eternity—a view which is as old as the Gathās (cf. Yasna xxx. 3, which distinctly terms the two spirits ‘twins’ and—xlv. 2). The pair are parted by the ether (ratya), and Ormazd dwells in ‘endless light,’ while his opponent lurks in an abyss of infinite darkness. Ormazd, moreover, was aware, through his omniscience, of the existence of Ahriman, the evil spirit was ignorant of the higher being until aroused to conflict with him by beholding light. Thereupon, as Ormazd created excellent lands, Ahriman sought to mar his work by bringing into being plagues, moral and physical. Herein the essential dualism of Zoroastrianism finds one of its most important illustrations.

Zoroastrian cosmogony covers a period of 12,000 years, which are divided into four ages of 3,000 years each. The first of these epochs is the age of the spiritual creation, in which the creations remained ‘in a spiritual state, so that they were unthinking and unmoving, with intangible bodies’ (Dāndakhā 1. 8; Selections of Zend-gāriman 1. 29). These spiritual ‘twins’ were of analogy to the Platonic ‘Ideas,’ and Darmesteter has sought (Le Zend-Avesta iii., Paris, 1853, pp. li-liii), although without success, to trace an actual connexion between the two. Meanwhile, Ahriman created demons for the overthrow of the creatures of Ormazd, and refused the peace which the celestial being offered him. Thereupon, they agreed to combat for nine thousand years, Ormazd forswearing that for three thousand years all things would go on according to his own will, while in the second three thousand years the two spirits should struggle in bitter conflict, and in the third Ahriman should be utterly put to rout. The second epoch of three thousand years was that of the material creation that the order being, after the Amesha Spentas (g.v.), heaven (including the heavenly bodies), water, earth, plants, animals, and man. The third period of three thousand years begins with the creation of Ahriman into the good creation of Ormazd. The evil spirit spreads disease, devastations, and noxious creatures, throughout the world, harming and defiling water, earth, plants, and fire, in addition to slaying the primeval ox and the primeval man. Finally, however, the demonic hosts are driven back to hell. The remainder of this period is concerned with the legendary history of the Iranian kings, so that

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\(^{1}\) Colcher, Miscellaneous Essays, London, 1837, ii. 198.

\(^{2}\) About the Brahmaloka the following details are given: in it live the Lokakṣa gods (who will reach nirwāna after one re-birth); and round it, in the cardinal and intermediate points of the compass, E., E. E., etc., are situated the Vāmanīyas of the following classes of gods: Sarasvatī, Mitra, Varuna, Sahasra, Varuṇa, Gādhratīvya, Tapas, Ayākāśa, and Āraja.

\(^{3}\) Vol. IV.—11

\(^{4}\) H. Jacobi.
COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Japanese)

neither it nor the final eschatological period comes under consideration in an outline of the Persian cosmogony.

Problem about the Avesta the creation of all things is ascribed to Ahura Mazda (Ormazd), as in Yasna xvi. 1, although a certain amount of creative activity is also attributed to the Amashaspands (Yasna xiv. 12; Visperad xi. 12; Yast xix. 18). In Yasna xxviii. 1, however, the chief motive, and quite the striking passage, is:

Here, then, we worship Ahura Mazda, who created both kine and holiness, and created water, created both good trees and light, both the earth and all good things (cf. xlv. 3-5). That this held for Iranians in general is certain from similar phraseology in the Old Persian inscriptions, as in Nl. a, 1-8: 'A great god is Aharma Mazda, who created this earth, who created you heaven, who created man, who created peace for man, who was the top ruler of many,' although similar phrases are not known in Assyrian inscriptions (Gray, ASJL xvii. 152).

The creation itself, according to the Parsi Āfrīn Gahānbārd (tr. by Darmesteter, op. cit. pp. 180-187, and edited by him in Études iran., Paris, 1883, ii. 318-333) and the Bāndahān xxv. 1 (cf. also the section of the Great Bāndahān, tr. by Bluchet, RHR xxxii. 226), occupied about 180-187 years, and the tradition of a cosmic calendar of 12,000 years, although not mentioned in the extant Avesta, must be of considerable antiquity, for the historian Theopompus, an author of the 4th cent. B.C., says, in a fragment preserved by Plutarch (de Iside et Osiride, xlvii.): 'According to the Magi, one of the gods conquers and the other is conquered for three thousand years each; and for another thousand years they fight and war, and one destroys the other, and finally Hades loses, and mankind shall be blessed, neither needing nourishment nor casting shadows.' The Iranian cosmogony seems to have been geocentric, and, according to Dāstūnān-Denik xxxv. 24, 'the sky is in three thirds, of which the one at the top is joined to the endless light, in which is the constantly-beneficial space; the one at the bottom reached to the gloomy abyss, in which is the fiend full of evil; and one is between those two thirds which from the middle and space was made. This has led some scholars, notably Spiegel, to seek to find the idea of the cosmic egg in Iran, but of this, as Casartelli has well pointed out, there seems to be little evidence. The question whether the Iranian cosmogony, which was a creation of nihilo has been much discussed, although it would seem from the phrase in the Bāndahān (xxxv. 5), 'when they were formed, it was not forming the future out of the past,' that at least in the later development of the religion this doctrine was not unknown. The earlier texts, however, shed little light on this problem, nor do the verbs used of the creative activity of Ormazd (da, 'establish,' thavares, 'cut'; tāz, 'form,' cf. Gr. τέκτων) and Ahura Mazda (cut) of the aid, although thavares, tāz, and karat seem to imply the elaboration of already existing material, while it may be urged that da connotes, at least in some passages, actual creation ex nihilo. Equally dubious is the problem of the origin of the Iranian cosmogony. An elaborate comparison has been drawn by Spiegel (Ernāsche Alterthumskunde, i. 449-457) between the Iranian and the Semitic, particularly Hebrew, accounts of the creation of the world; but this leaves the least, unsolved. It is true that both in Genesis and in the Bāndahān, creation occupies six periods, but in the former the epochs is a week of six days, and in the latter a year of six gahānbarā, and the correspondence in the main between the order of the two accounts is a natural sequence of development, and not due to the borrowing of either from the other. It should also be noted that the Iranian account makes no allowance for the seventh day of the Biblical record, thus further increasing the improbability of borrowing from either side. On the other hand, the division of the earth into seven kārvars, or 'zones,' which is mentioned repeatedly in the Avesta (as in Yasna xvi. 5; Yast xix. 82), and is as old as the Gāthās (Yasna xxxii. 3), is undoubtedly the Iranian idea, and the Semitic cosmogony likewise divided the earth into seven zones (tubugāt). This origin of the Iranian kārvars seems more probable than the view which associates them with the deities ('islands') of Ilinda cosmogony, which usually number seven, although they are occasionally regarded as four or thirteen. They are not mentioned, however, before the Mahābhārata and the Brahmanas, and may have been influenced the Avesta (cf. Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, i. London, 1872, pp. 489-501; and, for the proof of Bah. influence, P. Jensen, Kosmon. der Babylonier, Strassburg, 1890, pp. 175-184).

The cosmogony as outlined in the Avesta and the Pahlavi texts, underwent some slight changes in the course of time as a result of philosophic thought. The reduction of the dualism of the Gāthās—i.e., no doubt, a reduction of an earlier polytheism—further, may have been due to the elaboration of the concept of 'Boundless Time' (ezavvakarana), which is hailed as a godling even in the so-called Younger Avesta (Yasna lxxi. 10; Nyāyā i. 8; Vendidad xix. 13). The Zarvanes sect, which in the Avesta, as early as the 4th cent. A.D., derived both Ormazd and Ahuramazda from 'Boundless Time,' making the evil spirit born first in consequence of the doubt of 'Boundless Time,' while Ormazd did not come into being until later, and was long inferior in power to Ahuramazda. In somewhat similar fashion, the Khuiyomartians, another Zoroastrian sect, held that Ahuramazda, the principle of evil, was sprung from Yazdani ('God,' i.e. Ormazd) because of his sinful thought (Yasna xlvii. 3). It is, perhaps, likely that he would be fashioned? (cf. the account of these sects by al-Shahristani, tr. Haarbrucker, i. Halle, 1850, pp. 276-280; and see Spiegel, Ernā, Alterthumskunde, ii. 175-189; Darmesteter, Ormazd et Ahuramazd, Paris, 1884.)


LOUIS H. GRAY.

COSMOLOGY AND COSMOGRAPHY (Japanese).—The most ancient and most authentic account of Japanese cosmology is found in the Kojiki ('Records of Ancient Matters,' A.D. 712). The following is the description of the description of the universe contained in this valuable text:

1 For the Gr. text, see vol. i. p. 299, where a different interpretation from the one here given (which agrees independently with that of Lagrange, RB, 1904, p. 25) may be found.

1 The names of the Deities that became (i.e. that were born) in the Plain of Heaven, when Heaven and Earth began, were Ame-no-mi-naka-mushihohako (the Deity Master of the August-Centre of Heaven), next Taka-mi-mi-nasu-mi-kami (the High-August-Producing Wondrous-Defy-the-Dead-kami (the Divine-Producing Wondrous-Defy)), and finally, the Deities that were all Deities born alone (i.e. spontaneously, without being produced, and had their personal names in essence, death or otherwise). The names of the Deities that were born next from a thing that sprouted up like unto a root-duck when

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From these very first lines of the sacred account we have before us a genesis that is not lacking in grandeur. The world appears as a nebulous, moving chaos; Divine beings develop in it by spontaneous generation;1 and in the heart of space, others coming from a reed-plant that has arisen from the mud; while others spring up, at first solitary, then in pairs, following a progress and bearing names that recall in a striking manner a Chinese cosmogonic explanation of the ancient national myth did not escape the Japanese commentators who elucidated these texts in the 18th and 19th centuries.

And it cannot be denied that the above-quoted myth reveals under the transparent symbolism of its Divine figures an intellectual effort to find a logical explanation of the genesis of the universe.

To this slender outline of the Kojiki we may now add the complementary picture supplied by the Nihongi (‘Chronicles of Japan,’ A.D. 720). This account is less simple, and is permeated by Chinese ideas, which must be eliminated; but, on the other hand, it is also richer in various developments borrowed from other indigenous sources.

Of old, Heaven and Earth were not yet separated, and the In and Yō not yet divided. They formed a chaotic mass like an egg, which was of obscurely defined limits, and contained germs. The purer and clearer part was thinly diffused and formed Heaven, while the heavier and grosser element settled down and became Earth. The finer element easily became a united body, but the consolidation of the heavy and gross element was accomplished with difficulty. Heaven was therefore formed first, and Earth was established subsequently. Therefore Divine Beings were produced here. Hence, it is said that, when the world began to be created, the soul of which lands was composed floated about in a manner which might be compared with floating on the surface of the water. At this time a certain thing was produced between Heaven and Earth. It was in form like a reed-plant. Now this became transformed into a god, and was called Uto-tokotachi-no-kami (the August Standing-Eternally-in-Heaven), the cosmic figure or principle of Earth.

And it is said that this being was the first to be created. He was the ancestor of all flesh, and was called Kami. Kami is the personal deity. The five Deities in the above list are separate Heavenly Deities (i.e., were separate from those who came into existence afterwards.

The names of the Deities that were born next were Kuni-no-tokotachi-no-kami (the Deity Standing-forever-in-the-Earth), next, Man-tokotachi-no-kami (the August Standing-Integrating-Master, or Deity). These two Deities were Likewise Deities born alone, and the names of the Deity that was born next were U-hiji-ni-no-kami (the Deity Mud-Earth-Lord), next his younger sister (i.e., wife) Su-hiji-ni-no-kami (the Deity Mud-Earth-Lady), next, Iku-guhi-no-kami (the August Standing-Perfect-Plant, or Deity), next, Tsun-guhi-no-kami (the August Standing-Integrating-Deity), next, his younger sister Higashi-guhi-no-kami (the August Standing-Integrating-Deity), next his younger sister Toyo-hiji-no-kami (the Deity Earth-Mother), next, Iku-guhi-no-kami (the Deity Earth-Mother), next his sister Tsun-guhi-no-kami (the August Standing-Perfect-Plant). From the Deity Standing-Eternally-in-Heaven down to the Deity of the Female Who-Inherits in the foregoing list are what are termed the Seven Divine Generations. The two solitary Deities above-mentioned are each called one generation.

After the cosmic figures had attained the form and names of the Earth, the pure element was afterwards divided among the Deities each pair of Deities each pair of names is called ‘generation’ (Kojiki, at the beginning of vol. 1; tr. B. H. Chamberlin, ed. 1906, p. 15.)

Sometime after the first generation of Deities was formed, the reed-shoots came forth from the mud; and this thing was immediately metamorphosed into human form.

All these texts are valuable from their very incoherence, which, like the incoherence of the Hindu myths on the same subject, proves their authenticity and affords all the most interest from the point of view of comparative mythology. In the first place, indeed, this abundance of versions enables us to trace in Japan the cosmogonic myths of many other races; e.g. the idea that gods and men were part of the same entity, which we meet with from the time of the ancient Greeks, who believed that they had sprang from the earth like cabbages, were born from certain trees, or had risen out of a marsh, right down to the Amazulu who make their Universe originate from a bed of reeds or even from a reed-plant (which corresponds exactly with the Japanese idea).

In the second place, by examining these most ancient texts in relation to each other, we can distinguish, as far as is possible, the true myth from the myths influenced by the Chinese notions added thereto. The idea of the separation of the Heavens and the Earth, with which the Nihongi begins, and which also exists in China (myth of P’an-ku), is found again in India, Greece (Kronos), Africa, New Zealand (Rangi and Papa), and consequently it would be rash to affirm a simple Chinese imitation here. But the whole passage on the In and the Yō (the Yin and the Yang, the passive or female principle, and the active or male principle, which are the main springs of Nature in Chinese philosophy) is clearly only a little dissertation of foreign metaphysics, preparing for the way the native tradition of Izanagi and Izanami, the creators of Japan. As regards the cosmic egg—which seems to be a postulate of the male and female principles, and that it does not harmonize very well with the image of the fish employed immediately after. It is only at this point (Hence it is said . . .) that the real national account, agreeing with that of the Kojiki, begins. Thus we see the
leading line of the purely Japanese myth disentangling itself, viz., the essential notion of a floating earth, from which springs a red-dead, which in turn engenders the human form. And in this way we have, along with the origin of the world, the origin of man himself: the cosmogony terminates in a mysterious theogony, in which the Divine and human elements are confused in an insensible transition.

At this stage the last couple born in the Plain of the High Heavens are commissioned by the other gods to 'make, consolidate, and give birth to this divinity on it; and so, the cosmogony terminates in a mysterious theogony, in which the Divine and human elements are confused in an insensible transition.

Hereupon all the Heavenly Deities commanded the two Deities, His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites and Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites, ordering them to 'make, consolidate, and give birth to this drifting land.' Granting to them so heavenly jewelled spear, they thus died, and so to change them. So the two Deities, standing upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven (most probably, the Rainbow), pushed down the jewelled spear and stirred it with it, whereas, when they had stirred the brine till it went curdle, and drew the spear up, the brine that dripped down from the end of the spear was the land (i.e. Self-Condensed) (Kojiki, 10).

Izanagi and Izanami descend from Heaven to this island and celebrate their union. They give birth first to a weakly child, which they abandon in a reed-boat, and then to the islet of Awa (Foam), which also they refuse to acknowledge. But, on being told by the celestial gods that, if these children should perish, 'it is to cause the woman species first,' in the purpose of the ceremony, they resume their work of creation under more favourable conditions, and give birth first to the island of Awaji (Foam-way), and then to the other islands of the archipelago, and this they put into the world, in the same manner a whole tribe of Nature-gods. Here, again, we observe the idea of evolution so familiar to Japanese thought.

The god of Fire, Kagu-tench, Izanami's last-born, desires to be her mother so badly that she dies in a terrible fever. Izanagi in despair drags himself round about the body groaning, and from his tears is born another god. He buries his wife on Mount Hiba, on the borders of the land of Izumo. Then, in the fury of grief, he tears the matri-rice to pieces, the blood and scattered members also changing into new deities. He finally descends to Hades to recover his wife, and finds himself face to face with a mass of putrid matter. Horror-struck, he returns to the light of day, and in order to elaborate the nations in a race of Kyushu, in order to get rid of the uncleanness contracted in his sojourn with darkness and death, Twelve deities are at this time born from his staff, various parts of his clothing, and his bracelets, as he throws them on the ground, and then fourteen others spring from the various processes of his ablations, among these being three illustrious deities who are the last to appear, when he washes his left eye, his right eye, and his nose, viz., Amaterasu-oho-mikami (the Heaven-Shining Great-August-Deity), Tsukuyomi-no-mikami (the Moon-Night-Deity), and Take-haya-susa-no-wo-no-mikoto (His Brave-Swift-Invincible-Male-Augustness).

To these three deities—the goddess of the Sun, the god of the Moon, and the god of the Ocean, soon transformed into the god of the Storm—Izanagi proceeds to give the investiture of the government of the universe: 'To Amaterasu this Male-Who-Invites greatly rejoiced, saying: 'I, begetting child after child, have at my final begetting taken three illustrious children.' At once he enclosed them in three jewel-forms of precious stones. To his august necklace, he bestowed it on the Heaven-Shining Great-August-Deity saying: 'To this Augustness rule the Plain of High Heaven.' With this charge he bestowed it on her. . . .

Next he said to the Moon-Night-Deity: 'Do Thine Augustness rule the Nation of the Night.' And he charged her.

Next he said to His Brave-Swift-Invincible-Male-Augustness: 'To Thine Augustness rule the Sea-Can.' (Kojiki, 10).

So, then, is the universe organized in its essen-
tial elements. It still remains, however, to complete the construction of the earth. This is the task, after the clear-cut division of the universe, of a god of the land, a god of the sea, and a god of another element, the god of the earth, the god of names. (A.D. 753).

The august god declared: 'The country of Izumo, . . . is indeed a youthful country of narrow stuff. The original country is still very little. Therefore, I am going to set a new piece of land to it.' He spoke; and, as he looked towards the cape of Shirai (a Korean Kingdom) to whether there was not excess of land there, he said to himself: 'There is an excess of land'; and with a mattock he hollowed out a cleft like that between a year old's breasts; this cleft he filled with the excess of land, and put a stone to hold it. Then he said: 'There is an excess of land': like those dealt on the gills of a large fish (to kill it); and cut it away . . .; and, fastening round it a thick three-strand rope, he drove it long, balanced, and the rope thus sewn on is to be found between the extreme boundary of Kozu and the promontory of Kinko, which has been formed eight times. The post arranged in this way is Mount Sakurahara, the boundary between the country of Iki and that of Izumo. Moreover, the rope with which he dragged the land along is the long beach of Someo. When looked towards the country of Kaki, at the gates of the North (i.e. in the North), to see whether there was not an excess of land, he said: 'There is an excess of land' (as above, down to "Come, Land!"). The land thus brought and sewed on is the country of Sakai, which is divided from the very borders of Tatsu to here. When he looked towards the country of Sunami, at the gates of the South, to see whether there was not an excess of land, he said: 'There is an excess of land' (once more the same words, ending with "Come, Land!"). The land thus brought and sewed on is the country of Karazato, extending from the borders of Tatsu to here. When he looked towards Cape Tsutsu, at Someo, to see whether there was not an excess of land, he said: 'There is an excess of land' (always the same phrase). The country thus brought and sewed on is Cape Mito. The rope which was thus brought is the island of Yomi (one of the place-names that are connected with the entrance to Hades, situated in Izumo). The post arranged in this way is Mount Obi-ke-no-kuni. In the above, it is said: 'This country has been finished bringing land,' he said. And, as he drove his august stuff into the ground, in the wood on which he treaded: 'Yomi' whence the name Omi (Izumo Fudos, ed. Ohara, 1896, pp. 4-6).

This 'bringing of land' (Ishiki-bishi), the naive account of which ends with an equally childish explanation of the name of the place, is a striking illustration of the material character of the task devolving upon Oho-kuni-nushi—the finishing of the work by the creator-figure, the continued by Izanagi on his being widowed, and finally interrupted by Izanagi's death. Only the method is different. A short passage in the Nihongi (ii. 366) shows the extent to which this putting together of the country seemed a natural work: one night, in an A.D. 657 a noise was heard coming from the east like the rolling of drums, in the morning it was seen that an island had suddenly risen out of the waves; the conclusion was that the ominous noise was the din the gods made when roiling this island. Without leaving Japan, we can trace the same idea of building in an Ainu myth. It is intended to explain why the west coast of Yezo ends in treacherous rocks, while the east slopes down gently to the sea. The western coast, the land was built by a Divine couple, and the woman, who had charge of the west shore, neglected her task by speaking all the time.

In short, apart from spontaneous generation, which is freely admitted for the primordial gods, the creation of the world can be explained prin-
Finally, "cosmos" and "cosmology" are terms commonly used to denote the belief that the Sun, Moon, stars, and planets all move in a harmonious order; that the Earth is the center of this universe and is surrounded by the skies, which, like the waters, are divided into two parts, the heavens above and the earth below. This concept is universal, as it can be found in many cultures around the world. For example, the ancient Egyptians believed in a world consisting of a central land surrounded by water, with the gods above and the dead below. The ancient Greeks also had a similar concept, with the gods dwelling in the heavens and the humans living on Earth. The ancient Chinese believed in a world where the gods lived in the heavens and the dead lived in the underworld. This universal belief in a harmonious order of the universe can be seen in the diverse cultures that have developed throughout history.
"Ame-no-uxume-to-mikoto (Her Augustness the Heavenly-
Alarming-Female) drove together all the things brood of
and the sky-blazed very bright, saying: "Will you, respec-
tively, serve the august son of the Heavenly Deity?" to
which all the fishes declared that they would respectfully
serve, and the sky-blazed very bright. Then said Ame-
no-uxume-to-mikoto: "Ah! I am a month that gives no
reply. I am a month with waste merchandize. And now,
the present day the bōke-de-miyer has a slit month." (Kojiki, 139).

In the same way the Breton legend explains how the
fishes claimed for making a grimmace at the Holy
Virgin, even all kinds of crooked mouth; and an
Oceanic legend tells how the sole refused to sing,
and was trampled upon by the angered fishes, and
was thereafter. In Japan itself a popular tale, which
is said sacred, but which nevertheless undoubtedly very ancient, tells us
that the reason why the medusa has no bones to
shapeless substance is that, for being
in the performance of a task entrusted
to her by the god of the Seas, she was so maltreated by
blows that she was reduced to pulp. In all these
stories, as in that of the Biblical serpent
deemed to creep for ever (Gen 3''), the punishment
continues in the descendants of the afflicted animal —
her filiation, since the established
form of the animal precisely constitutes the raison
d'être of the myth.

We find myths of this kind to an even greater
extent in relation to man himself, his physical
nature, displaying all his defects which shored
his instinct of preservation. Like all primitive
peoples, the ancient Japanese see in death
an abnormal phenomenon. Natural death does not
exist; death must be the work of some
supernatural agencies. On the fatal frenzy of
Izanagi might be a manifestation of the fire of god, and the last
illness of the hero Yamato-dake, who was seized
with a sudden chill in an icy shower, must be the effect
of the vengeance of the god of the mountain
when he lost his way. Speaking in a more general
way, just as the majority of civilized races claim a
spiritual immortality which they deny to animals,
so primitive man liked to believe that physical
immortality would have distinguished him from
all other beings, if death had not been introduced
into the world by some mistake or as a tyrannous
punishment. This conception is found equally
among Hebrews and Greeks, Kaftirs and Hotentots,
Fijians, New Zealanders, etc.

The punishment by death of the islander of the Shimto myth:

"Asu-te-bi-daka-bi-ko-ho-no-ai-nig-ko-no-mikoto (Hii Augustness
Heaven's-Son-of-Bright-Prince-Rice Ear-Ruddy-Plenty) met a
hag on the west-front of Cape of Izu, and asked her
whom her daughter was. She replied, saying: "I am a daughter
of Yo-ya-tea-mi-ni-ko-kami (the Deity Great-Moun-
tain-Possessor), and my name is the Divine-Princess-of-the-
Trees," Then she charged her, saying: "I wish to make thy
wife. How will this be?"

She replied, saying: "I am not able to say. My
father, the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, who,
greatly delighted, respectfully sent her off, joining to
her other islander princess Long-as-the-Beans, and caused
merchandise to be carried on tables holding an hundred. So
then, owing to the elder sister being anxious, His Augustness
Princess Rice Ear-Ruddy-Plenty was alarmed at the sight of
her, and sent back, only keeping the younger sister Princess
Blossoming-Blissfully-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-
Trees, whom he waited for one night. Then the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor
said to the younger sister Princess Long-as-the-Beans being
sent back, and sent a message, saying: "My reason for respect-
fully presenting both my daughters together was that, by
sending back the younger sister Princess Blossoming-
Blissfully-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, they might live
nourishingly unlike the elder, and the blossoming
beauty of the heavenly Deity shall be as fair as the flowers
of the trees." So it is for this reason that, down to the present
day, the august lives of Their Augustnesses the Heavenly
Sovereigns are not long." (Kojiki, 180).

This curious case at first sight to apply only to the
Imperial line, but there is no doubt whatever
that, in primitive thought, it was meant to explain
why all men are mortal. This is proved by the
following variant from the Nihongi, the Japanese
Bible:

"I-naga-hime, in her shame and resentment, spat
and wept. She said: "The race of visible mankind shall change
its outwardness like the flowers of the trees, and shall decay
and pass away." This is the reason why the life of man is so short.

There is a rather striking resemblance to be seen
between this myth and a legend of the Non
American Indians: the Pebble-and the Bushes
were with child at the same time, but the children of
the Bushes were born first; that is why man is
subject to death. I-naga-hime also recalls in
a wonderful manner O-te-papa, the rock-wife
of Tangaloa, in Polynesian myth.

Besides death, life also has its place, especially
among a light-hearted people like the ancient
Japanese, whom even Buddhism itself could not
seduce. They sought to probe to the origin of
death, but they understood none the less that
this was not the only problem of their
destiny. They admired life with its fertility; and
another important myth proceeds to tell how, in
spite of the truths of the real world, the
humanity develops and triumphs in the immor-
tality of its perpetual rejuvenation. Izanagi,
the father of men and islands, fled from the sub-
terrestrial kingdom, pursued by the Fujiree,
The Thunderbolt, and all the horrible army of Hades.

"Last of all his younger sister Her Augustness the Princess
Who-Invites came out herself in pursuit. So he drew a
thousand-drang out rock, and blocked up the Even Path of Hades
(Yomo-tsua-hira-saka, forming the frontier-line between Hades
and the World of the Living), and placed the rock in the
middle; and the rock was oped opposite to one another
leave-taking; and Her Augustness the Females-Who-Invites
said: "My loving older brother, Thine Augustness is
like this, I will in one day strangely to death a thousand
of the folk of thy land." Then His Augustness the Male-Who-
Invites replied: "I will not a lovely younger sister, Thine Augustness!
If thou do this, I will in one day set up a thousand and five
hundred partition-houses (the separate hut for a woman
about to be delivered). In this manner each day a thousand
people would surely die, and each day a thousand and five
hundred people would surely be born."“

I-nan is thus conquered; Izanagi prevails;
and in commemoration of his victory the Japanese
thereafter called themselves Ame-no-masu-hito-ra,
'the heavenly surplus-population.'

All these are the components of which was
ruined by the serious questioning of primitive
curiosity regarding the affairs of Nature and
man, of physical phenomena and living beings,
the origin of the world and its present appearance,
and, short regarding everything that afterwards con-
stituted the complicated object of the sciences
—provide us with a mythology in which cosmogony
holds the place of honour, and cosmology is only
beginning to appear. The ancient Japanese felt
themselves enveloped in mysteries which they
would have been glad to solve; but, as the limited
extent of their knowledge set strict bounds to
their attempts, they soon tired of looking for
these causes; they accordingly stopped short with in-
visible and intangible explanations, which
excited them, but which could scarcely approach a deep
investigation of the laws that underlie the sensible
world. It was only under Chinese influence that
this type of investigation developed, and that the
ancient mythology became a more or less
abstract science, as we have seen in the typical
example of the story of the creation in the Nihongi.
This desire to harmonize national tradition with the
philosophical ideas of China, or even of Europe,
led the Japanese to turn to the hands of the modern Shintoist theologians.
Thus, e.g., they attempted to explain the origin of the
stars, sometimes by investigating whether they
would be
might have sprung from the excess of material stirred up and scattered into space by Izanagi’s spear, sometimes by supposing that the shell of the primitive egg got lost. But these apologetic speculations are clearly foreign to the simple cosmogony and embryonic cosmology of the ancient Japanese.


MICHEL REYON.

COSMOGENY AND COSMOLOGY (Jewish).

—Speaking generally, it may be said that speculation as to the origin of the world was not encouraged during the early Rabbinic period. Between Biblical times and the era of the Jewish philosophers, cosmology in the modern sense can scarcely be said to have flourished, by which is meant that it is so closely connected with philosophy itself that separate treatment is scarcely possible. The well-known verses of Ben Sira (Sir 32:4),

1Search not the things that are too wonderful for thee; and seek not that which is hid from thee.

... thou hast no business with the secret things'.

(G. G. Taylor,

are quoted in Talmud and Midrash, and were applied to this form of investigation (see JQR iii. [1890-1] 690; Bab. Hagiga, 113a, etc.; Midr. Bereishith Rabba, ch. viii.; cf. also parallel passages quoted in JQR iii. 690). It may also be said that, in most cases where cosmological elements are found in Rabbinic sources, the scientific character is subordinated to the religious. Leaving the Biblical records, the following are the main groups of writings, during this intermediate period, which deal with the question of creation: (1) references in Talmud and Midrash (cited above); (2) special references to the 'Logos' as distinct from other means of creation; (3) Kabbalistic writings and references, such as the Sepher Yezira and the Zohar, etc.

With regard to the first class, the verses of Ben Sira which have been cited are typical of the disapproval displayed by the Rabbis towards cosmological studies. With this statement one must carefully compare the Gemara in the first Mishna of the second perek of Hagiga (11b). This passage is the locus classicus, though scarcely less noteworthy are the beginnings of Genesis Rabba and Tanhuma. It is evident that the dislike of the Rabbis to the study of cosmology was due to two causes—the fact that the material and method appeared to be Greek in origin, and the fact that such study sometimes led to atheism and sacrilege. In support of this the famous story of Elisha b. Abuya (Aher) (cf. Hagiga, 15b foot, etc.) may be recalled. The study of Greek mythology and philosophy leads to Hellenization, and must be discouraged. It would seem, however, that the ardor for these studies grew, in spite of the Rabbis, and the latter seem to have abandoned a policy of resistance and adopted a new attitude—that the creation of the world must be shown to have depended entirely on the Divine power. Hence the early chapters of Bereishith Rabba are devoted to proving that God, and God alone, is the Creator.

There are clear traces of replies, on the

part of the Rabbis who are there quoted, to opponents, who seem to have been Gnostics and dualists, by whom the Biblical scheme of creation is rejected; in some cases it would seem as though we were face to face with Panteistic ideas, but that would be difficult to establish. The creatio ex nihilo is frequently affirmed, but this question, as well as that of the 'eternity of matter,' belongs to Jewish philosophy rather than to cosmology; they cannot be considered without reference to later writers, e.g. Maimonides and Judah Halevî.

Each of the three great Semitic religious has had to face the problem of harmonizing a doctrine of pre-existence of the Deity with the teaching of concurrent belief in the creatio ex nihilo. In the case of Christianity it is the Arian controversy. Among the Muslims, the question of the Qurán—whether it was created or eternal—was one of the points on which the Muḥammad—was clear from the beginning. In the early Jewish writings, the controversy was expressed in different terms, and it would have been alleged that the Torah had some share in the actual work of creation (contrast B. I. Raba, ed. Theodor, p. 6). But, while the Bereishith Rabba compares the Torah to the parchments plans of an architect, the function of the Divine Creator are not only never usurped, but, on the contrary, the supremacy of the Godhead in the work of creation is emphatically stated. From this it may be inferred that the belief was never reduced to a pre-existence. The same may be said of the passages in the Midrash. Their purpose is homily, not science; 'their concern is to praise the works of the Deity rather than to investigate the ways of Nature or to explain the wonders of the universe. The methods employed. A verse of Scripture is regularly interpreted by natural phenomena, and the functions of heaven and earth are derived philosophically from the Bible. Had the objective of the Rabbs been primarily scientific, a different method would have been adopted. As it is, arguments post factum are quite legitimate and in keeping with the purpose.

To imagine that the Rabbis would have been content with such methods of argument, or would have considered them adequate, is impossible for two reasons. (1) This would overlook the true character of Haggada (i.e. allegoric homily); and (2) it would imply ignorance of the scientific capabilities of this period. The Rabbis had a special regard for astronomy, in order to see what they could achieve. Hence it is desirable, for cosmological purposes, to pass over Bereishith Rabba and most Talmudic passages. It is also fair to exclude the famous controversy of the Talmud and Shammai as the relative precedence of Heaven and Earth 1 in this category (Hag. 12a), because their objective also was religion, not science. On the whole, the dogma of the creatio ex nihilo was accepted, though not without reservations and even opposition. In 2 Mac 7:2 the author speaks actually of a creation Et ex loco, but Wis 11:8 prefers the theory of re-arrangement of existing matter rather than creation. Plato allegorizes: God gave the form to the matter, and man may change, of course, ultimately He is the Creator. According to the

1 This was one of the questions asked by Alexander of Macedon (see Tumiel, 32b, and B. I. Raba, ed. Theodor, p. 13).

2 The postmoderate suh koi nitsa nyon labas 32b nity lokm 32b.}

.....
beginning of de Opifíc. Mundí, the world was created for the 1717, and with the 1717 all natural phenomena must be in harmony. This is perhaps an extension of the Midrashic thought that the world was created 1717 1722 (B. Rabbá, ed. Theodor, p. 9, line 9). Tholos's Logos does not perform quite the same functions as the Mishnic or Targumic Logos or Memra—if such a term may be used. In Abott (v. 1) we read that the world was created by ten 1705, or sayings; that is to say, "And God said" occurs ten times with reference to the Creation. Now this theory has developed from what may briefly and conveniently be described as the Targumic attitude—the objection to anthropomorphism. The Memra, or Memra, to some extent intervenes and becomes the mouthpiece or instrument of creation. This gives rise to theories of Mediators, whether in form of Demiurge or of Mētraón, which are, however, often expressly repudiated: e.g. Bereishith Rabbá (ed. Theodor, p. 5, l. 10), and p. 27, l. 2), where the date of the creation of angels is discussed. The question is in itself unimportant. Stress is laid on the fact that they could not have been created on the first day, lest any share in the way, in which the Mētraón (μέτα όρων or μετατόπων) is mentioned by name frequently (cf. Sanhedrin, 336, which is a warning against ascribing Divine powers to Mētraón). It may be doubted whether it was ever believed that a mediator, by means of special agencies functions; it is more probable that the idea was invented to account for the text, and repudiated when felt to be dangerous. At all events it cannot be included in true cosmology.

The Kabbalah, which, of course, belongs really to a later period, the same air of unreality is experienced. In the Sepher Yeshirá and similar works, permutations and arrangements of numbers and letters are the basis of argument, and this is typical of the whole mystical outlook of the Kabbalah. A close relation is postulated between the real and the unseen, between the written word and the abstract idea of which it is the symbol; hence it was possible to derive the spirituality of the physical world from the form, i.e. from the word in which it was confined. The deductions are, of course, ingenious, but they are reached by literary or quasi-philosophical arguments. It is obvious that in attempting to establish or even to suggest the selected tradition must form the foundation of cosmology, and it cannot definitely be stated to what practical extent the authors of Kabbalistic reasoning desired their results to be taken. The truth is that between the period of the Bible and that of the mediaval Jewish philosophers there is no real cosmology. The Scriptures supplied the needs of all seekers, until Judaism was brought face to face with Aristotleanism and Neo-Platonism. Hence cosmology was not taken seriously in the scientific sense, it was more homily; but henceforward it became an integral portion of the system of each thinker. It is impossible to discuss the theories of 1727, creatio ex nihilo, in mediaval times, apart from the rest of the philosophy which was established upon it.

LITERATURE.—There is a critical edition of the Midrash Bereishith Rabbá by O. J. Theodor (Berlin, 1900). For those unacquainted with Hebrew the Talmudic references may be studied in M. L. Rothkis's tr. (Haggag. vols. v. and vi.), New York, 1900; and in L. Loew's tr. (Bereishith, London, 1897, etc.). The treatise Haggag was translated (with notes, etc.) by A. W. Stranea, Cambridge, 1893. Some idea of the Midrash may be obtained from J. S. Rapaport and Maurice Frank, of the Midrash (London, 1907); see also J. S., artt. "Cosmology," "Creation."

HERBERT LOEWE.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Mexican and South American).—I. Mexico.—On the origin and constitution of the universe the ancient Mexicans developed a number of complex and, in part, discordant myths. In the earliest times, according to Sahagún's version, the gods assembled in Teotihuacan for the purpose of debates on who was to govern the world and who was to be the sun for that at time there was no daylight. A deity named Tecuciztecatl offered to illuminate the world. His compiers asked who would act as his mate, but none of them could summon sufficient courage, each offering excuses. At last they delegated the task to Nanahuztin, who was afflicted with the pox (rubus), and he cheerfully acquiesced. The luminaries-elect then began a four days' penance. A fire was built, and both made their offerings. After the four days had elapsed, Tecuciztecatl and Nanahuztin received their ceremonial vestments. The gods ranged themselves in two rows, one on either side of the fire, and first called upon Tecuciztecatl to leap into the flames. The deity approached the blaze, but recoiled from its excessive heat. Four times he made the attempt, and four times he abandoned it. Then the gods ordered Nanahuztin to try. He mustered all his courage, closed his eyes, and leapt into the flames. At the last instant a hoarse sound was heard. Then Tecuciztecatl followed suit. When the two deities had been completely consumed by the fire, the other gods seated themselves, expecting to see them rise. After a long period of suspense the assembled company, a poor aspect, and there appeared the light of dawn. The gods fell on their knees and turned hither and thither, not knowing from what quarter the sun would come, for the light of dawn was shining everywhere. Last it rose from the science to and fro, and dazzling the onlookers with its brilliancy. Presently the moon rose from the same cardinal direction. They appeared in the same order in which the two gods had entered to fire. At first sun and moon were equally brilliant. The other gods debated whether this was proper, and decided in the negative. Then one of them began to run, and struck Tecuciztecatl's face with a bare. Straightway it turned darker, lost its splendor, and its sights for the moment, and the sun in the moon. Though the sun and the moon had thus been created, they were still stationary. The gods asked another: 'How could we live under these conditions? The sun does not move. Are we to suffer the fate of kind? How could we live eternally? Let us all die, so that our death may annul these luminaries.' The wind then offered to kill the gods, and did so. Still the sun did not begin to move. At last the wind blew so violently that he forced the sun to commence its journey, but the moon remained stationary for a while. Finally, it also began to move. Thus, sun and moon became separated and assumed the habit of rising at different hours of the sky. Tecuciztecatl, recorded before Nanahuztin, he would have been the sun.1

A somewhat similar version has been recorded by Mendieta. Cithalatonie and Cithalic appear as the primeval deities. They were bore a limb, which her enraged cons hurled to the earth. From the shattered stone there developed 1600 gods, the friends of mier for permission to create man. Cithalic refused them to Mictlanecuhtli, who was to furnish them with the bones and ashes. The messenger of the gods received the required objects from the lord of the underworld, but, lest Mictlanecuhtli might recall his gift, he fled in haste, stumbled, and broke the bones. Hence gathered them together and presented them to the gods, who enclosed them in

1 Sahagún, Hist. gén. des choses d la Nouvelle-Espagne (Paris, 1809), 478-492.
a bag and bespattered them with their own blood. On the fourth day there issued forth a boy, and on the eighth a girl. These became the ancestors of mankind. The sun was not yet in existence. The gods assembled in Teotihuacan and there decided to make the sun. They formed a bag and jumped into the fire should be transformed into the sun. One man ventured to leap in, and the spectators anxiously watched for the rising of the sun. In the meantime they laid a wager that the animals present would not be able to guess the place whence the sun would rise, and, as the animals actually failed to do so, they were all sacrificed. At last the sun appeared, but did not move. Angered by his immovability, Citlil (the hare) let fly three arrows at him, wounding him twice. The chagrined god deified one arrow back at the enemy, piercing his forehead. The gods then recognized their relative inferiority, and consented to be sacrificed. Xolotl tore out their hearts, and himself committed suicide. Approached by this sacrifice, the sun began his daily course.1

A rather different tale is narrated in the Zumaraga Codex. There dwelt originally in the third month a young girl named Tlalocatl, and Tonacacuiltli, who begat four sons, viz. Camaxtli, Yayaquitzatlipoca, Quetzalcoatl, and Huiztilopochtli. After 600 years of inactivity these four created the world. Quetzalcoatl and Huiztilopochtli, the sun and the moon, were the first pair of human beings, the days, the denizens of infernal regions, the heavens beyond the thirteenth, and finally water and the monster Cipactli. In the further creation the entire quartet participated. They formed the deities Tlatloacuatzitli and Chalchihuitzitli, and then created out of Cipactli the earth and her deity Tlaltcuitli. The first human pair, Oxomoco and Cipactonal, begat a son who married a woman shaped out of clay, and from this pair were the first beings. As the sun was first of all created, but little light, it was decided to perfect it, and accordingly Tezcatlipoca transformed himself into a real sun. Then the giants were created. After Tezcatlipoca had slain for 670 years (13 cycles), Quetzalcoatl hurled him into the water, himself assuming solar functions, while his enemy transformed himself into a tiger which devoured the giant race. In commemoration of this event, there developed the constellation of Charles's Wain, which represents the Tezcatlipoca descending into the ocean. After Quetzalcoatl had served for an equal space of time, his rival hurled him headlong with a blow of his paws, causing a tempest that destroyed the majority of human beings. Then Tlatloacuatzitli reigned as the sun for 364 years (7 cycles), but Quetzalcoatl drove him away by means of a torrent of fire and installed Chalchihuitzitli in his place. She served in this position for 312 years (6 cycles), then a deluge occurred, Chalchihuitzitli was changed into a fish, and the heavens fell down. The divine quartet next opened a passage under ground, and created four men. By the joint efforts of all of these the sky was raised to its present altitude. As a token of his gratitude, Tonacacuitl transferred to his sons the sovereignty of the stars, they settled in the heavens, and by their migrations they are smoothing the path known as the Milky Way. Two years later Tezcatlipoca first produced fire by fire and smoke, and several years later still a new race of man was created. After the lapse of five years, the gods decreed the formation of a new sun. War was waged in order to secure a sufficient number of human sacrifices for the sun, then the gods hurled the fire, driven from their earthen vessels, and leaped up firewood. Into the blaze Quetzalcoatl cast his own son, who thus became the sun. Tlatloacuatzitli, however, threw his son into the ashes, thus making him rise as the moon, which continually follows the sun without ever over-taking it. Both then announced to the air without ever reaching the heavens. The Codex Vaticanus mentions the bis-sexual deity Ometecuhtli as the creator of the universe. He creates the first human pair, Oxomoco and Cipactonal. These beget Tonacacuitl, to whom the later stages of creation are due.2

The modern Tarahumare believe that the present world was preceded by many others, all of which were destroyed. In these earlier periods all the watercourses flowed eastward, but now there are also some rivers that empty into the Pacific. Originally, the world was but a waste of sand, which the bears put into shape. The rocks were at first soft and small, but they grew to be large and hard. The people grew up from the soil, and the earth was quite level. At that time men lived to be only one year old, dying like the flowers. According to another tradition, they came from heaven with corn and potatoes in their ears, and were led by Tonacacuitl. The earth was made by a Christian name—into the mountains, the middle of the world. In the beginning, the Morning Star was the only heavenly body to illuminate the earth, and the 600 Indians then in existence were devoured by it. The sun, then, is the first pair of human beings, the days, the denizens of infernal regions, the heavens beyond the thirteenth, and finally water and the monster Cipactli. The first human pair, Oxomoco and Cipactonal, begat a son who married a woman shaped out of clay, and from this pair were the first beings. As the sun was first of all created, but little light, it was decided to perfect it, and accordingly Tezcatlipoca transformed himself into a real sun. Then the giants were created. After Tezcatlipoca had slain for 670 years (13 cycles), Quetzalcoatl hurled him into the water, himself assuming solar functions, while his enemy transformed himself into a tiger which devoured the giant race. In commemoration of this event, there developed the constellation of Charles’s Wain, which represents the Tezcatlipoca descending into the ocean. After Quetzalcoatl had served for an equal space of time, his rival hurled him headlong with a blow of his paws, causing a tempest that destroyed the majority of human beings. Then Tlatloacuatzitli reigned as the sun for 364 years (7 cycles), but Quetzalcoatl drove him away by means of a torrent of fire and installed Chalchihuitzitli in his place. She served in this position for 312 years (6 cycles), then a deluge occurred, Chalchihuitzli was changed into a fish, and the heavens fell down. The divine quartet next opened a passage under ground, and created four men. By the joint efforts of all of these the sky was raised to its present altitude. As a token of his gratitude, Tonacacuitl transferred to his sons the sovereignty of the stars, they settled in the heavens, and by their migrations they are smoothing the path known as the Milky Way. Two years later Tezcatlipoca first produced fire by fire and smoke, and several years later still a new race of man was created. After the lapse of five years, the gods decreed the formation of a new sun. War was waged in order to secure a sufficient number of human sacrifices for the sun, then the gods hurled the fire, driven from their earthen vessels, and leaped up firewood. Into the blaze Quetzalcoatl cast his own son, who thus became the sun. Tlatloacuatzitli, however, threw his son into the ashes, thus making him rise as the moon, which continually follows the sun without ever over-taking it. Both then announced to the air without ever reaching the heavens. The Codex Vaticanus mentions the bis-sexual deity Ometecuhtli as the creator of the universe. He creates the first human pair, Oxomoco and Cipactonal. These beget Tonacacuitl, to whom the later stages of creation are due.

Tobil, one of these tutelary gods, gave fire to the people, but it was extinguished by rain and hail, and he threatened it then by stamping his feet. Owing to the suffering undergone by the people in Tulan, they abandoned the place under Tobil's guidance, and, after long-continued migrations, reached Mt. Hacavitz. There sun, moon, and stars were called into being, though they did not then shine as brightly as they do now. The origin of these heavenly bodies, however, is differently accounted for in the myth of Hunahpu and Xbalanque, the miraculously born twin heroes of Quiché. In order to avenge their father's death, the brothers descend to the infernal realm of Xibalba, and slay their parent's murderers. They cause their father and his brother to rise as the sun and moon respectively, while 400 youths who had been killed by the Xibalba monarch's son are transferred to the sky as stars.\footnote{Brasseur de Bourbourg, \textit{Popol Vuh} (Paris, 1893), 1-51, 157-159; Brühl, \textit{op. cit.}, 441.}

The Maya proper of the present day believe that the world is in the fourth period of its existence. In the first era there lived the Saiyauwinkoo ("Adjusters"), the mythical dwarfish aborigines of Yuacatan, who are credited with the construction of the ruins before the appearance of the sun. As soon as the sun appeared, these people turned to stone. Figures found in the temples of Chichen Itza and Tulum, and some others supposed to represent the Saiyauwinkoo. After a deluge, another race, the "Offenders," came into being, but again a flood destroyed the greater part of the world, and the Masecalli, or modern Maya, rose to power after the deluge. According to the present period, during which a mixture of all the previous inhabitants of Yuacatan took place. The present natives of Yuacatan distinguish seven heavens, each of which has a hole in the center. The Philosophers' Stone (\textit{Bombax ebul}) sends its branches through these seven openings, and by means of it the spirits of the dead clamber up to their final place of repose. One version substitutes a ladder of vines for the tree. The \textit{Gran Dios} of the white man is believed to reside in the uppermost heaven, while the lower heavens are peopled by the older deities of the natives, now degraded to the rank of subordinate spirits. Below the earth there is an under-world. The spirits of the dead first descend to this region for a short time, but then begin their ascent to the upper worlds. Men who have died in war and women who have died in childbirth are absolved from the obligation to visit the under-world, and commence their ascent to the upper worlds immediately.\footnote{\textit{A. M. Tozer, A Comparative Study of the Mayas and Lacandones} (New York and London, 1907), 153-156.}

3. Chibcha.—The Chibcha philosophers postulated that the original substance \textit{chiminigagua}—light enclosed in some undefined envelope. When the light freed itself from this covering, it created black birds which flew through the world, emitting radiant fire from their beaks. Later it created all living things save men. Mankind traced their descent from a woman named Bucue (or Fuachogue) and a boy, both of whom issued from a lacquer in the mining of Tunja. At puberty, the boy married his companion, and their numerous progeny soon peopled the entire country. According to another myth, mankind was created by the \textit{ecigues} of Soganozo and Ramiriqui—men out of yellow earth who peopled the hill-stones with bones, and bones, which he left near the shore. Then he created men and women, and appointed chiefs to rule over them. When Vichama learned of his mother's death, he restored her to life from her concealed hair and bones; then he set out to avenge her destruction. Pachacamac threw himself into the sea where afterwards stood the temple and city named after him. Vichama devastated the fields, and implored the sun to turn the people away from the use of Vegueta into stone, because, he alleged, they had participated in his mother's murder. Thus, all Pachacamac's creatures were transformed into stones. Repeating their deed, the sun and Vichama transferred the former chiefs and nobles to the coast, setting them up there as \textit{huacas} to be worshipped in the future. Then Vichama implored his father to create a new race. The sun gave him eggs of gold, silver, and copper, from which there developed the chiefs, their wives, and the common herd, respectively. A legendary figure descended mankind from two male and two female stars sent down to earth by Pachacamac.\footnote{\textit{Brühl, op. cit.}, 461 f., 458.}
On the shores of Lake Titicaca there developed variants of another myth. Before the reign of the Incas, the natives believed, there was no sun, and the ancestors stayed to eat the bitter root of the coca plant. Suddenly the sun rose radiant from the island of Titicaca. At the same time there appeared from the south a white man of slimg figure, who levelled the mountains and caused springs to gush forth from the rocks. Hence he was regarded as the author of all things, the creator of the sun, man-kind, and the brute creation. He travelled northward, and never retraced his steps. In the course of his travels he saw soldiers of his own race in the land of the descent his di- nes. The author of this book intended to extirrate the anaco, and it was surrounded by many quadrupeds. He hung a long piece of busher rope towards the earth, and climbed down. After a successful campaign, he returned home with some version of the story. The Warrau and the Warron are called by the author, because he has been much that they decided to emigrate to the earth. After many of them had climbed down, a woman of large proportions got stuck in the opening, and, though her fellow-tribesmen attempted to extricate her, it was found impossible. Accordingly, those Warron who were already on the earth were obliged to remain in their new place of residence, while those who were still in the sky-land could not return in the under regions. The same story, with minor variations, is told by the Carib Indians. The Bakairi, a Carib tribe living on the alluvium of the upper Xingu river, regard the sun as a large ball made of the feathers of the red macaw and the toucan, and the moon as a ball of the tail feathers of the Cacicus. The sun is covered at night with a large pot, which is removed at daybreak. During the rainy season it is carried by a snail, during the dry season by the peacock. The moon is divided into thirty parts, the number of moons is due to the successive appearance of a lizard, an ordinary armadillo, and a giant armadillo, the last of which completely covers the feather-ball. Corresponding explanations are offered for the solar and lunar eclipse. A fire is a symbol of the sun, a manioc, the larger stars form doorpost kno- les, and Sirius constitutes a large cross-beam supporting the frame on the side. The Pleiades are simply a pile of flour-grains. The firmament shows merely a duplication of the features of the earth, and there are manioc, cultivated soil, forests, etc. The Milky Way is a huge tomont, near which the two culture-heroes, Keri and Kame, performed their deeds. Other heavenly phenomena are regarded as a jaguar, ant-eater, vulture, etc. The place of a genuine cosmogony is taken by a number of myths, accounting not so much for the ultimate origin as for the more or less miraculous arrangement and regulation of observed phenomena through the power of the twin culture-heroes, Keri and Kame. Practically everything existing in the universe is believed to have existed from the very beginning. There are even some Bakairi tribesmen and members of other tribes. Con- ditions, however, required a sort of tampering to be consol- ted with the present cosmos. In the beginning the earth was the sky. Earth and sky were in close proximity, so that it was possible to walk to and from the sky without using the ladder. Hence for his people were dying; but the sky refused to do so. Then Keri decided to depart. He accordingly, became the sun, and was transformed into the sun, and the sky rose to its present height. The sun was in the possession of the Umbu vulture; when the bird was away, darkness reigned supreme. Owing to this darkness, the tapir fell into a pit belonging to the Umbu. Keri saw him and entered one of his front feet; while Kame, who had entered a little yellow singing-bird, was to inform his brothers of everything that was going on. When the vulture swooped down on his prey, Keri seized him and, on pain of death, ordered him to surrender the sun. The Umbu dispatched his brother to bring the sun, but his messenger only came back with the dawn. Sent back again, the vulture’s brother offered Keri the moon, but the hero persisted in his demand until the sun was presented to him. Then he released the Umbu. The sun was shining continually, and Keri did not know what to do with it, though finally he covered it with a large pot, which was simply removed to make daylight. The parrot was the first bird to learn the art of flying. The first day of the week was a solar day. The moon was first introduced. The moon was given to Kame. Another quasi-cosmogonic tale accounts for the origin of the Parandings and Romoro-Kulistya rivers. Keri and Kame were sent for water. They found three pots with water, but broke two of them, so that the water flowed down, forming the water-courses in question. The remaining origin-tales of the Bakairi, though for the greater part belonging to the same cycle, are of less importance, and some are, in fact, but merely narrate the heroes’ exploits in acquiring fire, manioc, tobacco, the hammock, and other necessary of life for the benefit of mankind.

1 E. F. Im Thurn, Among the Indians of Guiana (London, 1880), 376 f.
2 K. von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasilien (Berlin, 1894), 297-298.
The Parássí, though members of the Nu-Arawak family, possess a number of cosmic notions akin to those of the Bakairí. They also believe the sun to be composed of red macaw feathers, which are hidden in a gourd at night and uncovered by their own dead. They also believe in yellow "mutung" feathers. The full moon begins to wane when a thin spider appears on its edge, and it is successively covered by four armadillos, the last being the giant armadillo, Dasypus giganteus. The galaxy is dotted with countless stars, and of these many are recognized as an ostrich, jaguar, or some other animal. In the beginning there was a woman named Maisá. Neither earth nor water was in existence, and there was no light. She took a piece of wood and introduced it into her body, from which there then issued forth the Rio Cayuña. Its muddy stream was soon followed by the limpid waters of the Rio Parássí. Maisá then placed land in the stream, and thus made the earth. She rayed out many quantity of human beings of stone, first of all being Daruakaváti, who married Ursahiiu. This couple procreated the sun, the moon, and all the celestial beings, and assigned to each its place in the sky. Daruakaváti, the sun, was a large and long-stemmed, and snakes, until Maisá made his wife conceive Uazale, the ancestor of the Parássí and the first really human being.1

1 Of the Weltanschauung of the Bororo we have, under the most meagre sketches. Like the Bakairí and Parássí, they regard the sun and moon as bunches of macaw feathers. Mankind are believed to dwell on a large island in a river. The sun and moon, or their owners, are on one side and pass over the river, while all pass by and becomes the new moon. The Pleiades are the blossoms of a tree, Orion is looked upon as a tortoise, and single stars are generally regarded as sand-flies, Venus, for example, being characterized as the large sand-fly. The rainbow is supposed to be a large shamanistic water-snake. A meteor that appeared during the second German Xingu expedition was regarded as the soul of a shaman bent on afflictling some Bororo with dysentery.2

The cosmogonic notions of the Jibaro of Ecuador are insufficiently known. According to one tale, the world was fashioned by a great spirit, who amused himself with manufacturing clay objects. He made a large blue vessel, and placed it where the sky is nowadays seen. A more detailed account is given of the deluge. A member of the Morotó sub-tribe was fishing in a lagoon. A little crocodile swallowed his hook, and was killed by the Indian. The mother of the crocodile was so incensed at this deed that she struck the water with her tail, and flooded all the country bordering on the lagoon. All the Indians perished, save a single individual who climbed a palm-stalk, where he stayed many days in utter darkness. From time to time he dropped a great fruit, but he invariably heard it strike water. One day, however, the fruit appeared to strike the earth. The Morotó climbed down, built a lodge, began to till the soil, and planted a piece of flesh from his own body. From this there grew up a woman, whom he married. A deluge deluge deluge derived the Morotó, but another attributed by Suarez to the Jibaro, records the escape of two brothers, who fled from the flood to the top of a mountain, which continued rising in the elevation of the waters. After the flood the two Indians went in quest of food, and on their return were astonished to find some dishes already prepared in the but that they had constructed. One of the brothers hid himself in order to talismans, and discovered two parrot-women, who set them on fire and burned them. After running from his hiding-place, he seized one of the bird-women and married her. The couple had two sons and three daughters, who became the ancestors of the Jibaro.3

The Caraya of the Araguaýa River believe that their ancestor, Kaboi, and his people, when they first arrived in the land, were living in huts where the sky was dark, and vice versa. Hearing the call of a bird, Kaboi decided to follow it. He got to an opening leading to the earth, while his companions succeeded in passing through it, he himself proved too large and was able to get only his head above ground. The other Indians gathered many kinds of fruit, also honey and bees, as well as other things that they ate. The chief, Kaboi, told them that, while the country seemed to be beautiful and fertile, its inhabitants, as indicated by the dry wood, could not live to the old age that fell to the lot of their own people, for they lived to a great age, and died only when they were too old to move any part of their body. In spite of this warning, the people preferred to stay above ground. Accordingly, while their fellow-beings in the lower regions are still in the prime of life, the descendants of Kaboi's companions are destined to die. At an apparently later period, two powerful beings, Teníra and Sokron, hurled all the Indians into a blazing fire and then destroyed each other in a trial of strength. Only two dwarf parrots and two belated youths, returning from the hunt after the destruction of their fellow-tribesmen, escaped. When the young men set out on the next day to hunt, they heard the pounding of mortars, and on their return they observed parrots that had been prepared by unknown hands. This was repeated on the next day. On the third day they discovered that the food had been cooked by the two parrot-women, married them, and thus became the ancestors of the modern Indians.4

Another tale recounts the destruction of the Indians by a flood. The Caraya were out hunting and drove their game into a pit. After taking out the captured animals, they dug up the magician named Anasital, and brought him to their village. Frightened by his strange antics and unintelligible gibberish, they fled from his house. The magician followed them, and summoned to his aid several species of fish. Finally, one fish possessing a large mouth ascended the peaks from the rear, passed the people down, and thus drowned them. Only a few of them escaped. These descended to the valley when the waters had fallen again.5

The Caiungá of the State of Paraná (Brazil) tell of a great flood which submerged the entire world inhabited by their ancestors, with the exception of a single mountain-peak. The Caiungá, the Kadjuruiks, and the Kame all swam towards this summit, carrying the fish in their mouths, but only the Caiungá and a small number of Kuriton Indians reached the goal, where they stayed without food for many days, some lying on the ground, while others, for lack of shoes, were obliged to cling to the branches of the trees. They were beginning to give up hope when they heard the singing of saracura (water-fowl), which were carrying lampers full of earth. By dropping this into the water, they caused the flood to recede. The Indians shouted to them to make haste, which they did, asking the ducks to aid them. In a short time they got to the summit of the mountain and formed a platform on which the Caiungá departed, those that had clung to the branches of the trees being transformed into Kuritos and the Kuriton into Carayá, Indians. Because the saracura had begun their work in the east, all the watercourses of the land flowed towards the west into the Paraná. After the flood the Caiungá and Kame established themselves in the mountains. The Kadjuruiks and Kame, whose souls had gone to dwell inside the sierra, began to cut roads, and finally succeeded in getting out in two opposite directions. The Kadjuruiks entered the level country by way of valleys and without rocks, so that their feet remained small. The road of the Kame, however, led to a rocky region, 6

1 Von den Steinen, op. cit. 453-459.
3 Rivet, Les Indiens Jibaro (Paris, 1898), 91 f.
4 Hubert, La Mythologie des Amérindiens du Surinam et du Guyana (Paris, 1906), 283.
5 Hubert, op. cit., 119.
where their feet were bruised and swelled up to their present size. As there was no spring there, they had to beg water of the Kadjurukre. On leaving the sierra, the Caingang ordered the Karuton to look for the baskets and endashes which they had abandoned below before the deluge. But the Kadjurukre were too lazy to rise and ascend the mountain, so they remained where they were and never joined the Caingang. During the night following their departure from the sierra, they built a fire, and a Kadjurukre married one of the ashes and hid them, devouring the people and the game. As he had not enough coal left for painting the creatures he meant to fashion next, he made the tapsis, painting them with ashes and bidding them eat game. But, as they were heretics, offended by his ceremonies, they told him again what to do. Being already engaged in creating another species, the Kadjurukre answered gruffly, 'Eat leaves and the branches of trees!'. Since then they have eaten only foliage and the branches of trees. The Kadjurukre was making another animal, which still lacked a tongue, teeth, and several claws, when the day began to break. As he was unable to complete the animal in the daylight, he quickly put a tongue, teeth, and claws to it. As you have no teeth, feed on ants!' Hence the imperfections of the ant-eater. The next night the Kadjurukre resumed his labours and created other animals and insects, among them the bees. In the meantime the Kame had a number of huge poisonous snakes, which he sent to combat his rival's, such as the pumas, venomous snakes, and wasps. All the Indians marched on together. The young men of the Kadjurukre's band married the girls in the Kame's, and vice versa; and, as there were still left a great many young men, these married the Caingang women. For this reason the Kadjurukre, Caingang, and Kame consider themselves allies and relatives of one another.1

The Tupi derive their origin from Manon, the creator.2 Offended by bad ceremonies, this deity caused a universal conflagration, which destroyed all human beings save Irinmage. Upon the solicitation of Irinmage, Manon extinguished the fire, and afterwards gave him a wife. From the descendants of this pair there issued Manon Maire, who acted as culture-hero, transforming men into animals and establishing the cultivation of plants. However, the Indians feared him for his magic, and forced him to commit suicide. One of his descendants, his brother, was made man, but finally ascended to heaven radiant with beauty. His son vainly attempted to follow, being transformed into stone. Another son of the same line, Maire Ates, begat the twins Tamenduare and Arikutte. The brothers went in search of their father, who resided in the east, and were subjected to a number of tests. They proved their miraculous powers by shooting an arrow into the sky and sending an arrow into its notch, containing in this way the first motives for the deluge-myth. They further passed through clashing rocks ('symplegades') and descended to the underworld. In the course of their wanderings Arikutte attacked his brother, who caused a deluge, from which both were obliged to flee, seeking the shelter of trees. After the flood they re-peopled the earth, becoming the ancestors of two tribal divisions.2

The Aruweniens worship as their supreme deity the conceptions of thunder, lightning, and fire, the latter being regarded as the origin of all life. This deity, Pillan, is believed to reside on the highest summits of the Andes, and definite localities  

1 O. Bürger, Acht Lehr- und Wanderjahre in Chile (Leipzig, 1909), 85.
3 Ehrenreich, op. cit. 60, 82.
and substance to the folk-tales current among their less civilized congeners in both Americas. The Quiché myth is probably fuller of abstract concepts than its Jornada del Sur and South American creation-story, yet these metaphysical portions of the Popol Vuh are relatively insignificant compared with the elaborate tale of the twin heroes, which has numerous parallels on both continents. Contrary to the traditional notion that folk-tales are degenerate myths, it might, therefore, be plausibly contended that myths are merely Märchen with a speculative gloss, or secondarily invested with religious significance. This view, however, which has been urged by the present writer, still awaits intensive discussion.

Literature.—This is sufficiently indicated in the article.

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Muhammadan).—The account in the Qurán of the creation of the universe is founded upon an imperfect version of the story in Genesis. In xii. 8 ff. it is written (Rodwell's tr.):

"Be ye indeed disbelievers in Him who in two created the earth? and He hath placed on the earth the firm mountains which tower above it, and He hath blessed it, and distributed its resources throughout the earth; the earth is all alike, in four days; then He applied Himself to the heaven, which was then darkness, and said to it and to the earth: 'Come ye, in obedience or against your will'; and they both said: 'We come obedient.' And He completed them as seven beings and in each of them He made known his office; and He furnished the lower heaven with lights and guardian angels. Other references are xv. 15 ff., xxxv. 12, xxv. 12, etc.

The commentators Zamahshé and Baidáwí, whose remarks are abstracted in the notes to Sale's Korán (Lond. 1734, p. 389), explain that the "darkness" of the heavens preceded from the waters under the throne of God (which was created before the heavens and the earth), and rose above the water; and, the water being dried up, the earth was formed out of it; and the heavens out of the smoke which had mounted aloft. It is added that the heavens were created on Thursday; the sun, moon, and stars on Friday, in the evening of which Adam was made. The guardian angels were appointed to ward off the devils (Baidáwí, A. 211). The Traditions add little to this vague material:

- God was; but nothing was before Him, and His imperial throne of light. After that God created the regions and the earth; and wrote everything on the tablet of His own memory. 'The angels were created from a bright gum, and the devils without smoke, from Adam's fallen flesh. When God created Adam in paradise . . . the devil came and took a look at him, and, when he saw him with a body, he knew that God had created a creation which could not guard itself from hunger' (Misbah al-Musabih, tr. Matthews, Calcutta, 1910, xxv. 1).

Orthodox Muslim imagination has elaborated a fantastic idea of the creation of these scanty materials, aided by suggestions from foreign sources (such as the seven spheres and seven climates), but without allowing notions of science or philosophy to trench upon revelation. Thus the Qurán (ii. 20, lxviii. 6) states that the earth was "spread out as a bed, or as a carpet; so it manifestly must be a flat surface. The Muhammadans interpret these words literally, and believe that there are seven heavens, one above the other, and seven earths, one beneath the other; and they lay down the distances between them, and the diameter of each, and the substance of what is between, with much precision. (These valueless speculations and opinions may be read in some detail in Lane, 1001 Nights, London, 1895, Introd., note 2.) One account pretends that the seven superimposed worlds being unstable, God created a series of supports beneath each (as below). He ordered an immense angel to go beneath and hold the earth (or rather the seven earths) on his shoulders; and beneath his feet, to support him, God created a rock of ruby, with 7000 perforations, from each of which poured a sea. But the devils said nothing, so God created a huge bull called Kuytud, with 1000 eyes and number of other features, to bear it up on his back and horns. And under the bull God made Behemoth (Bahaantri), the great fish, to lie; beneath which was Hashem, and under the water darkness, 'and the knowledge of mankind falls as to what is under the darkness' (al-Damitri, Iblal-al-Wardi, etc., ap. Lane, op. cit.); but the general belief is that there lies Hell with its seven stages, as was first supposed to be in the seventh heaven or above it. Muslim philosophies of the sort did not always subscribe to such opinions, but, as their philosophy was wholly borrowed, their ideas of cosmogony possess no original value.

Literature.—This is given in the article.

STANLEY LANE-POOLE.

COSMOGONY (Polynesian).—Throughout Polynesia the creation of the world is assigned to Tangaloa, the god of heaven, who is thus named in Longa and Samoa, while in Tahiti, Raite (as in the Hervey Islands, and elsewhere he is called Tangaloa in New Zealand Tangaroa, and in Hawaii Kanaloa. He dwells in the highest heaven, and is often believed to have the form of a bird, this being his popular aspect as the great unknown controller of the world. His left eye, and he is likewise often the god of the sea, the mirror and the earthly representative of the blue sky. His wife is an enormous rock named O-te-papa, by whom he became the parent of the gods, the planets, the sea, and the winds. The gods, in their turn, were the parents of mankind, although, according to other accounts, Tangaloa himself formed man of red earth. Besides O-te-papa, Tangaloa had other wives, by one of whom, Hina, at one of his daughter and in many other cosmogonic myths, some legends made him the parent of heaven, earth, sea, and numerous gods. After man he created beasts, fowls, and fishes. Still other creation-myths ascribe the creation of the sky, clouds, stars, winds, beasts, fishes, sea, and the like to Raitubu, 'the maker of heaven, a sort of demiurge and the son of Tangaloa. The earth is also explained, especially in the western Society Islands, as the exterior of Tangaloa's body, while in Raitubu he was a great tower of mussel, throwing away the shells from time to time, and thus enlarging the world. The myth of the cosmic egg was not unknown in Polynesia. A legend current in Hawaii, the Society Islands, and Tahiti, made Tangaloa in his aspect as a bird, a prisoner for long ages in a gigantic egg. He finally broke this place of confinement, and, however, and the two halves of the shell formed the heaven and the earth, while the smaller fragments became the islands. Another tradition makes the islands bits broken from the cosmic rock O-te-papa, as she was dragged by her husband through the sea, or else pieces broken off from the mainland by angry gods. The myth of the cosmic egg recurs in New Zealand, where mankind was believed to be produced from an egg laid on the waters by a gigantic bird.

Tangaloa's exertions at the creation of the world were so great that, according to some cosmogonic legends of Polynesia, the salt west which streamed from him to the land amounted to three oceans. Tangaloa attempted to fish the earth; but, just as land was appearing above the surface of the water, his line broke, and the potential continent was dashed into a mass of small islands. A similar legend of Tangaloa fishing up the earth was found in Samon, though the incoherent condition of Polynesian cosmogony is again exemplified by the existence in this island of divergent myths on this subject. Two islands, Savaii and Upolu, were
hurled from heaven by Tangaloa. He then sent his daughter, Turi or Tuli, to people this first land, and she, assuming the form of a snipe, settled down near the place which grew in the earth that formed beneath her feet. From the decaying leaves and tendrils of the creeper came worms, which Tulli pecked in two with her beak, thus forming human beings.

Both earth and sky were regarded as impersonal in Samoa, Tahiti, and Karotonga, and as being so close together that men could not stand upright, but were forced to crawl on the ground. The two were separated, according to the Samoan and Tahitian myths, only by the first stroke by a man who pressed them apart. In Tahiti, on the other hand, Ru, the sea-god, raised the sky to its present elevation. In Kaïatea, a monstrous cuttle-fish held the earth and the heaven together, but he was killed by the sun-god Maui, whereupon the sky rose up to heaven. On the shoulders or the back of this god the earth rests; and, when he moves, the earth quakes. He is also confused with Tangaloa as the deity who fished the earth from the sea, which at that legends takes the place of Tangaloa’s daughter, Tulli, assumes the shape of a bird, and forms man by dividing a worm in two. In Tonga the earthquake is caused by the subterranean god Mataike, who carries Samoa in his left arm, while an old serpent, regarded as described to other gods, such as Maui himself in Tahiti.

Throughout this cycle of Polynesian cosmogonic myth one fact, not without parallel in other religions, is clear. O-te-papa, the primal barren earth, becomes the mother of the people, which is fructified and made to give birth to all things living, by the fertilizing rain which falls from the superincumbent male Tangaloa, the sky. In New Zealand the way of the separation of earth and sky undergoes a curious modification, recalled to other gods, such as Maui himself in Tahiti.

Originally Rangi, the sky, who takes the place of the general Polynesian Tangaloa, who becomes a mere sea-god in this island, was closely united in matrilineal marriage with Papa, the earth. From this union sprang countless children, but they were forced to dwell in utter darkness. In discomfort at this gloomy existence, the offspring of the pair sought to separate their parents. Tu-matauenga, the most cruel of all, urged that Rangi and Papa be killed; but Tane-mahuta, the god of trees, urged that the pair be parted. All assented, excepting Tawhirinui, the god of winds. The gods in turn now endeavoured to break the umbilical cord of the parents—Rongo-tokomoko, the god of cultivated plants, Haumia-tikitiki, the god of wild plants, Tangaloa, the god of fishes and reptiles, and Tu-matauenga, the god of heroes. Finally, Mahuhu pressed her arm against her mother’s and his father’s against his father, thus parting Rangi from Papa. assorted. However, the latter was angry with his brother and followed his father, so that the wind and his children, the storm winds, still make war on the forests and the sea, and only man, and his offspring, are able to resist them. Strife also arose among the gods who had remained on earth, especially between the god of the sea and the god of the forest, since the latter gave Tu-matauenga wood for fishing-implements, wherefore the sea is angry with men and seeks to devour them. On the other hand, Tane-mahuta and his offspring, mankind, were able to conquer all the gods, with the exception of the wind which blows from heaven.

This version, although more detailed than any other Polynesian creation-myth, is obviously of much later origin than the legends current elsewhere in the present Oceania.

LITERATURE.—Walp-Gerland, Anthropol. der Naturvolker (Leipzig, 1878), 342-357; A. Bevan, Die heilige Saga der Polynesiener (Leipzig, 1881).

LOUIS H. GRAY.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Roman).—The only Roman cosmogonies which go beyond mere single statements about the origin of the world are found in the works of later writers. They belong, therefore, to a period when Roman culture was foreign and struck with variously Greek elements. On the other hand, we meet with various cosmogonic ideas which may be referred without hesitation to the earliest Roman times. We shall, therefore, give some account of these, and afterwards inquire how far they enter into, and give a genuinely Roman character to, the cosmogonies of a later age.

1. Early cosmogonic ideas.—Nearly all the cosmogonies in front of the author with the god Janus, who is admitted only one of the very old Roman divinities (cf. e.g. Herodian, i. 16: θεὸς φανέρωτος τῆς Ἱραλίας ἑνδιάμεσον). As F. Lukas (see Literature) puts it, he is related to Jupiter as the highest. Accordingly, in the public worship of the Romans the first sacrifice was paid to Janus (Mart. Epig. x. 28. 2). As first in time he was naturally also regarded as the cause of all that followed after. So Festus, explaining 'propter Jana, ' means a creation of the entire universe. As the author of organic life, he is described in a fragment of the Salicary Hyrum (Varro, Ling. Lat., 7, 25) as 'duous cerus,—where 'duonus = bonus, 'good,' and 'cerus' (or 'kerus,' connected with chereos, Skt. kur, 'to make') means a creative, productive power, as described to other gods, such as Maui himself in Tahiti. There is nothing, in fact, that Janus was a cosmogonic personage. But it is difficult to say what cosmic principle, if any, was originally represented by him. Here everything depends on the meaning of the name, about which opinions have varied greatly both in ancient and in modern literature (s.v. 'Janus'). Of the ancient explanations, which regarded Janus as a personification of the Sun (Nigid. In. Marc. sat. i. 9, 11, etc.) has been most generally adopted by recent writers, amongst whom we include those who think of the sun’s light rather than the sun itself (cf. Roscher, l.c. Lukas, p. 202, etc.). According to another and very similar ancient view, Janus represented the Heaven (Marc. sat. i. 9, 11), and, further, we are informed by Varro that he is the character of the highest honor among the Etruscan—άθροισις οὐκ ηλικεν καί ἐκεῖνος πάντως πρέσβεις (op. J. Lydus, De mens. iv. 2). Now, there is a remarkable fragment of an Etruscan cosmogony in the oracle of V incidere, as Novone (see Grunt. Lat. 350; cf. Müller-Deecke, Die Etrusk. ii. 30 ff., 165, 295, 312; Preller, Rom. Mythol. i. 172, 256), which begins: 'Scias mecum ex aetherem remun. Cum autem Jupiter terram Etruriae sibi vindicavit, etc. Here we have a Latin translation, probably of the 2nd or 3rd cent. B.C., of an ancient Etruscan oracle, which, according to Preller, represents ancient Italian popular belief. The oracle, which relates to the protection of land property in Etruria, is thus preceded by a priestly doctrine about the origin of the world: the Sea arose by separation out of primal Ather—and the same must also have been asserted in the original oracle about the Earth (Preller, i. 256 n.). But Ather is practically the same as Heaven (see art. Athér in vol. i. Roscher, s. v. 'Aitier'), with which we are told that Janus was identified in Etruria, and it includes the notion of Light (see 'Greek' art. above; and Lukas, p. 298). Athér=Licht des Himmels), which is associated with the attribute of Janus. Hence it is reasonable to suppose that the early Italians not only regarded Janus as creator of the world, but pictured his creative activity after the manner described
in the Etruscan oracle (Lukas, loc. cit. ; Proll, p. 172).

2. Literary cosmogonies.—We are now in a position to inquire how far the cosmogonies of the later poets can be regarded as an independent product of Roman thought. We may fairly ascribe this to the idea only in so far as any cosmogony which is based on the ideas already described. Franz Lukas has tried to show that this is the case with regard to the theory sketched by Ovid in the Metam. i. 5 ff., and Fasti, i. 103 ff. Ovid's is also, so far as we know, the only complete narrative cosmogony whose dependance on primitive Roman ideas can be at all confidently asserted. To it, therefore, we shall now turn.

In the Metamorphoses we read that the world was preceded by Chaos. This was not, however, the empty void of the Hesiodic cosmogony, but the primary substance with which space was filled. It was a formless and confused mass—'rudis indigestaque moles'—the parts of which all struggled with one another, by reason of opposite qualities of moist and dry, hot and cold, etc. The process by which the world arose out of Chaos is attributed to what Ovid calls 'Deus et melior natura.' The 'melior natura' is evidently the material force by means of which order is brought out of chaos. Did it reside already in the firmament? The passage is not clear on this point (cf. Lukas, p. 208). But at least it implies that at some point of time the Deity either infused a higher nature into the primal substance, or gave effect to a higher power latent within it. This, with the divine elements separated from each other, and united with their like, and the wholes thus formed took up a relative position in accordance with their several natures. Fire, the lightest element, flashed forth from the topmost arch of heaven; beneath it was the Air, and lower still the Earth, while Water, encircling the latter ('circumlux luminor'), still further compressed its solid mass. Next, the Deity moulded the Earth, which must here be taken as including the liquid element, into a form and formed it into all its parts—seas, rivers, plains, valleys, hills, and zones. He likewise completed the serviance of the Ether from the Air, the region of cloud and storm. Then the cosmos was filled while hidden in the Chaos, glowing in the firmament. Life in all its grades appeared. The stars, as Divine Beings, dwelt in heaven; fish, bird, and beast tenanted their respective homes, and lastly Man was born.

The cosmogony of the Fasti is similar, but with some notable differences. There is nothing here about the 'Deus' or the 'melior natura.' The former is absent because the poet is concerned with the evolution of the four elements rather than with the formation of the world; and the latter, because here, whatever may be the case in the Metam., the evolution of the primary matter is regarded as due to its own indwelling force. Another difference lies in the fact that the primary matter, which is again called Chaos, is here expressly identified with the god Janus. This brings us directly to the question whether the Ovidian cosmogony is to be regarded as essentially Roman. Now, the mere fact that Ovid equates Chaos with Janus counts for little, as the connexion of the names depends on a fantastic etymology (cf. Roscher, s.v. 'Janus,' pp. 35, 43). What is important is that the cosmogonical ideas contained in the Metam. is essentially the same with those of the Roman god. The ground-thought of the passage is the separation of the elements from primal matter in obedience to the law of its own nature. The same thought is present in the Fasti., though there the evolutionary process is described in part to a 'melior natura' working along with a separate Divine agency. We have seen, further, that the separation of the elements from the primal Ether (and that apparently without reference to an external agency) was an ancient Etruscan doctrine, and that in all probability Ether and Janus were equivalent terms. Still the connexion of the Etruscan doctrine with Janus rested on conjectural etymology, and there is no evidence that Ovid expressly associates the same ideas with Janus is strong evidence both that the former inference was correct, and that we have here a genuine Roman cosmogony. At the same time it is probable that in the working out of the fundamental idea Ovid was more or less indebted to Greek thought (cf. Lukas, p. 209).

The idea of a force inherent in primary matter, which forms the basis of Ovid's cosmogony, appears also in the representations of other poets of Nature in general. As examples of these, Lukas refers to Virg. Georg. ii. 336 ff., and .Ein. vi. 724 ff. In the former passage the poet ascribes the origin of the world to the same force which at each new spring-time clothes it with fresh life: 'Non alios prima creaturus origine mundi / Fulcrus dies; alumnum habens tenens / Creaturam. Ver illud orat; ver maxamus agebat / Orbis, et hibernis parcentibus flatus Enri / Quam frigore, deinde lucerna pecudes haud. / Cumque Ferrea progenies dum caput extulit arvus, / Immissaque fera silvis et sidera coeae.'

In the second passage the poet sings of the Soul which animates the body of the world, which streams through every member, and from which every living creature springs. In both these passages the poet, no doubt, borrowed freely from other writers, and especially from Lucretius (see Conington's Virg.). But he gives expression to the thought which we have seen reason to believe was familiar to the Romans from the earliest time—that, namely, of the evolutionary capacity of matter.


COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Teutonic).—The word 'Teuton,' as we take it, is in its way descriptive of all peoples of Germanic origin, such as the Scandinavian, German, Dutch, and Anglo-Saxon. The word 'Teuton' first appears in the 13th cent. B.C., and was applied to the Germanic tribe living around the mouth of the river Elbe. Modern ethnologists join in the common division of the Teutonic race, as yet existing, into three branches: (1) the Scandinavian, (2) the Low German; and (3) the High German. The Scandinavian branch includes the Icelander, the Norwegians, the Swedes, and the Danes; the Low German branch includes the Frisians, the Dutch, the Low or Northern Germans, the Flemings, and the Angles; and the High Germans: the High Germans are the Germans of Middle and Upper Germany, of Switzerland, and of Austria. For convenience' sake it is just as well, however, to speak only of the Scandinavian and the German branches, since this is both common and satisfactory.

As Teutons, these two great branches had a common origin and a common faith in the supernatural. Thus their myths are also essentially identical, though the Scandinavian is much richer than the Teutonic. The case is especially the case with reference to their cosmogony, for which we have to depend almost entirely upon Scandinavian sources. But whether the common stock of Teutonic belief...
is faithfully preserved in the Northern myths is a matter of much dispute. In reference to this problem, two different schools have developed—the conservative, and the critical—to which must be added a number of more or less independent investigations by historians, being less valued toward the one side or the other, though, of course, having much in common with both (cf. Literature at end of art.).

It is, however, safe to say that most modern scholars hold the Christian Christianity in its earlier forms has, in a marked degree, influenced the old Norse poets, their songs, and their sagas, and consequently has made it very difficult to ascertain which elements in this mythology are genuinely Teutonic. Thalian cosmogonic material is especially viewed with much suspicion, as may be well noted, for instance, in E. H. Meyer's edition of it (Voluspä, eine Untersuchung, Berlin, 1889), in which he arrives at the conclusion that this great cosmogonic poem is of a heathen disguise, composed in the 12th cent. by Saxemund the Learned. Several later authors do not agree with this view, but rather consider it erroneous, though they allow that the great song has suffered from various influences, probably mostly Christian. Furthermore, it is generally held that the author of this poem, as well as of all the songs of the poetic Edda, is unknown, though the various lays were all collected in the 13th century.

From the German sources little can be learnt concerning the cosmogony of the old Teutons. Indeed, they tell us next to nothing of any of the beginnings, and they have no good prophecies with reference to the future, while there is much of both kinds in the Scandinavian myths. Traces, indeed, have been found in Germany of a mythological belief similar to the Scandinavian, and even identical with it. Thus in Wace's 'Merliner' (probably from the 10th cent.) there are indications of a Balder as an originally Teutonic character; Odin is mentioned and Frigga his wife, as is also a class of beings named Ælids, who perform the same services as the Valkyries of the Northern myths. These names occur in certain magic formulas of undoubted heathen character, which are contained in the manuscript just mentioned. A similar source is the so-called 'Wessobrunn Prayer' from the 8th cent., in which, according to Müller and others, there are traces also of an original Teutonic cosmogony with the concept of a large void and yawning abyss, etc. But this may have been derived from Christian influences, as Wackernagel contends. Another source is found in Helmod's work, in which he incidentally or otherwise touches upon the belief of the Teutons (cf. esp. An. xiii. 57; Germ. li.). From these notices it seems that the old Teutons considered fire and water, and also salt, as original elements. Similar notions are to be found in Snorri Sturluson's Gylfaginning, chs. 5 and 6 (cf. below, p. 178, on the cow Audhumla licking salty stones in Ginnungagap). Finally, there exists at Mainz a letter of Daniel of Winchester (Ep. 15, Men. Monmutes Coll.) to Boniface, the missionary to the Germans, written c. 720, which to some extent describes the cultus and beliefs of the ancient heathen. In it there are some references to the origin of the world and of the gods themselves.

These are really the only remains which we possess from the German branch of the Teutons as to the beginning of the world, except that in the idioms of the language itself and in certain remaining forms of many of these there are some residua of ideas once entertained by the original Teutons. But from all these remains brought together there cannot be constructed anything like a Tentonic cosmogony. For such we have, as already indicated, to turn to the North.

The two main cosmogonic sources of the Scandinavian branch of the Teutons are Snorri Sturluson's Gylfaginning and the Voluspä. The former is, however, hardly fair to be fair to make this the only source of the cosmogony of the Teutons, as long as there is another, which proceeds to a much more detailed description. This is found in the prose Edda of Snorri Sturluson, and under the heads of Gylfaginning, as before mentioned, it is rather too extensive to quote. In the remaining literatures of the Eddas there are also a few other references to the creation of the world and the...
of origin, of these, and these, together with the two main sources just mentioned, offer the following account of the Teutonic cosmogony.

Ginnungagap was limited to the north by the cold and frosty region called Niflheim, and to the south by Muspellsheim, with its fire and burning heat. In Ginnungagap itself the cold from Niflheim, carried along by the twelve poisonous rivers, the Elvágar from the fountain Hvergelmir in the lowest depths of the abyss, met the heat from Muspellheim, resulting in the first development of life, which took form in a being similar to a man and called Ymir, who was of immense size and became the progenitor of the giants.

Along with Ymir there arose from the same union of cold and heat a monstrous cow called Audhumula—an original conception, it seems, and such the frustrating power. With her milk she sustained Ymir, while she herself fed from the saltry stones in Ginnungagap, which she licked. From her contact with the saltry stones there grew forth another being called Buri, who united with Ymir. Ymir then killed Buri and drank of his blood his entire progeny, the giants, with the exception of Bergelmir, who escaped, and, in his turn, now became the father of a new race of giants. With Ymir's loss the gods filled the awestruck world with new men, but he remained a being of a more rude and simple character. This view seems probable to the present writer. But, as the examination of this hypothesis would lead us into the altogether uncertain, we shall have to rest satisfied with what we know, and congratulate ourselves that we have so much. Perhaps its philosophy may be summed up as follows. The early Teutons believed in a pre-existing substance in a pre-existent chaotic state. In the incompatible forms of cold and heat, there arose the primitive forms of life, endowed with reproductive power. In this early state only the most monstrous beings were produced—but with the intervention of nature, and the struggle between the gods and the giants, between good and evil, shall be fought, when evil will be for ever vanquished. After this the Yggdrasil will flourish as never before, and there shall be a new age, with a new race of gods, and the righteons shall dwell for ever in perfect bliss.

This is as nearly as possible an objective statement of the views of the early Teutons as regards the beginning of the world. But no one can tell whether there was or was not a race of gods before this, or whether the Teutonic race was the result of the meeting of a more rude and simple character. This view seems probable to the present writer. But, as the examination of this hypothesis would lead us into the altogether uncertain, we shall have to rest satisfied with what we know, and congratulate ourselves that we have so much. Perhaps its philosophy may be summed up as follows. The early Teutons believed in a pre-existing substance in a pre-existent chaotic state. In the incompatible forms of cold and heat, there arose the primitive forms of life, endowed with reproductive power. In this early state only the most monstrous beings were produced—but with the intervention of nature, and the struggle between the gods and the giants, between good and evil, shall be fought, when evil will be for ever vanquished. After this the Yggdrasil will flourish as never before, and there shall be a new age, with a new race of gods, and the righteons shall dwell for ever in perfect bliss.

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COUNCILS AND SYNODS (Buddhist)

Buddhist (L. de la Valée Poussin), p. 179.


COUNCILS (Buddhist)—
Before giving a short survey of the traditions relative to the Buddhist Councils, it seems advisable to state what these Councils were. While it is impossible to accept the Buddhist opinion that they were held as economical gatherings after the Nicene type, it is at the same time necessary to explain how Buddhist monastic life, without the help of such solemn assemblies, was kept in order. As a first step, the character of the early sects cannot be evaded, for sectarianism is as old as catholicism in the Buddhist world; and Councils are said to have been held by the 'orthodox' to impugn sectarianism, and by the 'heterodox' to define their own peculiar tenets. At the history of the Councils and of the Sects will be dealt with elsewhere, we shall say here only what is necessary to avoid misleading ideas about the Councils, and to justify our half-conservative, half-critical, half-epistemological procedure.

1. COUNCILS, CANONS, AND SECTS.—The professed dogma of the Buddhists of the post-canonic age is, that Councils were solemn synods of Saints, where quæsumisscient and sinless old men (archets, skatvas) gathered in order to re-secure, to 'chant together' (sangiti), the Word of Buddha (First Council), or to re-state it against the heretical views of innovators (Second and Third Councils), or to approve the addition of new treatises to the sacred lore, or to give authoritative summaries to some theory of exegesis (Third Council and Kaniska's Council).

It is hardly necessary to point out that, as regards the First Council, the ecclesiastical dogma is in itself illogical. If there were five, or ten, or thirty, or one hundred 'authenticity' of the whole Pali scriptures; and—without troubling to refer to a number of specious arguments—in presence of such facts as are adduced by Rhys Davids (Buddhist Antiq., London, 1893, p. 170) or R. O. Franke ('Buddhist Councils' in JPTS, 1908, p. 5), the relative lateness of a great or the greater part of the Nikayas themselves is evident (see below, on the later Councils). But it is safe to believe with Kern, whose critical methods are by no means服务于 the sectarians, that there have been 'synods' ('Qu'il y ait eu des synodes, personne le ne lave' [Geschiedeniss, ii. 265]). Upansas as well as Suttantas furnish many evidences of the habit of discussing doctrinal matters. We shall venture to add (1) that such meetings were sometimes legal sessions, of the type approved of in the Pali Vinaya, held by the parochial or diocesan (or even polydiocesan) clergy, i.e. a saṅgha in ordination or discipline, and (2) that heretical views, no less than extra-legal practices, may have been a matter of scandal, of inquiry, of doctrinal appreciation by the soi-disant supporters of tradition (Council on the Five Points of Mahādeva)—there was on some occasions at least more or less formal 'consensus' of the contending parties; (3) that, possibly—were we not to say probably, for no human being knows anything about it, and 'probably' would be misleading where no appreciation of probability is possible—immediately after some human act of such of his disciples, headed by Upali or Ananda or Kāśyapa, tried to ascertain at least a list of his authentic sermons and teachings: they agreed, let us say, on the technical 'parases' which are the oldest form of the Pātīlīpanās (cf. Mahāyānapitaka, § 236 ff.), on the wording of the Benares sermon, etc.; (4) that kings of old concerned themselves with ecclesiastical affairs, as did kings of later times—synods and doctrinal dispositions, usual in the Middle Ages, are told in many sources, may have acquired special importance, owing to royal intervention (Āsoka, Kanisaka?); (5) that some monasteries (and in early times there were huge monasteries) were like permanent councils. Their 'living libraries' became Canons: for the canonical shape which the Word of Buddha (budhayavaca) received at last, when Word became Scripture, had been for a very long time foreshadowed by the oral and uncanonized distribution of the Pali by the wandering Baskets (Pīlādhas) and Collections (Nikayas).

But, while acknowledging the possibility (even the probability) of synods, we are at no loss to point out more certain and farther reaching causes of the facts to be explained, viz. the formation of the body of the Scriptures, the general (if not strict) 'consensus' of the sects of the Hinayana as concerns Buddha's teaching, and, conversely, the splitting of the Order into sects.

If one excepts the division of the clergy named upanikṣās, forest-men, or pratijñāparamitha, those who leave the world to live as the saints of old (cīryaśravasi; see Poussin, Boudhisme, 1900, p. 80), the Buddhist monks have never been hermits, 'ghorence-like' solitary. A novitiate so-called, and often prolonged apprenticeship, study, and service at the feet of the preceptor, tertagibility confusion, erudite life, and prolonged living together during the rainy season

1. We may cite Aëkleh's Bhaiṣaj Edict and Pillar Inscription at Sārnāth (V. A. Smith, Early History of India, Oxford, 1908, p. 190) also (possibly) his Edict on the Quinquennial Assembly (Fourth Book XX, 105; A. Smith, The Edicts of the Buddha, 110; Kern, Manual, 101); on the assemblies convened by Hsüan, see V. A. Smith, Early History, p. 227; Kern, loc. cit., and Geschiedeniss, ii. 220.

2. For instance, Tamātha (Geschiedeniss des Buddhismus in Indien, tr. Schier, 1900, Hien Tākān (Buddhist Records of the Western World, tr. Real, 1984).

3. On the oral transmission of the Vinaya, see Fa-hien, xxvi.

COUNCILS AND SYNODS (Buddhist)

were designed to prevent the admission of heterogeneous elements was examined closely in every monastery, and the itinerant habit3 which led the Bhedas from their aboriginal country to the farthest reaches of the " fraternity " established, a strong tie between the fraternities. Thus, the sons of Sākyas constitute only one family held together (not merely through the blood of their mates) and through common spiritual aims; but by frequent intercourse and a common teaching from Buddha, the councils, whether Jain or Brahman, were a danger to orthodoxy, although they were also a cause of it.

There are no bishops in the Buddhist Order, nor ever were there any in the Sinhalese (suhaddars); there was no monk entitled by the Buddha himself, or by the Church, or by ' Elders in number' (sahajapitro), to be the protection (patiariyage) of his brothers.4 Nevertheless, the present writer is now inclined to believe that Buddha, in the council of the Elders (theratara = paribuddhi, theracchārappabājī), and the oldest Elder on earth (pathaṁ saṅghathera); and these old monks are styled Fathers of the Church.5 Leaders of the Church (sahāghapitro, sāhaḥparyinghathā) are, in the eyes of the world, the spiritual heads of the Church. Thus was evolved the idea of Patriarchs, rinengpimokkha, 'chiefs of discipline,' or sacharāya, 'Masters,' who are supposed to have been inspired by the Sinhalese,6 and the Northern Buddhist Church,7 therefore, in the course of history, very accurately controlled the universal Church. Oldenberg rightly observes that the discipline of Patriarchs is a branch of canonical literature, but we are told in Diṭṭa, i. 124, that such and such a saṅgha possesses theras and pimokkha.8

The feeling for the unity of the Church, and the actual strive to promote or to restore this unity, assert themselves in the sermons of Buddha on 'schism' (saṅghahēdha),9 the most hateful crime, in punishment of which an eternity (koppa, 'age of the world') of suffering is hardly sufficient.10 In some cases Buddha goes far as to forbid the re-ordination of monks who have turned away to schism (or who have followed schismatic).11

But we ought to be aware that these sermons contain a legal idea, and a vendetta against the non-Buddhist, and the conservative party, as well as to followers of disruption.

The following is reported to Buddha: 'A certain monk, Lord, had committed an offence which he considered as an offence, while the others considered it a non-offence. Afterwards he began to consider that offence as no offence, and the other monks began to consider it as an offence. . . . Then those monks . . . pronounced expulsion against that monk for his refusal to see that offence. . . . Then that monk got his companions and friends among the monks on his side, and sent a messenger to his companions and friends among the monks of the whole country, and the parities of the expelled monk . . . persevered on the side of that expelled monk and followed him. . . . Buddha peaceably exclaimed: 'This saṅgha is divided! But he has words of rebuke for the 'expellers': Do not think, O monks, that you are to pronounce expulsion against a monk for this or that offence.'12

One has to distinguish between what is really important and what is not worth disputing, Pitakkonkha, the essential rule of the Order, and Dhamma, the essential doctrine leading to salvation.

1 In Mahāyana, saṅgha = bodhisattvavagya, 'the cohort of the celestial Bodhisattvas' (Sāntikya's Bodhisattvavagya, G. H. Gunaratna, in Si. vii. 19, translated as 'saints'). But these are saṅgha, the four owners of, and the four candidates for, the fruits of etajjapana . . . arah (Kathiraththu, p. 32. 'buddhist fold, the four possessors of the saṅgha only are real members of the saṅgha is evident in Sutta, i. 335. In the vihāra, and in the vihāra, saṅgha is not a single Brethren dwelling in some particular place, knowing the Pitakkonkha (Mahayana). The following, ii. 17 (SBE vii. xx. xxxiv), this would hold far too much. It sometimes happens that the similar monks are small, and the pious monks feebly; these last are dejected, forced to silence in the saṅgha, and go away to another country (Abhujata, i. 69).

2 All these testimonies, and many others, e.g. the dishonest method of securing concord and orthodoxy by manipulation of the votes (Oldenberg, Buddh. p. 292; = Boudhika [tr. Fonckh], p. 236; Chullavagga, iv. 14. 26, in SBE xx. [Vinnaya Text, pt. ii. 56]), establish at the same time: (1) that there are germs of division, and no small danger of the Order's losing its originality; (2) that, conversely, there is a catholic and traditional spirit, asserting itself in the rules of eccomunism, etc. That this spirit gained the upper hand is sufficiently proved by the Rule of the Ordination of the Northern Brethren (the constitution of Canons, etc., But the same history (growth of Mahāyāna, Layāgattas, Tattaraphāya, etc.) has made the view clear that there has always been a Buddhism du dhāra, a heretical, popular Buddhism, which later gained the predominance. See also, on the 'Northern Patriarch', Kern, Geschiedenis, i. 215.

3 There are a number of synonyms, or quasi-synonyms, which are translated as follows: 'altercations, contentions, discord, quarrels, divisions' among the saṅgha (bhedas), division among the saṅgha (sahajapitro), saṅgha among the saṅgha (sahajapitro; SBE xvi. 238). There is 'discress,' when the number of disputing monks does not exceed eight; 'schism,' when they are nine or more (Chullavagga). It must be observed that the Vinaya has in view disputes in a particular group, and hold it a point of duty to hear to their words,' etc. (We have objections to the translation of the 'order', and prefer of the fraternities, of the parasites.) Here, again, the text shows that discord towards Elders was not impossible. Cf. the Vaiśali legend.

5 Son Buddhā, 396 (= Boudhika, 336), reference to Dippurikaka, vi. 3, Peter, ii. 291, Sanampannāṣakara, 252 (Vinayapitaka, vol. ii. 178). See also, on the 'Northern Patriarch' Kern, Geschiedenis, i. 215.

6 Chullavagga, vi. 77 (= SBE xi. 6): 'So long as the brethren honour and esteem and reverence and support the elders of experience and long standing, the fathers and leaders of the Order, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words,' etc. (We have objections to the translation of the 'order', and prefer of the fraternities, of the parasites.) Here, again, the text shows that discord towards Elders was not impossible. Cf. the Vaiśali legend.

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—those are important; and happily there are not," Ananda says to Buddha, "two monks who differ concerning the Eightfold Path, the Four Efforts, etc." There are also Adhipatimokkha, Ajñāyaya, and Abhidhamma, subtleties or refinements or niceties concerning monastic life and discipline (Tattvaratana).

When two monks differ (or believe that they differ) on Abhidhamma, one has to content oneself with the mere statement of facts; he differing believing the meaning and the letter (of a Sutta); well, do acknowledge that you differ, and do dispute them with all your heart.

Again, 'orthodoxy' has two aspects: not to rest content with 'unreliable' evidences (see below), and not to impugn systematically received opinions: "Whatsoever monk shall speak thus: 'I cannot submit myself to that precept, brother, until I shall have inquired touching it of another monk, an experienced master of the Discipline,' that is a Pachittaya, a fault requiring repentance' (Jata 71).

The principle of the abhidhamma at once occurs to us, according to which 'it is allowable to do a thing on the ground that 'my preceptor, my teacher, has practised this or that.' This principle, acknowledged in Brahman circles, was maintained by some Buddhist, the heretics of Vaishali (Chulavasa, xi. 2, 8); and it is said to some extent to be adopted by orthodox, for we are told that, when the First Council was just concluded, there came a celebrated monk, Porun, with his 500 disciples, who recited a rule relating to the holding of the council. The doctrine and the disciplinary rule have been well sung by the Elders. But the forests and the monasteries are in such manner that they have been heard by me, and received by me from the very mouth of the Blessed One; in that manner will I bear it in my memory." Neither the Elders nor the people have a word of reprobate for this individualism (Chulavasa, xi. 11).

There are, we say, evidences of a very tolerating tendency. In order to assure concord, the most reasonable are to yield, for discord is the greatest evil. The care to live 'well, without dispute,' and the care not to lose any word of Buddha, whosoever it might come, were both commented.

We must then learn that laymen were the only supporters of some important texts: 'If he sends a messenger to the monks, saying, 'Might their reverences come and learn this suttanta; otherwise this suttanta will fall into oblivion', then you ought to go even during the rainy season (Mahasangha, iii. 5, 9 [SBE xiii. xxiv]).

But the care to be 'orthodox,' and not to alter Buddha's practice (Buddha-achinaya), does not prove less effective. Not only irregular practices, but sin of doctrine (dhamma dilka), must be abandoned. The legend of the Vaishali Council relates the endeavours of the 'good ones' to enforce the old rules. The Mahaparinibbana, without mentioning Councils, points out that one ought not to refuse or alter the orthodoxy of a theory or of a practice, merely with the testimony of a hearer of Buddha, of an Elder, of a (parish) saṅhāra, or of many Elders, but that one must look at what it Concern in order to accord, the most reasonable are to yield, for discord is the greatest evil. The care to live 'well, without dispute,' and the care not to lose any word of Buddha, whichever it might come, were both commented.

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be 'cannontents' without discord, 'diversities' without excommunication. It is, for instance, a fact that Buddhists used their own 'sacred' books and their own sacred language (Sanskrit), and such a book as the Buddha himself is said to have allowed his disciples to do so, and diversity of language is more than sufficient to cause discord and we may call it 'Buddhistic' or 'religious' discord. But, in these cases, and for these purposes, the robes, and traditions are also decisive in this regard: discrepancies could not but arise in the Suttas when states and the suttas compromises ought to be tolerated in some provinces (Aranya); four monks make a sima in 'Bordering countries,' nine are necessary in 'middle countries' (Madhyantika, etc.).

As we know from later documents, such discrepancies did not end with the death of the monk himself, for he was obliged to follow the rules to which he has subscribed as a novice; but he is not obliged to protest when he is the guest of monks who use another, nor do we know what consequences, if any, were attached to it. As a rule, doctrinal contradictions do not disrupt the sima. If there are no apparent contradictions, that is the sum of a syna. Otherwise, draw a synthesis of the Law, the objection is ready at hand: 'You alter the Law' (सुरेण्य महानमतः).

Nor, we have nothing like the cardinal dogmatic, theological, moral, is the answer. And this answer, be it right or wrong, is what the scriptures are talking about. Theory, for instance, the prajnapada (a doctrine of a personable, young) would lead some sects so far as to deny the authenticity of certain suttas; or, conversely, it may be a question amongst the orthodox whether such sects have any right to style themselves Buddhists, and yet they are recognised as 'sacred' of the tradition of the Elders. Thus, if we consider the mutual relations of sects and their legal position as branches of the universal Sangha—leaving out of account doctrinal differences which are not of paramount importance—sects are not to be contrasted as hostile bodies, with closed traditions. The dream of Bimbisara may be quoted to give a true symbol of the Buddhist Church:

King Bimbisara once saw in a dream a place of cloth was torn, and a gold stick broken, both into eighteen fragments. Being frightened, he asked the Buddha the reason. In reply, Buddha said: 'More than a hundred years after my attainment of nirvana, there will arise a king, named Asoka...


2 Kathākatha, xxi., i; cf. Mādhyāmikī, ii, 245.

3 Kathākatha, xxi. 12; cf. Mādhyāmikī, ii, 246.

4 This figure, 12, which does not agree with our lists of sects, possibly depends upon the &shakaśāstra, 'causes of discord in the Buddha's time.'

5 It is in Brentano's Record of the Buddhist Religion (tr. B. Taluttah), Oxford, 1903, pp. 13-14; cf. and T. R. Srinivas, in Soc. for the Promotion of the Buddhist Religion, 2nd Sess. (1901), p. 162, if: 'The texts of the Suttas keep the same isolated, and do not always agree, although special discord makes many ways to the same end: . . .'

6 Manual, i (1906), p. 1014, (with some omissions).

utterances, Kāsāyana the Great made the proposal that the Brethren should assemble to reshape the Lord's precepts. The proposal was adopted, and Kāsāyana was now entrusted to select 500 Arhats. This being done, it was decided that Bājārīya should be the place of assembly. During a seven months' session the Vinaya ("Discipline") was revised, with the assistance of Utpali; the Dharmac ("Law", doctrine), with the assistance of Ananda.

There are numerous divergences and errors (saffalas) in the traditions of Ananda, which had to make amends for them. Lastly, a celebrated monk, Purāna, arrives when the 'chanting together' of the Law is completed, and, although he admits that the Law has been revised thus far by the Elders or Arhats, he prefers to 'hear' the Law as he has himself received it from the Master.

According to Oldenberg, 'what we have here before us is not history, but mere invention'; and every one will agree with him, as far as the 'chanting together' of the whole Vinaya and Dharmac (Sutras) is concerned, although, in the words of Kern, 'it is by no means incredible that the disciples, after the death of the founder of their sect, could, and ought to, issue new versions concerning the principal points of the creed and of the discipline.' As concerns the minor details, whose unhistorical character is by no means evident (miracles of Ananda, excommunications of Chāṇakya, etc.), Missnyana thinks that they were to some extent historical, and the present writer does not see how this opinion can be 'proved' to be either right or wrong. He ventured to believe that it is right.

The author of the Chaṭṭha-sutta, a very ancient work, falsify his history of the First Council [a legend or a quasi-legend, an 'aetiological' or 'apologetic' construction which may cover some kernel of truth], and has used traditional data, which are neither so near, nor less reliable than the traditions of the Buddhist Tradition contained in Vinayas or Sutras. Moreover, it is not necessary to decide whether these data are true or false; in any case, they present us with useful evidence as to the early Church.

The narratives of several sects—Dharmaśāstra, Sarvāstivāda, Mahāsāṃghikas—are parallel with the Chaṭṭha-sutta. Although there are manifold discrepancies, it is far from certain that they furnish us with independent traditions. The Chaṭṭha-sutta looks older, for it does not contain any allusion to the rehearison of the writings of the secular books and the last days and the funeral of Buddha, tr. Rāys, Davids, SBE xi, and Dialogues, ii.

3 See Dialogues, ii, 70.

7 See L. 1906, p. 8, note; also Nanjio, Catalogue of the Chinese Transactions of the Buddhist Tripitaka at Myohara, SBE, xvi.

8 For the last line of the last sentence, see the last sentence of the last paragraph of 552, etc., and SBE xi, p. xxvii. [We are indebted for this reference and this argument to M. Louis Finot.] A typical instance of the complexity of the Buddhist system in the narrative and literary problems is furnished by the manuscripts of the narrative of the expedition of Purāna. There is much truth in this information. According to the Sinhalese, Purāna demanded the insertion of seven permissi (keeping) of the Elders or Arhats, the last of the eight. At the Chaṭṭha-sutta, of eight. Now the Purāṇa (Mahāsūtra, v. 17-19, 20, 52) states that the problem of the eight
2. Council of Vaiśāli (Vesālī).—According to a tradition fully developed in Chulavatthu, tīrtha (SE 380), and common to at least several sects, there was held, in the year 100 or 110 after the Nirvāṇa, a Council to examine and condemn ten extra-legal practices of the monks of Vaiśāli. In the third year of the Asoka's reign, in the country of Vaiśāli, the monks were ordered to put an end to the ten extra-legal practices (Vaiśāli, the modern Braj) as known as Vaiśāli (Pāli Vaiśāliputra), and the heretic monks as Vaiśāliputra (Pāli Vaiśāliputta). The heretical practices were described, or technically pointed out, in short phrases, as, e.g., *description of the wrong sin,* etc.—some of which were no longer intelligible when Chulavatthu, tīrtha, and the other Vaiśālīs alluded to were compiled, as is shown by the discrepancies in the interpretation of the phrases.

We may safely acknowledge the character of a Vaiśālian controversy on ten points of monastic discipline, but it is as yet impossible to draw from it any conclusion regarding the importance or the date of the event, the development of the monastic institution at that time, or the date of the Pāli Vaiśāsa as a whole. The present writer considers it a misleading contrast to fancy that the Vaiśāli controversy was brought to the Vaiśāli Council because it does not contain any allusion to the ten phrases. Further, as is generally admitted, the figures 100 and 110 are round numbers.

COUNCILS AND SYNODS (Buddhist) 183

3. Two Asokas and their Councils.—

(i) The Pāli Vaiśāliputra, Mahākāla, and the heretic monks as Vaiśāliputra (Pāli Vaiśāliputra), and the heretic monks as Vaiśāliputra (Pāli Vaiśāliputta). The heretical practices were described, or technically pointed out, in short phrases, as, e.g., 'description of the wrong sin,' etc.—some of which were no longer intelligible when Chulavatthu, tīrtha, and the other Vaiśālīs alluded to were compiled, as is shown by the discrepancies in the interpretation of the phrases.

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COUNCILS AND SYNODS (Buddhist)

The obvious conclusions are as follows, (a) Nothing precise was known concerning the origin of the Mahabodhi; they claimed to be ancient and orthodox. Others styled them heretics and schismatics. The Sinhalese identified them with the Vesalan Vajjiputtakas, but there is no evidence that the latter is the identification; some seem to believe that they originated out of the dispute on the five points, and it seems certain that they admitted the five points. (b) There was a tradition of an Vesalian Council on ten points, date uncertain, no mention of king; and (c) a tradition of a Council on some controverted question, more precisely on five points; date uncertain, and probably no mention of king. (d) The monks of Ceylon supposed that their Kathavatthu, a catalogue of heresies, had been first preached mystically by Buddha; they were well aware that the book was modern, nay, that it had been revealed by Tissa Mogaliputta, some centuries after the Nirvana; and they had reasons to admit that the inclusive Council, the Kathavatthu, had been rehearsed in a Council, which could not be the Vaishali Council, since the Chulavangga ignores Tissa and the Kathavatthu.

It was reasonable to place all the important events in the history of the Church under Aoka, who had evidently been a second-mover of the Wheel of the Law; and this being the case, the exceptional case of Nanda and Mahapadma, above, p. 183. Again, Patialapura was the evident seat of a chronologically second Council.

Our Northern documents are scanty and misleading, but they give some reason to imagine that there was, in certain tradition of the date of Aoka: 100, 110, 137, or 169 are figures out of which no chronology can be extracted (no oil out of that stone, no date from Patialapura tailam).

The Sinhalese tradition places the Vaishali Council in 100 under Kalsika, and the Patialapura Council in 110 under Dharmapala. Besides the Northern figures for Aoka (100 [110], 137, 169), there was a fourth figure, a.b. 250 (17 or 18 years after his corona-

nion in a.b. 261, 270). We are not concerned with the question whether these were fateful or traditional computations. In fact, the authors of the ecclesiastical history 'concocted' in Ceylon admitted this figure, without troubling themselves very much to adjust it to some other chronological details of their own; and they did not even mention the canonical date of Vaishali, and were at a loss to name the sovereign reigning in a.b. 169, they imagined a 'black Aoka', Kalsika—a mere guess and legend.

It is obvious that the Sinhalese tradition was open to serious objections as concerns the rehearsal of the Pali Canon and of the Kathavatthu as it stands now, and as regards the solemn declaration by the whole clergy that Buddha, as 'the Half-brother', had decreed the rules of the Vaishali Council, and that the tenets of the school of this name. But some details are historical, and the story itself rests on historical ground. Aoka's inscriptions are explicit enough as to the king's intervention in clerical questions: we know that he decreed expulsion ('putting in white [i.e. layman's] garments') against [monks or nuns]. The Sinhalese tradition may be relied upon when it affirms that such rules were enforced against bad monks, 'pseudo-Buddhists' as they were. What the king said by the way, the king seems rather incredible. On the other hand, it is unfortunate that the inscriptions contain no allusion to a 'Council,' and some historians feel obliged to place

the Council in the short time between the Pillar-inscriptions and the death of the king (see ii. 126). But the question is whether the Council was what it is said to have been, a 'Nicene' Assembly, and not rather a series of synods or dogmatic disputations.

Until the Kathavatthu has been thoroughly studied and compared with 'Northern' documents, it will be impossible to describe the ancient

doctrinal discussions; but we already possess a few hints which may prove useful.

(a) The name of Tissa Mogaliputta, the hero of the Third Council and the principal author of the Vaishajyavadin faith, is quoted in the books of a rival sect, the Sarvastivadins. The Vajja-

nikaya, a treatise of this sect, is a tedious argumentative controversy comparing the views of a Mahasanghika monk with those of a 'Vesalian'. It denied the reality of the Past and the Future . . . (Watters, On from Ceylon, p. 346.)

(b) Further, the heresy condemned in the Kathavatthu—

'Is there in the truest and highest sense a soul (pudgala)?'—is known from the Northern sources as the capital tenet of the Vaipallapitas (cf. above, p. 184); and it seems that the problem of the 'soul' aroused division in the earliest times. The second heresy—'Can an Arhat fall from Arhatship'—is also very ancient, of the 4th century B.C.

To sum up: it seems almost certain that a number of heresies discussed in the Kathavatthu may have occasioned discussions, synods, and divisions in the days of Asoka, at least a generation before his time; that there was a Kathavatthupakaranam, a 'book on controversies,' which could be easily completed and, in fact, has been enlarged through many and manifold additions. There is no reason to doubt that the Sinhalese versions were in some way connected with Tissa Mogaliputta.

4. Council of Kaniska. The documents concerning this Council are late, more or less at variance, and, moreover, very vague.

It seems that this Assembly is for, the Sarvastivadins School, and is based on an apocryphal manuscript known as the Kathavatthupakaranam, a treatise on Abhidharma, and maintains that there are authoritative (words of the Buddha); their authenticity and the authority of the Abhidharma, was, at present, held at the Council held under Kaniska, and, moreover, a Commentary on the Abhidharma-treatises (Vibhad) was compiled or written on this occasion. The text of these works has been preserved, but the later scholastic development of the Kharsnaitas, who consider the Abhidharma-treatises as human works, does not mention, we think, Kaniska's Council; further, that the Kanisaka (monks of Kaniska, the stronghold of the Sarvastivadins and Valahikas) are not Sarvastivadins.

The narratives of this Council are to some extent dogmatic legends, and seem only to best witness to the literary activity of the Sarvastivadins. As is well said by Takakusa, until the treatises of this school shall have been made accessible to scholars, it will be vain to argue about the Council or its proceedings (see att. VAIHJANAS, SARVASTIVA-

DINS)

1 See JAR, 1910, p. 415.

2 Kern, Manual, p. 121 (see also Geschichtslehrer, ii. 289). Kern gives a summary of the narratives of Vaibhasikas, Kalsika, and the Sarvastivadins' books are earlier or later than Kaniska (c.f. 4).

3 It seems certain that the two Abhidharma collections have nothing in common.

The present writer cannot agree with Kern's opinion (Manual, p. 121) that, as a result of the Council, a synod, or an agreement, a maha-sammaita, was held upon the basis of the principal treatises (compared and approved, in a debate) as represented by the Sarvastivadin character of the Council seems to be proved.
COUNCILS AND SYNODS (Christian)


1. The various kinds of Councils.—The Councils of the early Church may be classified as follows: (1) Diocesan, being the assembly of a single diocese; (2) Provincial, being of all the dioceses composing the province of the province; (3) Councils of united provinces, being assemblies of several neighbouring provinces, sometimes called Plenary Councils (concilia plenaria); (4) Patriarchal, being of the provinces united in one patriarchate, sometimes called Patriarchal Councils (concilia patriarcalia, or concilia univer sitaria); (5) National, being of the provinces existing in a country, sometimes called Plenary or Universal Councils, frequently identical with Primatial and Patriarchal Councils, or of the West, being of all the provinces in the West; (6) General Councils representing in their constitutions the whole Church; (7) Ecumenical Councils, being Councils whose decisions were accepted by the whole Church; (8) Synods, being called in a local diocese, either by a bishop, or by the diocese, or by the Pope; (9) Provincial Councils, being constituted only of the presbyters of a province, sometimes called Provincial Councils (concilia provinciale); (10) Mixed Councils, being of a mixed class, consisting of presbyters and laity, sometimes called Mixed Councils (concilia mixtae) of the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries. To these may be added (9) the Councils held at Constantinople in the 4th and following centuries, known as the Home Councils (εσθονότα θεραπευον) and (10) the Mixed Councils (concilia mixtae) of the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries.

2. The constitution of Councils.—(1) A diocesan Council consisted normally of the presbyters of the diocese, meeting under the presidency of the bishop. The rule of the bishop was not regarded as being exercised altogether independently of the presbyters, although he had the power and the responsibility of decisions. In the 4th century the authority of the bishop is constantly viewed as being exercised in connexion with the presbyters; see, e.g., ad Eph. 39; ad Magna 6, 7; ad Tollek. Sl. 5, 14 (zur Eph. xiv. 4), writing of his presbyters and deacons, says: 'From the beginning of my episcopate I determine everything by my own judgment, without your advice and without the assent of the laity.' The advice of clergy and laity was sought by the bishop in regard to those whom he ordained. St. Cyril, Ep. 115 (see above), speaks of the 'ordinatio in consilium' of bishops and deacons; says: 'In the ordination of clergy it is our custom to consult you beforehand, and to consult with you after we have given the order of ordination to the persons and to the districts of individual'; and a canon of the 6th cent. Gallican document, known as the 'Fourth Council of Carthage' (canon 22; see Hardouin, Concilia, i. 890), which passed into the general Western canon law (Decret. i. xxiv. 6), enacted: 'that a bishop should not ordain clergy, so that he may look for the ascent and witness of the people.'

3. This canon of Nicaea is of great importance as illustrating (a) the intention of revising the acts of individual bishops by the holding of provincial Councils; and (b) the connexion between the exercise of the bishop's authority and his power of excommunication. Similarly, it was enacted by the Council of Arles (A.D. 256), that 'if any one be excommunicated by his own bishop, he may not be admitted by other bishops unless he has been restored by his own bishop, or by the bishop of some other see.' The Council appeared before it and made his defence, and convinced the Council and obtained a new decision. This decree applies to laity and presbyters and deacons and all ecclesiastics (canon 6; see Hardouin, i. 322-330).

4. Apart from exceptions at Rome at the end of the 5th cent., and in Spain in the 6th, the Councils of the provincial and larger Councils were bishops only, though presbyters and deacons and lay people were sometimes present. The earliest instances of Councils of a character to which the admission of bishops was essential, and the provision in their constitution, and 'Ecumenical' for those whose decisions are accepted by the whole Church.

From this dependence of the bishop on the advice of those in his diocese the diocesan Councils had their origin. The normal constitution of such Councils was that they consisted of the bishop and presbyters of the diocese, though matters other bishops were sometimes associated with the Council.

For instance, a Carthaginian Council, probably earlier than A.D. 340, is described by St. Cyril in the following passages: 'I and my fellow-bishops who were present, and our fellow-presbyters who sat with us.' At a Roman Council held a little later there were present the bishops of Carthage, Alexandria, and the Roman presbyters, five bishops who happened to be at Rome at the time. The same is seen in the Councils of 496, 553, Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, summoned a Council of the presbyters, together with certain bishops who were then at Alexandria, to consider the case of Arians, and the next day, on the 5th of August, Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, summoned a Council of the bishops, together with certain bishops who were then at Alexandria, to consider the case of Arians. The same is seen in Epiph. adv. Aria, 1913). A 6th cent. Gallæcan canon in the so-called 'Fourth Council of Carthage' (canon 23; see Hardouin, i. 890), which, passed at least to an extent, the other in the autumn' (canon 6; see Hardouin, i. 322-330).

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the 2nd cent., in Asia Minor concerning Montanism, and in many places concerning the date of Easter. Such proceedings as this Council indicates that the members of them were bishops only (see Euseb. HE v. 16, 23, 24; Libellus Synodicius, in Hardon. v. 1453-1456; Salmon, in Smith-Wace, DOB iii. 933; Hefele-Lecercq, Concil. l. 128-150). At the African Councils held in the middle of the 3rd cent., presbyters and deacons and lay people were present (see Cypriani Ep. xvi. 4, xvii. 1, 3, xix. 2, xx. 5, xxxi. 6, xxxiv. 4, lv. 5, lx. 15, lxiv. 1), and expressed their opinions, sometimes in opposition to that of their bishop (ib. xvii. 3, lx. 15); but the actual decisions were the work of the assembled bishops, who alone were the constituent members of the Councils. For instance, a Council summoned to discuss the question of the validity of baptism administered by schismatics was held at Carthage on 1st Sept. 256. Besides the eighty-seven bishops from proconsular Africa, Numidia, and Mauretania, who were the members of the Council, there were present presbyters and deacons, and a large number of lay people. That only the bishops were the constituent members of the Council is shown by the judicial pronouncements being their work alone (see "Sententiae Episcoporum", in S. Cypriani Ep. lx. 15). At others (see Cypriani Ep. xiv. 2, 4, lx. 13, lxiv. 1, lxx. 1, lxxi. 1, lxxii. 1, lxxiii. 1). The Councils held at Antioch in 264 or 265, and 269, to consider the charges against Paul of Samosata, are described by Eusebius as consilium presbyterium et diaconorum. Presbyters and deacons were present at Antioch in connexion with the Councils, and at one of them a presbyter took a prominent part in the discussions; but there is no reason to suppose that these Councils differed from those at Carthage, so as to include others besides the constituent members possessing votes, though the letter written to announce the decision of the last Council of the series was in the name of "bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and the Churches of God" (see Euseb. vii. 27-30). Similarly, the African Councils about 241 consisted of bishops, though Origen, who was a presbyter, took part in a conference held in connexion with one of the Councils, and appears to have spoken in the actual proceedings. The Council of Constance, as we have seen, was summoned by the bishops, not as a member of the Council (see Euseb. vi. 33, 37). The constituent members of the Councils held in the 4th cent. were bishops, and any presbyters or deacons or ecclesiastics in number at all, might be elected as representatives of absent bishops and empowered to vote on behalf of those whom they represented. Thus, at Elvira in 305, twenty-six or thirty-six presbyters were present, had seats, and signed the decrees in a group after the bishops; deacons were present standing; and lay people were present. But the decrees were described as the decisions of the bishops (see 'Acts of Elvira,' in Hardon. i. 249, 250). In like manner, at Arles in 314 some presbyters and deacons and ecclesiastics in number at all, might be elected as representatives of absent bishops and representatives of absent bishops (see 'Acts of Arles,' in Hardon. i. 266-268; cf. Euseb. x. 5). So again, at Nicaea in 325, many presbyters, deacons, and acolytes were present as attendants of the bishops, and archdeacons (ib. 276); but no mention is made of attendance on the Bishop of Alexandria, was prominent in discussions connected with the Council; laymen took part in conferences before its formal opening; and the Emperor Constantine, though still unbaptized, was present at some of the proceedings, as the head of the State. But the accounts of all the authorities show that bishops alone were the only constituent members of the Council (see Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 6-14; Socrates, i. 8-14; Sozomen. i. 15-25; cf. Bright, The Age of the Fathers, 1903, i. 78).

Till nearly the end of the 5th cent., the evidence suggests the same conclusions as those which have been mentioned in regard to the Councils of the 2nd and 3rd and early 4th cents., namely, that at provincial and larger Councils bishops alone were entitled to be present and vote, or, if unable to attend the Council, to nominate representatives with power to vote in their absence; that they frequently brought with them to Councils presbyters or deacons in attendance on them and for purposes of consultation, but without votes; and that they often were careful to ascertain the mind of the lay people about the matters which it was the work of the Council to discuss and decide upon. In the series of Roman Councils held in the latter part of the 5th cent. and during the early years of the 6th cent., the constitution of some Councils was the same as already described; in other Councils of the series the presbyters and deacons, who were the precursors of the cardinals, were considered as present in the Councils. For instance, presbyters apparently shared in the authority of the bishops at the Council held in 495 (see the 'Acts,' in Hardon., ii. 941-948); and both presbyters and deacons at that held in 547 in Spain. At other Councils, and of others than bishops being members of provincial or larger Councils is in the Spanish Councils of the 7th cent., which included abbots, as, for example, the Eighth Council of Toledo in 633 (ib. iii. 967). The 'Acts,' in Hardon., ii. 949-959; and both presbyters and deacons at that held in 547 in Spain. At other Councils, and of others than bishops being members of provincial or larger Councils is in the Spanish Councils of the 7th cent., which included abbots, as, for example, the Eighth Council of Toledo in 633 (ib. iii. 967).

2. The rival claims of bishops and other Christian laity—people, and the number of bishops in the 5th cent. increasing—may have led to more and more disagreements and divisions, and to the formation of smaller and smaller communities. It is important to distinguish two separate matters: the position of the Christian laity as such, that is, as members of the Christian society, the Church; and the position of the representatives of the Church. (1) As already mentioned, Christian laypeople—earlier times probably a multitude who were allowed to come in, and probably including women as well as men, and in later times selected representatives—were present at Councils. Neither in diocesan nor provincial nor general Councils were there any members of the laity as such. (2) As the friendship of the State towards the Church increased, and the relations between them became closer, the Emperors, or their representatives, and great men of the State were present at Councils. At Nicaea on the Sixth Ecumenical Councils in minor orders were present in attendance on bishops or as representatives of absent bishops; but the natural inference from all the evidence is that the only constituent members of the Council, that is, those with a right to be present and vote, were bishops and representatives of absent bishops (see 'Acts of Arles,' in Hardon. i. 266-268; cf. Euseb. x. 5). So again, at Nicaea in 325, many presbyters, deacons, and acolytes were present as attendants of the bishops, and archdeacons (ib. 276); but no mention is made of attendance on the Bishop of Alexandria, was prominent in discussions connected with the Council; laymen took part in conferences before its formal opening; and the Emperor Constantine, though still unbaptized, was present at some of the proceedings, as the head of the State. But the accounts of all the authorities show that bishops alone were the only constituent members of the Council (see Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 6-14; Socrates, i. 8-14; Sozomen. i. 15-25; cf. Bright, The Age of the Fathers, 1903, i. 78). Till nearly the end of the 5th cent., the evidence suggests the same conclusions as those which have been mentioned in regard to the Councils of the 2nd and 3rd and early 4th cents., namely, that at provincial and larger Councils bishops alone were entitled to be present and vote, or, if unable to attend the Council, to nominate representatives with power to vote in their absence; that they frequently brought with them to Councils presbyters or deacons in attendance on them and for purposes of consultation, but without votes; and that they often were careful to ascertain the mind of the lay people about the matters which it was the work of the Council to discuss and decide upon. In the series of Roman Councils held in the latter part of the 5th cent. and during the early years of the 6th cent., the constitution of some Councils was the same as already described; in other Councils of the series the presbyters and deacons, who were the precursors of the cardinals, were considered as present in the Councils. For instance, presbyters apparently shared in the authority of the bishops at the Council held in 495 (see the 'Acts,' in Hardon., ii. 941-948); and both presbyters and deacons at that held in 547 in Spain. At other Councils, and of others than bishops being members of provincial or larger Councils is in the Spanish Councils of the 7th cent., which included abbots, as, for example, the Eighth Council of Toledo in 633 (ib. iii. 967).

2. Cf. Ao 114-20 for a parallel in Apostolic times.
Council (Constantinople, 690) to Constantine IV. It is said that Constantine, the Syriac Bishop of Rome, summoned the Council of Niceae (Hardoniu, iii. 1417), and in the Liber Pontificiæ (xxiv.) it is said that this Council was held with his assent. If it is the case, as Kallinikus (III. i. 1) says, that Constantine and Theodosius II., in the light of the views of the bishops, there is strong probability that the Bishop of Rome would not have been one of those consulted. (b) The Second Ecumenical Council, held at Constantinople in 381, was summoned from the East only, and was attended by representatives from the West. There is no evidence and no probability that the Pope had anything to do with the convocation of it. (c) Pope Celestine I. took no part in the summoning of the Third Ecumenical Council, held at Ephesus in 431. (d) The circumstances connected with the summoning of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, held at Chalcedon in 451, are complicated. They justify the words of Pope Leo I. himself, that the Council was held 'by the command of the Christian princes and by the consent of the Apostolic See' (St. Leo, Ep. cxiv. 1), and the courteous phrase of the Emperor Marcian, that the Council was to take place at the suggestion of the Pope (Opera S. Leonis, Ep. lxxiii.), if some latitude of construction is allowed in this phrase. They are not inconsistent with the statement of the bishops of Mosia in their letter to the Emperor Leo that the Council had been assembled 'by the order of Leo, the Roman pontiff, who is truly the head of the bishops, and of the illustrious and venerable bishop Anastasius' ('Acts of Chalcedon,' cod. encyc. 12, 'Ep. Episc. Mes. sec. ad Leonem Imper.', in Hardoniu, ii. 710). The facts are as follows. After the 'Robber-Synd' of Ephesus in 449, Pope Leo I. asked the Emperor Theodosius II. to summon another Council of bishops from all parts of the world to meet in Italy (Ep. xliv.). He twice repeated the same request (Ep. lv., lxxxii.), though on the second occasion he said that the Council would be unnecessary if without it the bishops were not to subscribe an orthodox statement of the faith (Ep. lxxiii.). He also asked Valentinian III., the Western Emperor, and his mother and his wife, Gallia Placidia and Lucina Eudoxia, to support this request to Theodosius (Ep. lvi.-lxxii.). The Emperor Theodosius II. appointed a Council, and the Council of bishops was assembled from all parts of the world to meet in Italy (Ep. lxxxiii.-lxvii.). After the writing of the first of these letters, and before the second and third, the Emperor Marcian convoked the Fourth Ecumenical Council. When the Council had been summoned, St. Leo wrote two letters to Marcian. In the first of them, dated 24th June 451, he said that he had hoped for the postponement of the Council, but that, since the Emperor had determined on its being held, he would not offer any hindrance, and appointed representatives to be present at it (Ep. lxxiii. 1). In the second letter, dated 26th June 451, he wrote that, though he had requested the postponement of the Council, he would not oppose the Emperor's arrangements.

The reference to the letters of Pope Damasus to Theodosius in the synodal letter preserved by Theodorus (III. v. 9) concerns the Council of 431 at Ephesus. For Constantinopolitanae, see Ep. cxxxi. 111, 112, 113.

In making this request, St. Leo may possibly have been influenced by the appeals made to him by Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius of Dorylaion: see G. Amelius, S. Leonis Magnæ f. Pétiniæ, Rome, 1852, pp. 41-49; Spicilegium Casaliumæ, Monte Cassino, 1868, i. 132-137.
(Ep. xc. 1). (c) The attitude of Pope Vigilias towards the Fifth Ecumenical Council, held at Constantinople in 553, was in some respects the opposite of that of St. Leo towards the Council of Chalcedon. In his 237th letter to Theodosius of Cesarea, Pope Vigilias mentions that such a Council had been contemplated at a meeting at which were present, besides the Emperor and the civil officials, many bishops, including the Bishop of Constantinople, the Bishop of Alexandria, and the Bishop of Milan (Festal Letter). 

Sylvester, bishop of Cordova, in his 287th letter to St. Vitalis, stated that the Council was convoked by the Empress and the Emperor on the suggestion of Tarasius, the Bishop of Constantinople (Acts of Nicea), 489, 'to the Emperor and the Empress announcing their intention of convoking the Council' (Acts of Nicea), 'Divitis sacra ad Hadrianum,' ib. iv. 21-24).

5. The president of a provincial Council was the bishop of the diocese, of a provincial Council the metropolitan of the province, and of a larger Council the chief bishop present, or a bishop locally eminent, or some bishop of special note. The presidents of the seven Ecumenical Councils were as follows. (a) At Nicea (325), Hosius, the Bishop of Cordova, was present (see Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 7; Socrates, i. 13). Possibly the reason why he held this position, notwithstanding the presence of Vito and Vincentius, the legates of Pope Sylvester I. (see Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 7; Socrates, i. 13; Sozomen, i. 17; Theodore, i. 7; signatures in Hardouin, i. 311, 312), and the fact that the Western bishops who held in the East, was that he was appointed by the Emperor Constantine, whose chief ecclesiastical adviser he was. Both St. Athanasius and Theodoret, however, speak as though his prominence at Councils was due to his personal eminence.

St. Athanasius writes: 'It is unnecessary that I should speak of the great Hosius, happy in his old age, a true confessor. ... This aged man is not unknown, but of the greatest distinction. What Council there been of which he was not the leader, and in which by his right words he did not convince all?' (Apollon. de Fug. 6). Theodore, also quoting Chis passaghe, continues: 'Hosius was Bishop of Cordova, and was prominent at the Council of Nicaea, and took the first place among those who assembled at Sardica.' (U. H. ii. 15).

It is unlikely that credit ought to be given to a statement of Gelasius of Cyzicus, a writer in the second half of the 5th cent. as usualy untrustworthy, that Hosius presided as the representative of the Pope (see his Act. Conc. Nic. ii. 5). (b) At Constantinople (381) the presidents were successively Melctius, Bishop of Antioch; Gregory of Nazianzus, Bishop of Constantinople. Neither the Pope nor any Papal representative was present. (c) At Ephesus (431), St. Cyril of Alexandria was president. The Acts of the Council state that he was the 'most holy and most sacred archbishop of the Romans' (see 'Acts of Ephesians,' in Hardouin, i. 1353, 1465, 1468, 1485, 1509, 1512, 1527, etc.).

Pope Celestine I. sent as legates the bishop's Arcadius and Projectus and the presbyter Philipus. (d) At Chalcedon (451) the imperial commissioners (see 'Acts of Chalcedon,' in Hardouin, i. 588, 589, 591, 367, 65); the Council of 553 (Acts of Nicea); (e) At Constantinople, (f) At Constantinople, (g) At Constantinople, (h) At Constantinople, (i) At Constantinople, (j) At Constantinople, (k) At Constantinople, (l) At Constantinople, (m) At Constantinople, (n) At Constantinople, (o) At Constantinople, (p) At Constantinople, (q) At Constantinople, (r) At Constantinople, (s) At Constantinople, (t) At Constantinople, (u) At Constantinople, (v) At Constantinople, (w) At Constantinople, (x) At Constantinople, (y) At Constantinople, (z) At Constantinople.
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Constant, Epp. Rom. Pontif. col. 1393-1420; (those of Chalcedon (451) were subscribed by the Papal legates and accepted by Pope Leo II. (see 'Acts of Constantinople,' in Hardouin, iii. 465-468; St. Leo, Ep. cxiv.);

those of Constantine (660-681) were subscribed by the Papal legates and accepted by Pope Leo II. (see 'Acts of Constantinople,' in Hardouin, iii. 1124, 1125, 1169-1178, 1729-1750);

and those of Nicea (787) were subscribed by the Papal legates and accepted by Pope Adrian I. (see 'Acts of Nicea,' ib. iv. 456, 819). In the case of the Fifth Council, held at Constantinople in 553, Pope Vigilius at first declined from the action of the Council (Vigiliius, Constitution of 553, ib. iii. 10-48, and the Council struck his name from the diplchyts ('Acts of Constantinople,' Coll. vii., ib. iii. 156, 187); but he afterwards changed his mind and a decretal council was held (Vigiliius, Ep. Decret.; Constitution of 554, in Hardouin, iii. 213-214).

7. The relation of the Emperor to Councils.—After the time of Constantine the Great, the close relations between which Papists insisted, was no longer the summoning of Councils and the ratification of their decrees by the Emperors, but also to an influence—sometimes greater, sometimes less—in many other ways. But, whatever the aggressive manner of certain of the empresses and the prominence of prominent members of the Church at some times, the State acknowledged, and the Church maintained, that the work of ecclesiastical decisions and legislation belonged to the Church, not to the State. A few instances of Church action without State suffice to illustrate this fact. Both the Second and the Third Ecumenical Councils, in asking the Emperor Theodosius I. and the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian III. respectively, to ratify the decrees of the Council, expressed the independence of the Church as wholly their own work, independently of the State (see 'Acts of Constantinople,' 381, and 'Acts of Ephesus,' Act v., in Hardouin, i. 808, 1501-1510). The Emperor Constantine the Great, in his letter giving circumscription to the decrees of the First Ecumenical Council, said: 'Whatever is determined in the holy assemblies of the bishops is to be regarded as the will of God' (Euseb. Vit. Const., ii. 200). The Emperor Theodosius II. and Valentinian III. wrote to the Third Ecumenical Council that they had sent Candidian to be their representative, 'to have no share in the discussions which may take place about doctrine; for it is with us that the bishops have important business in the affairs of the Church' ('Acts of Ephesus,' p. i. cap. xx., in Hardouin, i. 1345). The Emperor Marcian addressed the Fourth Ecumenical Council: 'Our will is that all the bishops at present, in those things which are done, not that we may exercise any power' ('Acts of Chalcedon,' Act vi., ib. ii. 465). The historian Theodoret records a dialogue between the Emperor Constantius II. and Pope Liberius (ib. p. 29). The Emperor Theodosius I. and Theodosius II. and Valentinian III. wrote to the Councils, 'not to shelve unimportant questions, nor confess that your thoughts should mingle in the affairs of the Church' ('Acts of Ephesus,' p. i. cap. II, in Theodoret, Hist. Ec. ii. 16).

The same principle of the independence of the Church is emphatically declared in the letter written by Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, to the Emperor Constantius II., in which he said:

'Push not yourself into the affairs of the Church, neither give commands to the bishops, nor rather learn them from us. God has committed to your hands a kingdom. He has entrusted us with the affairs of the Church. And as he who should seal your rule would be resisting God who speaks to us. You must answer before your God, and not before us. Command all that will appear to the bishops, and let them do it.'

'Judge unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.' Therefore it is not lawful for you to bear rule upon the Church. You, Sire, have not authority to burn incense. . . . This is my determination. I unite not with the Arians, but I anathematize their heresy. I subscribe not against Athanasius, whom we and the Church of the Romans and the whole council acquitted' (St. Athan. Hist. Ariau. iv. 2).

Such instances show that, while the Church acquired in the course of the most extravagant language to describe the Emperor, as when the Imperial commissioners and others called him 'the divine head,' 'the divine and immortal head,' 'our most divine lord,' or when a letter from him was styled a 'divine letter, i.e., 'Acts of Ephesus,' p. i. cap. 19, 20; 'Epp. Cath.' cap. 17, and 'Acts of Chalcedon,' p. i.; 'Epp.' 29, 36, Acts iv., xi., xiv. p. iii. cap. 5, 7, in Hardouin, i. 1344, 1345, 1616, ii. 36, 52, 143, 545, 572, 604, 668), it was not allowed that the Emperor should arrogate any right to dictate what the Councils should do.

8. The relation of the Pope to Councils.—The subject of the relation of the Popes to the convoking and confirming of Councils has been dealt with above. It would not otherwise be the view of the authority taken by the Councils. As of the Emperor, so of the Pope, language of a strong kind was used at and by the Councils. It must suffice to mention some of the more memorable instances. At Ephesus (431) the Papal legate Philipp described St. Peter as 'the prince and head of the Apostles, the pillar of the faith, and the foundation of the Catholic Church;' declared that 'as such he is to be held up to this time and always lives in his successors and gives judgment;' and in this context referred to Pope Celestine as the 'successor and representative' of St. Peter ('Acts of Ephesus,' in Hardouin, i. 1477, 1478); and the Fathers of the Council, in giving force to the words used, the words, necessarily impelled by (άξιος) the canons and by (έξω) the letter of our most holy Father and fellow-minister, Celestine, Bishop of the Roman Church ('Acts of Ephesus,' Act i., ib. i. 1421, 1422, 'Let us receive Peter the head of the Church,' Acts of Chalcedon (451) the Papal legate Paschasius called the Pope the 'head of all the Churches' ('Acts of Chalcedon,' Act i., ib. ii. 67, 68); and the Fathers of the Council in their letter to the Emperor Marcin spoke of the Pope as the 'inviolable champion' ('Acts of Chalcedon (451) the Pope is inviolate,' and in their letter to Pope Leo described him as the 'head' of which they were the 'members,' and as an 'agent to whom was entrusted the Saviour the guarding of the vine,' the Church ('Acts of Chalcedon (451) the Pope is inviolate,' Acts of Chalcedon (451) the Pope is inviolate, 644, 655, 656). At Constantinople (680-681) the Fathers of the Council wrote to Pope Agatho: 'We commit to thee, as the chief ruler of the universal Church standing on the firm rock of the faith, what is to be done, to give effect to the decisions of the Council; and described the Pope's letter to the Emperor as 'uttered about divine truth by the chief head of the Apostles' ('Acts of Constantinople,' Act xvii., ib. iii. 1437-1440). Yet, notwithstanding all this statement, the Councils did not regard the Papal utterances as settling anything; they examined and tested the judgment of the Popes; they assented to these as conforming to orthodox standards; they did not shrink from declaring a Pope to be a heretic. At Ephesus (431) the condemnation of Nestorius was not passed until after the most elaborate consideration of his case, though the letter of Pope Celestine condemning him was before the Council ('Acts of Ephesus,' Act. i., ib. i. 1393). At Chalcedon (451) there was a like examination of the Tome of Pope Leo, and it was eventually approved, as being 'consonant with the confession of great Peter' ('Acts of Chalcedon,' Act. i., ib. ii. 455, 1393). The Fifth Ecumenical Council, held at Constantinople in 553, insisted on condemning Theoe-
COUNCILS AND SYNODS (Christian)

dore of Mopseustia and Theodoret, in spite of the resistance of Pope Vigilins ('Acts of Constantinople,' Coll. viii., id. iii. 187-208). The Sixth Ecumenical Council, held in Constantinople in 680-681, anathematized Pope Honorius I. as a heretic; and with reference to the letters of Sergius and Honorius declared:

"We find that these documents are altogether alien from the doctrine of the apostles and the decisions of the Holy Councils, and all the accepted fathers, and that they follow the false doctrine and heresy and deny and reject them, and we execrate them as destructive to the soul. Moreover, we have determined that the name of the very men whose doctrine we execrate as impious and heretical is to be cut out from the heart of the Church of God, namely Sergius.... And besides these, we have decided that Honorius, who was Pope of the elder Rome, is to be anathematized together with his heretical and anathema.

To Theodore of Pharan, the heretic, anathema. To Sergius, the heretic, anathema. To Cyrus, the heretic, anathema. To Honorius, the heretic, anathema. 'Acts of Constantinople,' Acte xiii., xi. v. xi., 1333, 1355, 1375.

A comparison of the different parts of the evidence shows that, while the Pope was regarded as the chief bishop of Christendom, and while his authority and influence were great, the Councils held that it was for them and not for him to decide in matters of doctrine and discipline; and that, while the ordinary and normal desirable process was that Pope and Council should be in agreement, and that what the Council decided the Pope should accept as effect, a necessity arose of Council taking its own line in opposition to a Pope, and even of condemning him as heretical.

As regards the disciplinary power of the Pope, regulations of the Councils of Nicaea (325) and Sardica (343) are of special importance. Canon 6 of Nicaea assures the possession by the Pope of a certain patriarchal authority in Italy, parallel with that of other patriarchs elsewhere, referred to as an illustration in a way which may imply a primate on the part of Rome.

'The old customs in Egypt and Libya and Pentapolis are to be preserved so that the Bishop of Alexandria shall have authority over all these, since this is customary also in the case of the Bishop of Rome. In like manner, in Antioch and in the other provinces the rights are to be preserved to the Churches of.

Canons 2, 4, and 5 of Sardica provide for appeals to Rome in certain cases. They exact that, if a bishop has been deposed by the bishops of his province, there may be an appeal to the Bishop of Rome, who is to decide whether the appeal is to be granted; if it is allowed, the Pope is to name bishops from the neighbourhood of the province in question to act as the court for the second hearing of the case; if the appellant can persuade the Pope to do so, the Pope may send provincials of his own to act as its legates (obea by TIM potro 6POXwTAppolos...). The Acts of the synod were published.

The authority of Councils.—The degree of authority which a Council possessed varied greatly with its character. A local Council in itself could make no claim to acceptance wider than in the locality to which it belonged, and its decisions were always open to revision by a larger and more representative church body. Thus, the First Ecumenical Council possessed authority for its diocese, and a provincial Council for its province, but in each case this authority was subject to appeal from the diocese to the province, from the province to a union of provinces, and from any smaller Council to a Council of the whole Church; and as the Council was more fully representative, so its authority was greater. But a Council, however fully representative in constitution, was not finally authoritative simply because of the constitution of its decrees by the Emperor gave civil sanction, and the assent to them by the Pope supplied a further ecclesiastical step (cf. the famous saying of St. Augustine, 'Iam enim de hac causa divinorum

cilia missa sunt ad sedem apostolicam: inde etiam rescripta venerunt. Causa finita est: utinam aliquid finitur error' [Scrn. cxxxi. 10]). But the Council did not become Ecumenical, in the sense of being in universal acceptance, simply because the Pope recognized it, so completely binding on the whole body of the Church, without the general acceptance by the Church of its doctrinal decisions, since a Council, however representative in constitution, might fail to represent the real mind of the Church, just as a civil body of the most completely representative character, so far as constitution is concerned, might fail to represent the real wishes of the nation which elected it. This acceptance by the whole body of the Church, as of the decisions of the seven Councils which have here been called 'Ecumenical.' In the case of these Councils the acceptance was not always easily or immediately received. For instance, the First Ecumenical Council, that of Nicaea (325), proved to be the occasion of controversy rather than the settlement of it, and did not receive universal acceptance for more than fifty years, until after the Second Ecumenical Council, that of Constantinople (381); and the decisions of the Seventh Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (787), were for a long time without acceptance in the West, were actually rejected by the Council of Frankfort (794) under a misunderstanding of their meaning, and only gradually came to be recognized in the West, especially as related to the Eastern acceptance, constituted universal approbation. An instance of the way in which a Council not representative of the whole Church by its constitution may become Ecumenical through universal acceptance of its decisions was the Third Ecumenical Council, that of Constantinople (381), which was summoned from the East only, and which no Western bishop attended. The authority of the Ecumenical Councils is thus that of the whole Church. The idea of authority, whether as resident in the Church or as expressed by Councils, was based on the belief that the Church, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, was giving effect to the teaching of Holy Scripture and the deposit of faith committed by our Lord to His apostles. St. Athanasius described the work of the orthodox bishops at Nicaea (325) as having been to 'collect the sense (Savvas) of the Scriptures.' (ib Decr., Nic. Syn. 29). The work done at Constantinople (384) was carried out by the bishops who met at Constantinople in the following year, who were almost the same as those of the Council of 381, in the words:

'We, whether we have endured persecutions or tribulations or the threats of monarchs or the cruelties of rulers or some other trial at the hands of the heretics, have borne these for the sake of the faith of the gospel which was ratified at Nicaea in Bithynia, by the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers under the guidance of God. For this which we have been at pains to preserve ought to be sufficient for you and for us and for all who do not wrest the word of the true faith. It is the most ancient faith. It is in accordance with our baptism. It teaches us to believe in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and consequently in one Godhead and Power and Divinity of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, the dignity being equal and the majesty coeternal; in three wholly perfect Subsistences or three perfect Persons. Also we also preserve unshaken the faith of our fathers.'

† The Council of Nicaea (767) affirmed the lawfulness of reverence of honour (πατρίτα υπερηκτικία) addressed to the images of our Lord and the saints, but condemned any offering of a 'real worship' (σάλαντας) to the Virgin Mary of Nicaea,' Act viii., in Hardouin, iv. 465). What the Council of Frankfort (794) rejected was the right of the Pope to define doctrine.

‡ Allata is in medium quasquato de nova Graecorum synodo quam de adorandis imaginibus Constantinopolis (obviously a blunder) et de Nicaenis hierarchis, in qua scriptum habuerat, quia superbus appetuntum suum ut de ipsius Trinitatis servitium et adorationem nominis sempiternae anathema indiciarentur. Qui super fuere patris nostri omnium adorationem et servitium remunentes contemporaneam atque concentiam condemnaverunt' (canon 32, Hardouin, iv. 304). The Council of Constantinople (757) exactly what that Council had rejected—the offering of images of the adoration due to the Holy Trinity.
the Incarnation of the Lord, receiving the tradition that the divinity of the Word is not without substance or without reason or imperfect, and being fully convinced that the Word of God was a person of substance, of substance and became man in the last days for our salvation" (see Theodoret, H.E. v. 9).

At Ephesus (431) the bishops gave as their reason for the approval of the letters of St. Cyril that they "were in no respect discordant with the Scriptures and that with the faith which has been handed down, which was set forth in the great Council by the holy Fathers who assembled at Nicea, and, as their reason for the condemnation of Nestorius, that his teaching was "wholly alien to the teaching of the gospel" (Acts of Ephesus, Act v., in Hardouin, t. 1505). At Chalcedon (451) the letter of St. Cyril of Alexandria to John of Antioc was read, containing the following passage:

"This is the faith of the Fathers. This is the faith of the Apostles. Thus do we all believe. Thus do the orthodox holy Church of Antioch also teach. The testimony of Peter has been given through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. The testimony of the Apostles. The value of the Holy Spirit. Cyril. The memory of Cyril. Cyril and Cyril alike taught. This is the faith of the Fathers." (Acts of Chalcedon, Act v., in Hardouin, t. 1505).

At Constantinople (533) the bishops declared:

"Being gathered together, before all things we have briefly confessed that we hold that faith which our Lord Jesus Christ, true God, begotten of the Father, the only God, and the Holy Apostles, and through them to the holy Churches, and which the holy Fathers and doctors who succeeded them delivered to the peoples committed to their care; and described in themselves, their condemnation of heresy, as lighting 'the light of knowledge from the divine Scriptures and the Holy Fathers,' the teaching of the Apostles of the Acts of Constantinople, 553, Coll. viii., in Hardouin, t. 159, p. 194)."

The bishops at Constantinople (680-681) stated:

"We have examined the synodal letter of Sophronius of holy memory, one patriarch of the holy city of Christ our God, Jerusalem; and, as we have found it to be in harmony with the true faith, and in accordance with the teaching of the Apostles and the holy approved Fathers, we have judged it to be orthodox and have received it as profitable to the Holy Church. The Patriarch of Antioch, and the other bishops of the five holy Ecumenical Councils and the holy and approved fathers, which has been received and defined as the faith, according as the holy fathers from the beginning have taught, and Jesus Christ Himself has instructed us, and the symbol of the holy fathers has been handed down to us in the Act of the Apostles and of their work: 'On us shone the grace of the all-holy Spirit, being present in all things, to lead us through your ministry, so that we might root out every tare and every tree that bringeth forth no good fruit, and commanding that they should be consumed with fire, and, agreeing in heart and tongue and hand, we have put forth, by the assistance of the life-giving Spirit, a definition most free from error and most certain, not removing the ancient landmarks, as it is said, which God forbad, but abiding by the testimonies of the holy and approved Fathers.' (Acts of Constantinople, 660-661, Acts s.l., xi., in Hardouin, t. 3533, 1400, 1440).

At Nicea (757) the bishops defined their work:

"Thus the teaching of our holy Fathers is strengthened, that is, the tradition of the Catholic Church, which has received the Gospel from one end to the other. Thus we follow Paul, who said, 'All the elders of the church of the divine Apostles and the holy Fathers, holding fast the traditions which we have received;' and wrote to the Empress Irene and to the Emperor Constantine, to pass on to the Apostles and to the Fathers, we are held to speak, being one mind in the council of the holy Spirit, and being all brought together in one, having the tradition of the Catholic Church in harmony with us, we are in accord with the agreeing voices set forth in the Sacred Councils." (Acts of Nicea, Act vi., in Hardouin, t. 425, 475).

For their great doctrinal decisions the Ecumenical Councils thus possess the authority of the universal Church, and their teaching is based on the tradition of the faith which goes back to and rests on the authority of our Lord Himself. A more difficult question arises as to the degree of their authority in certain other matters. Some disciplinary enactments must be dealt with local and temporary circumstances, and therefore have local and temporary force, as, e.g., regulations about letters of commendation made at Chalcedon (451) in canon 11, but in other matters of discipline it is less easy to decide how far a principle is involved which may tend towards some degree of permanent authority.

An instance may show the complexity of the problem thus raised. The First Ecumenical Council, in agreement with the condemnation of 'sacrilege' in canon 20 of the Council of Eutyches (325), forbid the communication with the church of Cappadocia for money or interest in canon 12 of the Council of Arles (514), and the regulation in the forty-fourth Apostolical Canon, that a bishop, priest, or deacon, who seeks interest from those who owe him money must either cease from the practice or be deposed, enacted that: 'Since many who are in the list of the heresy, moved by covetousness and the spirit of gain, have forgotten the divine word which says, 'He hath not given his money upon interest,' and lend and require one per cent per month, the holy and great Council declareth that, if any one after this decree he found to be receiving interest...he shall be deposed from the clerical office and his name shall be struck off the list' (canon 17); and this canon passed into the ordinary law of both East and West, and became the discipline of the Church of Nicene (Decretum, t. viii., c. 14, v. 4 (9)). This canon differs markedly on the one hand, from doctrinal decisions concerning central dogma; and, on the other hand, it rests on a personal and temporary regulation of merely local and temporary import.

10. The work of the Seven Ecumenical Councils—It has already been indicated that the seven Ecumenical Councils, though of varying character and importance, some doctrinal, others disciplinary,

(1) Their great work was in regard to the theology of the Incarnation.—(a) by the acceptance of the Nicene Creed, and its definition, though in a phrase in it of 'of the same essence as the Father' (ουκολοκρος τοις Πατερι), the FIRST COUNCIL OF NICEA (325) affirmed the real Deity of Christ (see CONFESSIONS, in vol. iii. p. 856, and CREEDS [Ecumenical]).

(b) the Second Council of NICEA (381) ratified the work of the Council of NICEA (325) in regard to the Deity of Christ; and in particular, by its condemnation of APOLLINARISM—the heresy which maintained that our Lord did not possess a higher human soul or spirit—protected the completeness of Christ's manhood; see canon 1:

'The confession of faith of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers who were assembled at Nicaea, and who, without being abdosed, but shall remain; and every heresy shall be anathema, and condemned by the holy Synod, the Ss. Andreas, Arias or Eudosians, the semi-Arians or Pneumatomachians, the Sabellians, Marcoblines, Photinians, and Apollinarists.'

It has been thought by some that this Council confirmed the older creed, 325, known sometimes called the Constantinopolitan Creed (see CONFESSIONS, and CREEDS, at supr.).

(c) THE FIRST COUNCIL OF EPHESUS (431), by its approval of the letters of St. Cyril of Alexandria and its condemnation of Nestorius, affirmed the one Person of Christ, so that it is accurate to call the Blessed Virgin Mary 'the Mother of God' (θεοτόκος), and to say that 'God was born and died.'

(d) THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON (451) ratified the work of the third earlier Councils, by its definition of the Deity, complete manhood, and one Person of Christ, and by its acceptance of the original Nicene Creed and the Constantinopolitan Creed (see CONFESSIONS, and CREEDS); and declared that 'Christ's two natures of Deity and manhood by accepting the Tome of St. Leo and by acknowledging two persons, without confusion, without change, without sending, without separation, while the distinction of the natures is in no way destroyed by the union, but rather the peculiarity of each nature is preserved, one Person and one Hypostasis' (Act v., in Hardouin, t. 433, 456).

(e) The SECOND COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE (553), by its condemnation of the 'Three Chapters'—that is (1) the person and writings of Theodore
of Moesoeius, (2) the writings of Theodoret in defence of Nestorius and against St. Cyril of Alexandria, the Council of Ephesus (431), and (3) the letter of Ibas to Maris—rejected anew the Nestorian heresy and affirmed the doctrine of the one Person of Christ. The words of the sentence of the Council are:

"We declare that the four holy Councils, that is, of Nicaea, of Constantinople, the First of Ephesus, and of Chalcedon; and we have affirmed, and do affirm those truths which they defined in that sense, and we declare that all who do not receive these Councils to be apart from the Catholic Church, and that the council and the Synod, together with all other heretics who have been condemned and anathematized by the aforesaid four holy Councils and by the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, hold their teachings, those who write and his wicked writings, and the wicked writings of Theodoret against the right faith and against the twelve chapters of the holy Cyril and against the First Council of Ephesus, and his writings in defence of Theodore and Nestorius. Moreover, we anathematized also the wicked letter which Ibas is said to have written to Maris the Persian, which denies that God the Word was incarnate of the holy Mother of God and every Virgin Mary, and so was made man of the Holy Trinity..."

(1) The Third Council of Constantinople (680-681) condemned the Monothelite heresy, according to which the human will in Christ, and affirmed the reality of His human will as well as of His Divine will. After declaring their adherence to the Councils of Nicaea (325), Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451), and Constantinople (553), and after writing the original Nicene Creed and the enlarged Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creed (see Confessions, and Creeds, at supra), the bishops said:

"The orthodox creed of the Divine grace was in itself enough for the complete knowledge and confirmation of the orthodox faith; but since the author of evil has never ceased to find means to help his opponents, whereby to diffuse his deadly poison among the human race, and so to find instruments to accomplish his will—we mean Theodoret, who wrote the Nestorian Epistles, Paul, Peter, who were bishops of this royal city; also Honorius, who was Pope of Rome (402), and who held the episcopal throne of Old Alexandria, also Macarius, who was recently in charge of Antioch, and his disciple, Stephen—he did not fail to bring through them scandalous errors on the whole Christian dispensation in the fashion among the orthodox people the heresy of the one will and one operation in the two natures of the one Christ our true God, one Person of the Holy Trinity... The heresy which serves to take away the fullness of the Incarnation of the one Lord Jesus Christ our God by means of a crafty notion, and which impiously brings in the idea of His rationally quickened flesh as being without will and operation... In like manner, the teaching of the Holy Fathers, who proclaim two natural wills (δύο φύσεις ἐν δύον) in Him, and two natures, that is, a human nature, will be without existence, without meaning, without difference, without operation, without confusion, without opposition to another—God forbid—as the wicked heretics declare..."

(2) Of the Second Council of Nicaea (787) dealt with the contents of the Iconodasts that Christ might not be represented in a material form because of the infinity of the Godhead, or, as the more moderate members of the party taught, that the representations of Him might not be venerated. In view of these contentions, the Council affirmed the teaching of the six earlier Ecumenical Councils, and in order to declare these representations of our Lord the visible signs of the reality of the Incarnation, and that the veneration of these in the manner of the images of the saints—which was to be distinguished from the adoration of God alone—lifted the thoughts of the worshipers to the realities which these visible things represented:

"We, holding fast in everything the decree and acts of our divine holy and general Council, proclaim with one mouth and one heart, adding nothing to, taking nothing away from, the things which they delivered to us, but in these we are strong, in these we held fast what we have published; we confess, we so teach, as the six holy Ecumenical Councils have defined and determined. And God the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one God, Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son and Word, through whom all things were made; and in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Life-Giver, con-
(2) Between the Council of Nicaea (325) and the Council of Constantinople (381), the Councils concerning the Arian controversy were held. The most important of these were those at Antioch in 341, with supplementary assemblies later in the same year and in 344, which drew up five Creeds which in themselves were a series of creeds played into the hands of the semi-Arians by the use of ambiguous expressions about the Deity of Christ; at Sardica in 343, which defended St. Athanasius; and the simultaneous Council at Philippopolis, which condemned him and accepted the fourth of the Antiochene Creeds; at Sirmium in 351, 357, and 358, which were favourable to the semi-Arians, and the third of which drew up a Creed of the same character as the Antiochene Creeds. The Council of 355, which accepted that of 351 as a semi-Arian Creed; at Seleucia in 359, which accepted the same Creed as that adopted at Ariminum; and at Alexandria in 362, which, on the temporary return of St. Athanasius to his See, declared the first three of the Arian Creeds to be unworthy of the approval of the Church.

(3) Particular Councils of special importance.—

(a) The Councils of Laodicea, Hilla, Seleucia, and others in 341 and 344, and the Quincenti, or Trullan, Council of Constantinople (669) made regulations in regard to the books which might be read in church. — (b) A series of Councils held in the 5th cent. in Asia Minor, in Sardinia and Italy were concerned with the Pelagian heresy. With these must be placed the highly important Second Council of Orange (529), which condemned Semi-Pelagianism, and definitely asserted the need of Divine grace for man’s salvation. It was to choose a good work and to enable him to give effect to his choice; but took pains to avoid exaggerations in the opposite direction, by adding to the canons the following statement:

"When grace of baptism is received through baptism, all the baptized, by the help and co-operation of Christ, are able and ought to fulfill those things which pertain to the salvation of the soul, through laboring to fulfill the commandments of God. That any are not predestined to evil by the power of God, we not only do not believe, but also, if any are who wish to believe so great an evil, we say anathema to them with all anathema. This also we healthfully confess and believe, that in every good work it is not we who begin and afterwards are aided by the mercy of God, but God Himself in the first instance inspires us, without any good deserts of our own preceding, believing in Him and loving Him, so that we both faithfully seek for the salvation of baptism, and after Baptism are able with His help to fulfill those things which are predestined to Him." (Acts of Orange, 529, in Herzog, art. Constantine, II. 156.)

These decisions at Orange were accepted as expressing the general mind of the Church (see Pelagianism, Semi-Pelagianism).—(c) A Council was held at Carthage in 313, to which the Fifteen Anathemata in Origen, which are sometimes ascribed to the Fifth Ecumenical Council, probably belong. They include the anathema, if any one maintains the legendary pre-existence of souls and the monstrous idea of retribution which follows from it, let him be anathema" (see Hardouin, iii. 284.).—(d) The Third Council of Toledo (589) was the occasion of the Spanish Church and nation repudiating their traditional Arianism, and accepting the anathema ascribed by the orthodox Councils.

It is of importance, in regard to the history of the Creeds and to controversies between the East and the West, that the clause in the enlarged formula of the profession of faith at this Council as 'ex Patre et Filio procedentem' (see Hardouin, iii. 174).—(e) The Quincenti, or Trullan, Council of Constantinople (692) reaffirmed the doctrinal declarations of the six Ecumenical Councils which had by that time been held, and added to them a series of disciplinary canons which became a recognized part of the Eastern canon law.—(f) The Council of Frankfort (794), expressing the general mind of the Church, condemned Arianism, declaring that it 'ought to be utterly rooted out of the Church' (canon 1; see Hardouin, iv. 904, and art. Adoptionism). Under a misapprehension, it rejected the decisions of the Second Council of Nicaea about 318, but which had arisen through the dominance of the Arians during the reign of Constantine II.

COUNCILS AND SYNODS (Christian)

DAEWELL STONE

The Councils of this protracted period were not important from a doctrinal standpoint, as compared with the Ecumenical Councils from 325 to 693, as compared with the later Councils of Trent and the Vatican.

The term 'Synods', in Caesarea, Antioch, Ephesus, Lyons, and other Churches, was applied to all gatherings of Bishops, on the view that the only dogma which was defined (at the Fourth Lateran, 1215) that had not been defined by one of the first eight Ecumenical Councils.

These Synods are, however, of unusual value for the light they throw on the ecclesiastical movements of the Middle Ages. They legislated upon the relation of the Church to the Empire, upon the prerogatives and election of the Popes, upon Church forms, especially against simony and priestly concubinage, upon heresy and its punishment, upon the details of the conduct of worship, priestly dress and manners, upon the crusades, and upon the evils of 'papism' (through the terms of the 'Treaty of God'), and upon the relation of the Church to the world. As regards locality, Rome was all through the period the chief centre of Church assemblies.

Heretical Synods of Transalpine Churches, and the only Synod of the English Church in modern times was the council of York, 1296, which denied the efficacy of baptism, and which was held in the place of York.

The Synod of Soboles (1092) in Hungarian territory was one of the exceptions. After 1150 the Spanish Synods came into prominence on account of the regulations touching the Church's external discipline, and its ecclesiastical calendar. Notable feature is that not only the Synods in Rome, but many outside of it, were presided over by Popes in person or through their legates. Such were the Synods in France, Germany, and Italy, attended by Leo, Urban II, and Alexander III, the latter held at Cluny III, 1153. The presence of the supreme head of Christendom gave to the acts of such councils their due weight and authority.
Synods a semi-ecumenical importance. The period witnessed seven Ecumenical Councils, the first in the all called over and the Popes. The decrees of some of them are of less importance than the legislation of some of the local Synods, such as the Reform Synods held in Rome in 1049, 1059, etc.; the Synod of Clermont (1035), which set the first crusade in motion, the Synod of Verona (1184), which took up heresy, and the Synod of Tours (1229), which, in addition to other important regulations aimed against heretics, forbade laity to possess copies of the Scriptures. We shall treat the subject under five heads.

I. 870–900.—The Synods of this dark age, so far as they are known to us, were only of temporary and local importance. The subjects discussed were crimes against the clergy and their punishment, the payment of tithes, the rights of patrons over church livings, marriage and divorce. No new measures of Church reform or ecclesiastical polity were taken up. No new statements of doctrine were made. No Synod of importance was held at Rome. The Synod of Tribur, near Mainz (895), was one of the best of them (see Hefele, iv. 552 ff.). It was attended by the three great German archbishops, Hermann of Cologne, Hajo of Mainz, and Bartholomew of Treves, by four bishops, and many abbots. Twelve of its 58 canons concern marriage, which is declared valid only when the parties are equals. A man having a concubine was expressly permitted, in addition, to take a wife. A man committing adultery with another man's wife was forbidden to marry her, even if the husband died. The old Roman law evidently still had its influence, but the movement of the Church was in the right direction, and at the Synod of Mainz (1059), a healer was forbidden, under pain of excommunication, to have a wife and a concubine at the same time.

II. 900–1059.—The 10th cent. witnessed even fewer Synods than the 9th (Hefele, iv. 571), and this, according to the canonist Hergarten, was a sign of the decay of Catholic discipline (Kathol. Kirchenrecht, 342). The Ottos and Henry III had a taste for calling Synods, regarding themselves as the successors of Constantine, Theodosius, Maximian, and other Roman emperors. After the year 1000 there is a very noticeable increase in the number of Synods. Here, again, no theological dogma is stated which had not already been defined. The prerogative of the Papal Chair, which was to pronounce what is true and falsehood, was recognized. Conciliar discussion after 1050, was not touched upon, except incidentally at the Synod of St. Bale, near Reims (991), where Gerbert, afterwards Sylvester II., took a prominent part, and Archbishops Arnulf was deposed. Sylvester, on becoming Pope, restored him (Hefele, iv. 637 ff., 654; Loofs, Dogmengesch., iv. 669, p. 240). A Synod of Rome under Sylvester (998), in the spirit of the time, imposed a penance of eight years upon Robert, king of France, for his blood-relations to Bertha; and the Archbishops of Tours and other prelates, who had assented to the incestuous relation, were suspended. Of the Synods which took up the cases of individual Popes, the Synod of Rome (963) deposed John XII. and elected Leo V.; the Roman Synod of 964 reinstated John XII.; and another Roman Synod (964) restored Leo VII. Otto the Great called the last of these Synods. The most famous of them, the Synod of Satri, has a permanent interest, as bearing upon the relation between a Council and the Papacy. It was controlled by Henry III., and disposed of three Popes and elected a fourth. Benedict IX. resigned, Sylvester III. was imprisoned, and Gregory VI. deposed himself, his resignation being accepted by the assembled Fathers. Descending from the throne, he implor...
ceremony of investiture, clerical concubinage, ecclesiastical simony, the mode of electing the Pope, and the crusades. The so-called Reform Synods, assembling in Rome, which took up the first three questions, form an epoch in the history of the Western Church, and bear the same relation to it as the earlier refomatory Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basel bear to their last period. The Lord's Supper was the only question of a doctrinal nature to be discussed, being taken up in connexion with the dynamic theory advocated by Lanfranc of Tournay (d. 1088). The doctrine of the transmutation of the elements was assumed, the word 'trans substantiation' not being used. Through the influence of Lanfranc, Berengar's views were condemned in Rome (1088), and subsequently the Roman Synod of Vercelli (1050), over which Leo IX. presided. His case was subsequently taken up at several Synods, notably at the Roman Synods (1059 and 1079). At both of these Synods he retracted his view, but passed by the Roman Synod of 1059 and 1061, under Nicolas II., the law was elaborated by Alexander III. at the Ecumenical Council of 1120, and again at the second Ecumenical Council at Lyons (1124).

The Reform Synods began at the opening of the period in 1049. At the Roman Synod of 1047, Clement II. had already declared against simony, and punished some bishops who practised it. The Roman Synod of 1049, under Leo IX., declared war in earnest against the two evils of simony and clerical marriage, renewed the old laws on the subject, and forbade to clerics, from the sub-denance up to the higher orders, the exercise of religious functions so long as they were married or kept concubines. This legislation was repeated the same year by Synods at Rheims and Mainz, both presided over by Leo. Vigorous laws were also passed by the Roman Synod of 1059 and 1061, under Nicolas II., and by the Synod of Melfi, near Monte Cassino (1059), presided over by the same Pontiff. The energy with which the canon of celibacy was pushed is shown by Nicolas' despatch of an inquest against a Papal reformers by the boldness with which he advocated moral reforms, and the suffering he was ready to undergo in their interest. Simony, clerical concubinage, and lay investiture were the three evils against which he waged vigorous war. At the Lenten Synod in Rome (1074), the first of his pontificate, he ordered all holding ecclesiastical dignities to relinquish them, and all guilty of the crimen fornicationis, that is, having a wife or a concubine, to desist from saying mass. To the resistance offered by localities and bishops to the latter decree was added the unfavourable action of the local Synods of Paris and Erfurt (1074). But such Synodal action was as a passing cloud. Other Synods came to Gregory's aid, and those held at Rome year by year renewed the war; and the legislation for annulling the marriage of the clergy was repeated again and again, even in far-off England, as at the Synods of Winchester under Lanfranc (1076), at London under Anselm (1102, 1108), and at Westminster (1138), etc. These Synods extended the way to the sons of priests who were excluded from succeeding to the benefices held by their fathers. The Roman Synod of 1083, the last under Gregory, placed in one and the same category the sons of priests, the sons of adulterers, and all other bastards, and pronounced them ineligible for ordination. The difficulty met with in putting a stop to the marriage of clerics is shown by the action of the Hungarian Synod of Székesfehérvár (1092), which solemnly granted priests already married the indulgence to keep their wives (see Hefele, v. 204 ff.).

A positive prohibition of lay investiture was laid down by Gregory, at the Lateran Synod at Rome (1075). Henceforward the custom was illegal where, by the Emperor and princes had inducted bishops and abbots into their office by the gift of ring and staff. This right Gregory now reserved for the spiritual authorities, to whom it properly belonged. The principle was asserted at one Council after another, and thus the moral weight of Conciliar action was added to the heroic boldness of Gregory in his personal struggle with Henry IV., until the matter was finally settled by the Concordat of Worms (1122).

Synods undertook an easy task when they began to urge Western Christendom to endeavour to rescue Jerusalem and the other sacred sites from the Turks. The call to chivalry, as well as the impulse of piety, was touched when the appeal was made to assert by arms the right of the Church to the localities where the Redeemer was born, had died, and laid down the Divine laws. This appeal was at first brought to the attention of a Council at the Synod of Piacenza (1093), when an embassy appeared from the Emperor Alexius calling for aid against the encroachments of the Turk upon the Eastern Empire. At the Council of Clermont (1095), presided over by Urban II., the first crusade was determined upon. Urban's address, picturing the distress of Jerusalem, fired the heart of the large assembly with such enthusiasm, that the cry arose, 'God wills it, God wills it,' and multitudes took the cross. More effective sermon was never preached, and at once throughout Central Europe was heard the noise of preparation for the main army which was to start under Godfrey, and the preliminary swarms under Peter the Hermit, Walter the Penniless, etc. See CRUSADES.

IV. 1122-1400 (the Ecumenical Councils).—This period of 250 years is marked by seven Ecumenical Councils, a great increase in the number of local councils, and the action of the Synods of Vienne and Tours (1060) along the same line. Gregory VII. won for himself a foremost place among Papal reformers by the boldness with which he advocated moral reforms, and the sufferings he was ready to undergo in their interest. Simony, clerical concubinage, and lay investiture were the three evils against which he waged vigorous war. At the Lenten Synod in Rome (1074), the first of his pontificate, he ordered all holding ecclesiastical dignities to relinquish them, and all guilty of the crimen fornicationis, that is, having a wife or a concubine, to desist from saying mass. To the resistance offered by localities and bishops to the latter decree was added the unfavourable action of the local Synods of Paris and Erfurt (1074). But such Synodal action was as a passing cloud. Other Synods came to Gregory's aid, and those held at Rome year by year renewed the war; and the legislation for annulling the marriage of the clergy was repeated again and again, even in far-off England, as at the Synods of Winchester under Lanfranc (1076), at London under Anselm (1102, 1108), and at Westminster (1138), etc. These Synods extended the way to the sons of priests who were excluded from succeeding to the benefices held by their fathers. The Roman Synod of 1083, the last...
COUNCILS AND SYNODS (Christian)

Following the counting of the Latins—the 9th Ecumenical Council, or the next in the list after the Council of Constantinople (869). It was called by Calixtus II., and had for its principal object the ratification of the Concordat of Worms, known also as the Pactum Gallicanum. By that pact the Church reserved to itself the exclusive right of investing bishops with the ring and the crozier, and of inducing them into the spiritual functions of their sees, while the temporal prince retained the right of inducing them into the temporalities and of being present at the elections. Our reports of the First Lateran vary in giving the number of attending bishops and abbots and monks. It was the first Ecumenical Council to enthrone clerical celibacy. Following the example of Urban II. at Clermont, it granted indulgence of sins to all participating in the crusades, and, in addition, it took their relatives and their goods under the special protection of the Church.

(2) The Second Lateran, or 10th Ecumenical (1139), was opened with an address by Innocent II. announcing both the close of the disastrous Papal schism which had distracted the Church for nearly two years, and pronounced against the heresy of Arnold of Brescia (see Otto of Freising, de gestis Frederici, ii. 26). It also condemned simony, priestly concubinage, and the dispensation of the sins of the sons of priests, and introduced a new element in forbidding, for a term of years, tournaments. Like the First Lateran and the Third Lateran, it enjoined the truce of God.

(3) The Third Lateran, or 11th Ecumenical (1179), was summoned and presided over by Alexander III. 287 or, according to other reports, 300 or 386 bishops were present, besides many abbots and other clergy. It celebrated the establishment of the Rule of the Bishops and of Frederick Barbarossa. It made some additions to the rules for electing a Pope. Falling back on the 12th canon of the Second Lateran, it legislated against heresies, especially the Cathari and Patarini, and ordered separate burial-places and churches for lepers.

(4) The Fourth Lateran, or 12th Ecumenical (1215), was, with the Council of Constance, the most important ecclesiastical assembly of the Middle Ages, and one of the most eventful in the history of the Church. Its two chief acts were the declaration of Transubstantiation as a dogma of the Church, and the establishment of the Inquisition. The Council was called by Innocent III., and attended by 429 bishops, 112 representatives of many absent prelates, also the representatives of the Emperor Frederick II., the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, the kings of England, France, Aragon, Hungary, and Jerusalem, and other crowned heads. The Latin patriarchs of the East were also there. The sessions were opened with a sermon by the Pope on Lk 22:25: 'With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you.' In his letter of convocation, Innocent had announced as the object of the Council the measures for the re-conquest of Jerusalem and the betterment of the Church. The business was issued by the Pope, and free discussion in his imperial presence was not to be thought of. The doctrine of the Eucharist was discussed for the first time at a General Council, and the assembly made the formal declaration that Christ's body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine, the bread being transsubstantiated into the body and the wine into the blood (Mansi, xxii. 1582; Mirbt, Quellen, 133). The formal adoption of the Inquisition by the Council introduced its harsh and un-Christian measures into the body of the discipline of the Latin Church. The Synods of Verona (1184), Avignon (1299), and Montpellier (1215) had already taken definite action, but these were local assemblies, although the first was under the presidency of Albert the Great, who had established the highest authority of the Church,—for both Pope and Ecumenical Council ratified it,—was intended to crush freedom of thought wherever the Catholic Church went, and deliberately pronounced those measures of the civil power which resulted in tens of thousands being brought to the stake for errors of opinion. The third canon calls heresy heredita foeditis, and not only summoned all bishops to search out and punish heretics, but enforced it with excommunication, upon pain of excommunication, to clear their realms of heresy by the use of the sword. More especially was the decree launched against the Albigenses, and the Catholics who girded themselves with the sword for the reduction of that people to the faith were promised the same indulgence that was offered to those who took part in the crusades against the Saracens (Mansi, xxii. 1988 ff.; Mirbt, Quellen, 133 ff.). The Council also approved Innocent’s prayer, which was fixed to start in June 1217. The Pope promised as his own contribution a vessel for the crusaders from Rome and its vicinity, and £30,000 in money. The indulgence for sins was extended to those who contributed to the church, as well as to those who went to the East. The speedy death of Innocent deprived it of his powerful support, and, in spite of the efforts of his two successors, Honorius III. and Gregory IX., it was never realized, unless the last act of Frederick II. in 1229 be regarded in that light. To these decisions of greater moment were added a series of acts of a moral and ecclesiastical nature, which were included in the Decretals or Decree of the Fourth Lateran one of the notable Councils in the history of the Church. The further establishment of monastic orders was forbidden—a canon repeated with an important modification at the second General Council of Lyons (1274). The Jews and Saracens were ordered to wear a different dress from the Christians, lest unaware there might be carnal intercourse between them, and the Jews were forbidden to appear out of doors during the Paschal week, and excluded from public office. Tournaments were forbidden on the ground that they would interfere with the crusade. This rule was repeated at the Ecumenical Council of Lyons (1245).

(5) The Fifth Lateran, of Lyons, or the 13th Ecumenical (1245), was called by Innocent IV., who had fled from Rome to escape Frederick II. It took the place of the Council called by Gregory IX., whose assembly had been prevented by the violent action of Frederick and his son Enzzo. Innocent, in his opening address, called attention to five wounds of the Church, namely, the low estate of the clergy, the distressed condition of Jerusalem, the Greek schism, the menace of the Turks in Eastern Europe, and the persecution of the Church by Frederick II. The last was the greatest and most painful wound of all, and itself justified the assembly. With the assent of the Council, Innocent formally deposed Frederick from his throne for 100 years and the excommunication he has taken such ominous action against an exalted monarch. Frederick was unequal to the contest, and died, defeated (1250).

(6) The Second Council of Lyons, or the 14th Ecumenical (1274), was summoned by Gregory X., and attended by 500 bishops, 70 abbots, and 1000 other ecclesiastics. Gregory opened the proceedings with an address on Lk 22:25, the text which Innocent III. had used in 1215. The main topic was the re-union of Christendom. The Greek
COUNCILS AND SYNODS (Christian)

Church was represented by Imperial delegates—Germannus, patriarch of Constantinople, the archbishop of Nicaea, and other bishops. The Emperor through his representatives announced his acceptance of the double procession, the Holy Spirit, and the primacy of the Apostolic see. The Apostles' Creed was sung in Latin, and then in Greek. A termination of the Schism seemed to be at hand, but the articles of agreement, when they became known in the East, were rejected, and the Council proved a failure at its historic point.

(7) The Council of Vienne, or the 15th Ecumenical (October 16, 1311 – May 6, 1312), was called by Clement V, the first of the Avignon Popes, at the demand of the cardinals. The chief objects of the Council are unsatisfactory, and among the chief objects of business were the abolition of the order of the Knights Templar, the establishment of peace between the two contending wings in the Franciscan order, and the important legislation of the Templars as a heretic. The condemnation of Boniface, which Philip had strenuously demanded, was, after much discussion, set aside, in view, it is supposed, of Clement's concession to the French sovereign that the Templars should be destroyed. The V. 1122 – 1400 (important local Synods).—Speaking in a general way, the local Synods of this period derive their chief importance from their regulating the public life and pastoral care of their people, and from the condemnation of heresies. They throw much light upon the religious conditions and clerical manners of the period. After the Council of Vienne, and until the close of the 14th century, Synods no longer had the importance they had had before. This was due to the distracted condition of Western Christendom, resulting from the exile of the Papacy to Avignon, to the growing tendency to freedom of thought and expression, as manifested by the publicists in the age of Boniface VIII, and the increasing tendency, since Boniface VIII, to autocratic Papal government through bulls. Among the more important of the local Synods were the following:—(1) Toulouse (1110), which passed a synod against heretics. (2) Tours (1168), attended by 17 cardinals, 124 bishops, and 414 abbots. Alexander III, presided in person. Thomas à Becket, whose difficulties had began, was present. The Synod's regulations were not ratified by the Holy See. (3) The Council of Clarendon (1164), a mixed council of laymen and bishops, passed the famous Clarendon Constitutions, which struck at the root of ecclesiastical arrogance as represented by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and led to his flight to France. (4) Verona (1164), presided over by Lucius III, passed a lengthy and notable decree concerning the trial and punishment of heretics. It makes the first Concular mention of the peneperes de indulsiones, or Walsingham's Walter Map, the English litterator, was present, and has left us an interesting account of the examination and appearance of the humble Waldensian representatives. Impenitent heretics were turned over to the worldly authorities, and magistrates and landlords were ordered to aid bishops in spit out heretics and bringing them to trial, on pain of excommunication. (5) The Synod of Treves (1227) has a place of importance on account of its canons which bear upon the administration of the sacraments. (6) The Papal legate, celebrated the close of the bloody crusades against the Albigenses, prescribed the final punishment of the heretics, and ordained the execution of the canons of the punishment of heretics, its 14th canon forbidding laymen to have in their possession the Old and New Testaments in the original or in translation. The laity—men and women—were ordered to attend the Communion three times a year, and to visit the confessional the same number of times, upon pain of being suspected of heresy. Toulouse was in the centre of the territory most infected with heresy of the Holy Spirit, and the most active in the 13th century, and many Synods in that region and in Spain—at Beziers, Tarragona, Narbonne, Albi, etc.—repeat the rules for the detection and punishment of the unfortunate victims of the Inquisition. In the 14th century, persecutions for witchcraft were carried on, it was a Papal bull—the bull of Innocent VIII,—and a book—the Malleus maleficarum—which encouraged such wickedness, rather than the acts of Synods.


COUNCILS (Christian: Modern, 1400–1910).—It will be convenient to deal with the Councils of this period under four separate heads. Supremely important as was the Council of Florence to both of Trent and of the Vatican, they were themselves the utterances of two dissimilar assemblies, deliberating under the stress of quite different combinations of circumstances, and animated by a notably different spirit. On the one hand, the ecclesiastical-political influences at work in the early part of the 15th century, owing to the Great Schism, were absolutely unique in the history of Christianity, while, from the outset of this period, the high relief and historical importance of the Councils (owing to the gravity of the crisis and the desperate nature of the evils, which only an Ecumenical assembly could remedy) tended to throw altogether into the background the decrees of diocesan and provincial Synods, and to give them all dogmatic character and influence. We have, then, for our four divisions:—(1) The Councils of Pisa, of Constance, and of Basel-Ferrara-Florence, all of which were held under the shadow of the religious unrest caused by the Great Schism of the West, and in all of which the position and power of a concilium generale in itself was a question of primary importance. (2) Trent, the great Reformation Council, in respect of which the Fifth Lateran may be regarded as an ineffective preliminary, overshadowed by the really important work which the Papal legates and the Fathers of Trent, in spite of disheartening political obstacles, carried steadily to a conclusion. (3) The Council of the Vatican, giving expression to that recognition of the Papal magisterium and that acquiescence in the policy of centralization which three centuries of peace, organization, and discipline had bred in the hearts of the more pious, if not always to the canons of the Roman obedience. (4) We also require to give some brief consideration to the local Synods which, in these last four centuries, have done little more than popularize the great principles of dogma and
discipline laid down at Trent. To the influence of these Synods as a whole, is also largely due the extension of those anti-Gallican tendencies which eventually took formal and articulate shape in the definitions of the Vatican.

1. Councils of Pisa, Constance, Basel-Ferrara-Florence—The one outstanding fact in the religious situation at the beginning of the 15th cent. was the division of Christendom owing to the Schism. All attempts to bring about an accommodation between the rival Popes of Rome and Gregory XIII. had hitherto proved abortive. The situation was intolerable, and patience was becoming exhausted. Finally, in July 1408, cardinals belonging to both Papal courts met at Livorno and proposed as a solution the via concilii generalis utricique obedientior, appointing 25 March 1409 for the meeting of such an assembly. The appeal evoked considerable response. At its maximum the attendance numbered from 22 to 24 cardinals, 80 bishops, 80 abbots, etc., while even fewer in person sent procurators. In its eighth session (18 May) the Council proclaimed itself ecumenical and canonically convoked. On 5 June it deposed both the reigning Popes as notoriously guilty of sedition, heresy, and embezzlement. The cardinals then at Pisa to elect a new Pope in their place. The choice fell upon Peter Philargi, Archbishop of Milan (Alexander v.). But, as neither Benedict XII. nor Gregory XIV. was willing to submit, the only immediate result was that there were now the three claimants to the Papacy instead of two. As for the second avowed purpose of convening the assembly at Pisa (the causa reformationis), it was agreed that a more careful preparation of means of reform was necessary than was allowed or even attempted. Any such projects must, therefore, be left for the consideration of another Council to meet in three years' time. Accordingly, on 7 Aug. 1409, the new Pope dissolved the assembly. It has been the custom to speak of the Council of Pisa with some respect as a foolish expedient, foredoomed to failure, which only added to the divisions of Christendom. Moreover, on the ground that it was not summoned by a legitimate Pope, or by the whole Church, or generally acknowledged, it has not usually been allowed, except by favorers of Gallicans, to rank among the Ecumenical Councils (cf. e.g. Hefele-Lecoyer, Conciles, ed. 7, V, 661); but a much more favourable view of its aims and its results has recently been put forward by Dominikus, Der Generali- satis, 500-530). In any case, the assembly at Pisa certainly did much to pave the way for the solution ultimately reached.

(2) Council of Constance.—Alexander v., the Pope elected at Pisa, died within a year of his election. His successor was successively John XXIII. (Baldassare Cossa), who, though not the monster of depravity his enemies have depicted, was certainly unworthy of his high position, and was himself the cause of scandal rather than a promoter of reform. Nothing in John's behaviour seemed to promise an end of the Schism, and so, after an abortive Council at Rome (1412), which mainly occupied itself with Wyclif's writings, Sigismund, king of Hungary, put Pressure on John and forced him to summon a Council to meet at Constance on 1 Nov. 1414. Under Sigismund's patronage, a vast and rather motley assembly gathered there, with the triple object (1) of defining the teaching of the Church with regard to the teaching of Wyclif and Hus (causa fidei); (2) of putting an end to the Schism (causa unionis); and (3) of reforming the Church alike in its head and in its members (causa reformatorum). In respect of the first a long series of propositions was extracted from the writings of Wyclif and his Bohemian followers, and these were unanimously condemned. On the question of Communion in one kind the Council drafted a detailed decree, in which the custom of the Church was approved, that the Sacrament of the Eucharist 'should be received by those who consecrated it under both kinds, and, by implication, that 'it must be most firmly held that the Body and Blood of Christ are contained entire both under the species of bread and under the species of wine.'

In the 15th session of the Council (6 July 1415), Hus, who, in spite of his safe-conduct from King Sigismund, had been kept in close confinement for several months previously, was, after his refusal to retract his errors, solemnly degraded from the priesthood and burnt at the stake. No special pleading can palliate this breach of faith, whether the main responsibility falls upon Sigismund personally or upon the ecclesiastics of the Council (see Wylie, The Council of Constance to the Death of John Hus). Meanwhile, as regards the healing of the Schism, the path of the Council had not been so easy. In spite of John's favoured position as the convoker of the assembly under the protection of Sigismund, men were not slow to declare that a settlement could be reached only by the resignation of all three Popes. To destroy the numerical preponderance of the Italian bishops a plan was adopted of voting by nations (Italian, German, French, English, at a later date also Swiss), and finally, by exclusion, in the general sessions, of the system previously adhered to, which based the decision upon the simple majority of voices. The outcry against Pope John made itself more insistently heard, and on 29 March 1415 he retired from the See. Despite the desertion of its official president, the Council, at the instigation primarily of Zabarella, d'Ailly, and Gerson, passed the famous 'Decrees of Constance,' declaring itself to be ecumenical and lawfully constituted, and, in the absence of the General Council, in so far as it holds its jurisdiction immediately from God, to the obedience of all men, even though of Papal dignity; and finally proclaiming that continual resistance to its authority would be a crime legally deserving of punishment, and involving, it might be, the guilt of schism or heresy. The formal deposition of John, on the grounds of simony, immorality, and the fostering of schism, followed shortly afterwards, on 22 April 1417, resignation of Gregory XIII., after he had been forsaken by the King of Arragon, was also deposed (26 July 1417). Finally, Odo Colonna (Martin v.) was elected Pope (11 Nov. 1417) by 23 cardinals and 30 deputes—six from each of the five nations—thus at last ending the Schism.

A few spasmodic attempts at reform were also made before the Council dispersed. Serious differences of opinion among the nations—the Italian bishops, for example, favouring the Papal claim to Provisors—led to the decision that, while certain general decrees should be passed upon matters as to which all were agreed, the Pope should be left free on the contested points to arrange Concordats with the different nations separately. The periodical convening of General Councils was also determined upon, the first to be held at Pavia in 1423; and on 22 April 1418, Martin v. dissolved the assembly.

The cumulicity of the Council of Constance is a subject of much debate. No one, practically speaking, denies that character to the Council after the election of Martin v. Again, the declaratory document condemning Wyclif was not covered by the declaration of Martin v. in the last session, that he desired to maintain and to ratify the decrees, 'in matters of faith', which he had already passed. The apostolic constitutions of conciliarity. But the decrees maintaining the superiority of a General Council over the Pope were very different, in any case, since it is held that Martin v. had the power to reduce the office of conciliator to that of conciliaritator. In any case, Martin v.'s language obviously suggests that he did not approve the decrees of Constance in toto, while, if he had rejected anything at all his sanction, it must have been the bold, and up to that time almost unheard of, pretension to exalt conciliar authority at the expense of the Papacy, which in 1402 became the founda-
of the famous Gallican Articles (see, e.g., Hetele-Leclercq, Conciles, i. 69-72). By no Roman theologian of the present day is the ecumenicity of the Council of Constance admitted without reservation.

(3) Council of Basel-Ferrara-Florence.—In accordance with the provisions of Constance, Martin v. was bound to convoke a Council at Pavia in 1423; this was done, but the small attendance, the transference to Sienna on account of plague, and other causes, furnished a reasonable pretext for dissolving the assembly altogether in May 1424. Deference, however, was still paid to the agreement arrived at in Constance regarding the periodical recurrence of Councils, and Basel was selected for the next meeting in 1432. Martin v. died before the day appointed, and Eugenius iv., who succeeded him, looking with apprehension at the spirit which had already manifested itself in the handful of delegates present at Basel—a spirit which still persisted in treating the Pope as only the caput ministeriale ecclesice—decided to dissolve the Council even before the end of 1431. A period of great distraction followed. Eugenius, who had to some extent been misinformed regarding the character of the Council, that it would be a long time was also, and without doubt, honestly influenced by the desire to facilitate the re-union of the Greeks by summoning a Council in some, to them more accessible, town in Italy, was eventually constrained, by the deterrence that the claim of the political support accorded them, to set aside his bull of dissolution and to suffer the Council to proceed. Meanwhile the assembly had explicitly renewed the decrees of Constance asserting the supremacy of the Pope over the Eastern Councils and ordering to the Pope the right of dissolution without the consent of the Council itself. Notwithstanding this, Eugenius found himself compelled to pronounce (decernimus et declaramus) the continuity of the Council of Basel as a legitimately constituted assembly from the beginning, to declare pure et simpliciter that it was in the enjoyment of his favour, and to annul (cassamus, revocamus, etc.) whatever he himself had attempted to its prejudice or against its authority.

During the period which followed, beginning with the 16th session (5 Feb. 1434), the assembly passed many useful decrees of reformation, but, by an almost entire abetment of annates and reservations, it was very hardly on the financial resources of the Holy See.

With regard to some dogmatic points in the proposed re-union with the Greeks there was further friction between Pope and Council, and the general question at length entirely occupied the question of the locality to which the Orientalists should be invited for the discussion of their differences. On this point Eugenius stood firm, and when, on 18 Sept. 1437, he convened a Reunion Council to meet at Ferrara, Christendom at large gave him its support in the long run. The remnant of the Basel assembly, after defining, on 17 Sept. 1439, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and proceeding under the leadership of Card. Lewis Almen, first to suspend and then to depose Eugenius; and on 5 Nov. 1439 they elected a new anti-Pope, Felix v. But the common sense of Europe revolted against the threaten at Basel of the Schism. The handful of prelates at Basel were gradually deserted by their supports. In 1448 they were banished from the city, migrated to Lausanne, and eventually, in 1449, made their submission to Nicholas v.

Meanwhile, at Ferrara, whence in Jan. 1439 the assembly, for sanitary reasons, was transferred to Florence, a conspicuously representative deputation of the Greeks, headed by Joseph ii., Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Emperor John Paleologus, had gathered for the Re-union Council, influenced mainly, no doubt, by the hope of inducing a united Christendom to make common cause in resisting the Turks. The illusion was a very thorny one, but eventually the Filioque difficulty was broached, and in the end the Western doctrine was accepted by all the Greek representatives save Marcus Eugenius of Ephesus, who, along with another objecting concerning the use of unleavened bread, the 'epiclesis' question in the liturgy, the doctrine of purgation, and, with more difficulty, the Roman primacy. Most, but not quite all, of the matters discussed were taken up by the Bull 

cook (6 July 1439), which informed the world that the decree of union had received the signature of the Greek representatives.

Though the main object of the Re-union Council was thus, for the time being, been attained, it continued to sit on, probably as a counterpart to the schismatical assembly at Basel. Several other Eastern Churches—the Armenians (autumn of 1439), the Jacobites (1442), and, after the sessions of the Council of Florence, the Syrian church of Mesopotamia (1444), and certain Maronites and Nestorians Chaldseans (1445)—sent in their submission. The respectus of doctrine, however, in the respective decrees of union, notably, the Lateran Council at the time, which are well influenced in the Church assembly in General Council. At present the more received view asserts that, while the sessions at Ferrara-Florence may be regarded as eccenclusial, those at Basel can claim eccenclusial only for the decrees passed before 1437 and concerned with the suppression of heresy, the peace of Christendom, and the reform of the Church. The Papal approval necessary for their validity cannot be considered to have extended to any other matter (see Hetele-Leclercq, Conciles, i. 80-86, and Baudrillard in Dist. Theol. Catech. ii. [1838-1845]).

2. The Council of Reform (Council of Trent).—The extravagant pretensions of the Councils of Constance and Basel had had disastrous results. The hope of reform in the Church was almost crushed, for the very mention of the word 'reform' awakened resentment and mistrust. Still the energetic protests of such men as Savonarola and Geiler of Kaisersberg kept the idea alive, and, when the friction between Julius ii. and Louis xii. induced the latter to threaten the Pope with a General Council and to organize the schismatical assembly at Pisa (1511), the need of reform was put forward as a rallying cry. Julius responded by anathematizing the conciliarium and its authors, but at the same time by convening a Council himself, the Fifth Lateran (1512), generally reckoned the 18th General Council. It was not numerously attended, and, though it was prolonged by Leo x. until 1517, the work of reform in the Church, with which it professed to identify itself, was handed very half-heartedly. Some useful decrees were passed concerning Papal provisions to benefices, etc., but the chief work accomplished was the condemnation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles v., which was cordially approved by Francis i. (18 Aug. 1516). This received the formal approval of the Council, 19 Dec. 1516; and in the bull Pastor aeternus, issued with the approval of the assembled Fathers in the
same connection, the Pope was declared to possess authority over General Councils, which he had also the right to convokes, transfer, and dissolve (Manzi, xxxii. 967). Indirectly the 'Gravamina' drafted by Wimpeling in 1510, which in many respects were based on the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles V., received their answer in the same bull.

There was little, then, in the proceedings of the Fifth Lateran to still the clamour for the suppression of abuses, which made itself heard more and more insistently after the return of Luther in 1517. Soon the appeal came, in a form not to be ignored, from the great ruler and statesman who found himself called upon at the same time to maintain the peace of the German Empire and to uphold the authority of the Papacy. Charles V., who had the difficulties of the German Empire and to uphold the authority of the Papacy. Charles V., who had

The city of Trent had been selected, as situated upon Imperial territory, though south of the Alps, and easily accessible both from Germany and Italy, at the 8th session (11 March 1547), on account of the appearance of the plague, the transference of the Council to Bologna was decided upon, in spite of the opposition of the Emperor. Still, as Charles's command of the number of Cardinals in Bologna was very small, no decisions were passed during the two sessions held there. To put an end to the impossible situation, Paul III. prorogued the Council on 17 Sept. 1549.

An exhortation of the Fathers in 1551, and business was transacted in the 13th to 16th sessions (11 Oct. 1551-28 Apr. 1552); but, on the fresh outbreak of hostilities against the Emperor, when the troops of the Elector of Saxony seemed to threaten the safety of the Council, another prorogation took place.

Finally, Pius IV. (29 Nov. 1560) summoned the bishops to Trent for the third time. They should have met at Easter, but the work of the Council did not begin until Jan. 1563. The proceedings, which were pushed on with great energy, was manifested alike in the sending of five Cardinal legates to represent him, and in the voluminous correspondence maintained by the Pontiff's nephew and secreta, Carlo Borromeo, afterwards canonized (see Susti, Die röm. Curia und d. Concil v. Tr. unter Pius IV.). The 17th and 22nd sessions were held between 15 Jan. and 17 Sept. 1562, after which followed a long period of strides and discussions which nearly brought about the abandonment of the Council; but, thanks to the tact of the Papal legates, two other public sessions were held in July and November. The 25th and concluding session took place under the presid of Cardinal of St. Yves. But Polesley was not present, and latterly the option has been given of employing a shorter form. For contra, when in the year 1714
a Form for admitting converts from the Church of Rome was drawn up and approved by both Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury, the proselyte, if in holy orders, was to be asked: 'Dost thou in particular renounce the twelve last articles added in the confession commonly called "the Creed of 1552," or doth thou renounce them?' to which the proselyte was required to answer: 'I do upon mature deliberation reject them all, as founded upon no warrant of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God' (see The Month, Jan., 1858, p. 198). This Anglican form for the reception of a convert has of recent years been considerably modified.

Prof. Phil. Trid. is quoted in full in art. Conferences, vol. iii. p. 811.

The first hint of Pope Pius IX.'s intention to convocate an Ecumenical Council seems to date from 6 Dec. 1864, and a little later all the Cardinals resident in Rome were invited to send in their written opinion upon the ecclesiastical questions (considerable number of them being feared political complications. Only two of the twenty-one, when speaking of the purposes to be served by such an assembly, made any reference to a definition of Papal infallibility (Grundy, (pap. 44, 45) said, a matter being brought to the notice of a select number of bishops in all parts of Europe, together with certain Catholic Orientals, an almost unanimous reply was received in favor of the scheme. The motive principally insisted on was the dangerous and subsersive nature of much modern religious teaching, which rendered it desirable to emphasize the powers inherent in the Holy See as against those of the Gallican and Erastian tendencies of the times. In 1868, accordingly, a bull was issued convoking the Council for 8 Dec. 1869. A special Congregation of Cardinals had already been appointed to prepare the topics to be discussed and pronounced upon, and, in substitution to this, five separate sub-committees, or 'commissions,' were created to deal with (i.) Doctrine, (ii.) Discipline, (iii.) the Regulars (i.e. Monks and Nuns), (iv.) the Oriental Churches and Foreign Missions, and (v.) Politico-eclesiastical questions. Considerable uneasiness was aroused in circles of Gallican sympathy by the strong Ultramontane bias of many of the preliminary arrangements. The selection of consultants invited to sit on the commissions—a selection on which Dr. Dillingen and von Schulte—evoked protest from many moderate men, e.g. from Cardinal von Schwartzenburg, Archbishop of Prague. The endorsement by the Civitâ Cattolica, 6 Feb. 1869, of a wish attributed to many influential French Catholics, that the definition of Papal infallibility might be carried by acclamation, was taken to indicate the mind, not only of the Jesuits, but of Pius IX. himself. The occasion was used by Dillingen to publish five more pseudo-pseudonyms, of 'Jannes,' and were widely read outside Germany. Other publications, deprecating a pronouncement in favor of infallibility, were issued by Mgr. Maret, titular Archbishop of Sura, and Mgr. Delcourt of Orleans. The Papal constitution Multiplices inter of 27 Nov. 1869, determining the procedure of the Council and affirming the Pope's exclusive right to decide what matters should be submitted for discussion, as well as the objection and difficult was, in the case of the greater number, one of expediency, not of principle, lacked cohesion, and were far from presenting a united front. Even those who most pressed the historical difficulty of the fact that it was largely founded on the 'sacredness' of highly debatable incidents about which we have no clear information. That the opponents of the definition were sincere when almost all described themselves as 'imposturists' rather than anti-infallibilists may be inferred from their subsequent submission, and may be illustrated from the famous letter of Newman to the Bishop of Birmingham, which, made public through an indirection, showed upon the face of it that it was written by a bishop in absolute reverse. Herein, at the very time that he describes the projected definition as the work of an insignificant faction, he remarks: 'If we are all at rest and have no doubts, and at least desire to say something of the Holy Father to be infallible, suddenly there is thunders in the clear sky,' etc.; while, again, the conclusion of the letter makes it manifest that the writer had no intention of doing otherwise than to lay aside the objection and allow the definition to be pronounced (see Collectio Locanis, vii. 1513). On the other hand, Manning (not then a Cardinal) seems to have been the chief and most energetic of the organizers of the movement within the Council to press forward the definition as a matter of the utmost urgency (see Granderath, Gesch. ii. 69, 70), and he himself made no secret of the policy of the committee organized by him, to exclude from the deputatio de fide everyone known to be adverse to the definition. Thus, however, the work was a section, who were carrying through a plan of campaign on constitutional lines. It was not the work of the Pope or the Curia (cf. Friedrich, Gesch. iii. 175).

The first two public 'sessions' of the Vatican Council transacted only formal business (8 Dec. 1869, and 6 Jan. 1870); but previously to the third session, which took place on Low-Sunday (24 Apr.) 1870, a considerable amount of work was done, and the Constitutio de fide (i.e. the pap. 44) was then passed unanimously. It consists of a prologue and four chapters—(i.) of God the Creator of all things, (ii.) of Revelation, (iii.) of Faith, and (iv.) of Faith and Reason—followed by 18 canons which sum up the principal points defined, and subjoin the contrary propositions to anathema. The errors so condemned included some of the fundamental conceptions of Pantheism, Naturalism, and Rationalism; for example, canon 4 (of) runs thus:

'If any one shall say that finite things, both corporeal and spiritual, or at least spiritual, have emanated from the Divine substance, or that the Divine essence, as the substance, by the evolution of itself, becomes all things; or, lastly, that God is universal or indefinite being, which, by determining itself, constitutes the universal, and eventually holds distinct according to species, genus, species, and individuals: let him be anathema.'

Again, in ch. ii. the Council, developing somewhat what the doctrine defined at Trent (see iv.), declares that:

'The books of the Old and New Testament (as enumerated by the Council of Trent) are to be received as sacred and canonical, in their integrity. But if all their parts have not been carefully composed by mere human industry, they were afterwards approved by her [the Church's] authority, or merely because they contain revelation, with no admixture of error; but because, having been written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have the authority of God's own inspiration and author, and have been delivered as such to the Church herself.'

It is to be noted also that, contrary to the usage
of earlier General Councils, the Vatican decrees are formally issued, not in the name of the Ecumenical Synod, but in the name of the Supreme Pontiff, with the bishops of the whole world assembled round us and judging with us. An amendment, proposing to add the word definitiones to the scholastica, and judicantibus ecclesiasticae episcopatus of the decree, was rejected after a somewhat heated discussion.

Twenty of the general congregations (10th to 29th) which preceded the third session were given up to questions of disciplinary reform, the most interesting of which was perhaps the proposal to draw up one form of elementary catechism, the use of which should be obligatory throughout the whole Church. But this, like other disciplinary schemes, came to nothing, owing to the premature termination of the Council; however, wasted in debate, and the Papal ordinance of 20 Feb. 1870, for abbreviating the discussions and introducing a form of closure, despite the violent protests it elicited from the minority, was reluctantly agreed to.

By this time, however, the energetic agitation of Manning, Ségouin, and other leading infallibilists, resulting, for example, in a petition for the definition, signed by 480 of the Fathers, had pained the Pope sufficiently to make the subject no longer shelved. Originally the question of Papal infallibility had not formed part of the proposed decree on the Church of Christ (see Coll. Liconia, vii. 567-578), but it was later on added to the agenda, and became the subject of the liveliest controversy. The Cardinal Presidents in the general congregations opposed rather than favoured the efforts to declare this urgent, but they yielded eventually to the agitation headed by Manning, Ségouin, and Ségouin (Granderath, Gesch. ii. 270). Fourteen sessions were devoted to the infallibility question in general, and sixty-four speeches were delivered before the closure was applied. Thirteen other sessions and fifty-seven speeches were devoted to amendments. Finally, when the vote was taken (13 July 1870), of 601 Fathers present 450 voted placet, 85 non placet, and 62 placet jacto modo. Throughout the debate more than three-fourths of the speakers had openly expressed disbelief in the doctrine itself; the minority, as a rule, contested only the opportunity of defining it.

Before the public session, 18 July 1870, many of the Swiss and French. Of 555 Fathers present only two voted non placet.

The whole decree de Ecclesia Christi, like its predecessor, consists of four chapters. Ch. i. concerns the Apostolic primacy of St. Peter, ch. ii. the perpetuity of the primacy in the Roman pontiff; ch. iii. the powers and nature of the primacy, and ch. iv. the infallible teaching of the Holy See. The kernel of the doctrine thus set forth is expressed in the terms quoted above, in art. Conv. 

Owing to the heat of summer and the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, fewer than 200 Fathers stayed on in Rome. Some further discussions on matters of discipline took place, but the closing session, far by the Holy See was occurred soon afterwards, and on 29 Oct. 1870, Pope Pius IX. formally prorogued the assembly.

Severe criticisms have been directed by many Old Catholic andiscopal writers (e.g. Littlejohn, art. 'Vatican Council,' Ebrard) against the procedure followed in the Vatican Council, more especially with regard to the infallibility definition. It has been urged that the majority were coerced into a simulated acceptance of the decree, that the assembly was not represented in the name of the College of Bishops, but by the sovereign of Italy, a Jesuit, or titular bishop, who came without mandate from any appreciable body of the faithful, that free discussion was not permitted, etc. There is no doubt foundation for some of these objections, but the facts relating to the facility of locomotion, the assembly was not less, but immensely more, representative of the Catholic episcopate than any of its predecessors; the vast majority was in favour of the definition; that in no Council of the Church has there been anything comparable to the astonishment at which bishops in proportion to the population of the dioceses they represented; that the greater part of the opposition, whether sincere or real, came from the hierarchy, not the opportunists, no anti-infallibilists, and so forth. No special pleading can disguise the fact that the subsequent action of the faithful at large has as completely justified the Fathers of the Vatican as the subsequent action of the faithful justified the Fathers of Sardis or Chalcedon in 451. The 26 bishops made their submission, as they all did without exception, we may assume that either they followed the dictates of their conscience, or they were doing, or else they were supporting their flocks would not support them in any act of schism. Whether we hold that the ultimate source is the collective voice of the bishops or to the sense of the great body of the faithful, the definition in either case, from the point of view of the Roman Church, is fully justified. The sensitiveness to the rights of minorities displayed by the critics of the Council is, after all, a thing of modern growth. Any alleged handicaps or irregularities of procedure &c. the Vatican could probably have been mulled many times over in the history of earlier Councils. No one has ever had so great a hand in the restoration of the Holy Spirit as promised only to the learned few in any episcopal assembly, while the necessity that the minority had not been able to make their objections heard, after all the discussions on the spot, and after the occasion caused some months before, by the writings of Döllinger, Dupanloup, and others, excepted to the Congregation, and others, excepted to the Congregation, to be made known, was of the moral anarchy which almost necessarily follows in the wake of a fundamental change in religion, stood in the way of any lasting improvement. It was to the Council of Trent that men's eyes were turned (not altogether in vain) to inaugurate a new era, and the annual diocesan Synods and triennial provincial Councils, which in many places (e.g. at Milan under St. Charles Borromeo) were convoked in strict obedience to the Tridentine decrees (s. xxiv. de Regio, et De), undoubtedly helped greatly to turn the Council's measures of reform to practical account. But under Pope Sixtus v. the important Papal constitution In nuisces (22 June 1859) profoundly modified the conditions which affected the legislation of the provincial Synods. It was now required that the decrees of provincial (though not diocesan) Synods must be submitted to a Roman Congregation, and could be promulgated only after correction, and subject to the modifications, or even the additions, of the congregations in question. This measure, which was the made the ground of animated protest at the Vatican Council (see Granderath, ib. 179 ff.), has greatly furthered the centralizing tendencies at work in the Church of Rome during the last three centuries, but it has also much diminished the influence of provincial synods, now practically deprived of their independence. The same cause was probably not without its effect in bringing about the archbishop, entire peace in the Church during the 17th and 18th centuries.

In comparatively modern times—possibly as a result of the religious reaction which followed upon the French Revolution—a renewed energy began to make itself felt in convocation of provincial councils. For example, in the year 1849 Provincial Councils were people, while 66 bishops came from the States of the Church, with a population of less than 1,000,000. But statistics of this kind are not always significant. The 2,000,000 of the diocese of Paris include the hordes of the Commune who twelve months later became masters of the city, imprisoned the Archbishop, and condemned him to death. It would be rash to argue that Manning represented the six millions of London and the adjacent counties comprised in his diocese.
held at Paris, Rheims, Tours, and Avignon; and in 1380 at Albè, Lyons, Rouen, Bordeaux, Sens, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Bologna. Central Europe, however, had provincial Councils at Vienna (1685), Graz (1858), Cologne (1860), Prague (1869), Kalocsa (1863), etc. In the United States six bishops assisted at the first Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1858, and the first Provincial Council of what met at Baltimore in 1852, the presence of six archbishops and twenty-six bishops marked the developments of Roman Catholicism in the New World. In England four Provincial Councils have had a notable restoradion of the hierarchy, viz. in 1852, 1853, 1859, and 1873.

Historically speaking, apart from the Vatican Council, interest during the last three hundred years has centred chiefly in conventions of a rather orthodox character. Such, for example, was the Gallican Assembly of the clergy summoned by John XIV. (1681-1682), which drew up the famous four Gallican Articles: (1) denying any jurisdiction of the Pope over the royal authority in France; (2) declaring the Pope to be inferior to a General Council; (3) limiting the exercise of the Papal prerogative by the Conciliary decrees and by the customs of the Gallican Church; and (4) affirming that the Pope's decrees in matters of faith and morals became infallibly correct only when confirmed by the consent of the whole Church. John XIV. imposed the teaching of these Articles upon the clergy throughout his dominions; but, in the face of uncompromising Papal opposition, he eventually withdrew them in 1683.

Very similar was the spirit which, growing out of the 'Fehromanism,' or 'Josephism,' current in Germany in the 16th cent., manifested itself at the ‘counsel of Pistoia’ in 1492. The Synod was convened by Scipio Ricci, Bishop of Pistoia-Prato, at the instigation of Ludolph, Grand Duke of Tuscany; and it passed a long array of decrees on points of doctrine, ceremonial, the rights of the secular authority in religion, etc. — all Gallican and Jansenistic in spirit.

Pius VI., in the bull *Auctorem fidéi* (1794), condemned these propositions of the Synod of Pistoia; and in 1795, and again in 1800, made humble submission to the wishes of the See to remove this abuse that could not be avoided without risking the loss of eternal salvation ('*quia sunt necessaria ad consequendum finem aeternae beatitudinis*'), Thomas Aquinas, *Summai,* ii. i. q. xvii art. 4). ‘Counsels’ or ‘councils of perfection’ are suggestions of very virtuous ways of living, by the following out of which a man may arrive more quickly and better at eternal life (*per quae melius et expeditius potest homo consequi finem praedictum, ib.*), but which he may not even justly or imprudently follow, or imperiling the salvation of his soul (*consilium autem in optimum potenter ejus eni datur, ib.*). The ‘councils’ are the new law of the gospel. ‘Counsels’ are something added to that law.

This formal doctrine is simply a statement of the judgment formed by the Church on Christian living—a reasonable account of certain plain phenomena which came within the view of all observers. It was obvious from the very earliest times that men who renounced more of the world's goods, honours, and pleasures than others did; accomplishing, as it seemed, a more complete dedication of their mental and bodily powers to the Lord. These were naturally thought of as living a fuller and higher kind of spiritual life.

The judgment was in accord with that of St. Paul (1 Co 7:9f.), where the virgin state is reckoned superior to the married, although he that marries has not sinned.

The distinction between a higher and lower Christian life meets us in Hermas ([_I_ II. 1. 9._]), how and how also in the apostles, from Gesama, *suum Futurum,* and _et de ordinibus._

In the fullness of a greater in detail (to the _Teut.,_ 3. 5. 11, _et de more, _8. 5. 29, of _Theoc.,_ 1. 1. 2. x._); the words of his master (i.e., how the Lord in more and no hesitations impose, when means voluntarily _continuorum libertarian,_ when it is considered, _prisci aduersarii_ majoris
COUNSEL AND PRECEPTS

In Counsels and Precepts: A Treatise on Christian Life, the author discusses the importance of distinguishing between 'counsels' and 'precepts.' The term 'counsell' is understood to refer to advice that is not binding, while 'precepts' are commands that are to be followed. The distinction is made clear in various passages of the New Testament, where Jesus gives counsels and precepts. The author argues that the Church has always maintained this distinction, and that it is an essential part of Christian living.

The rise of Monasticism gave a new importance to the distinction between a higher and lower Christian life. Hitherto the contrast between the most obvious ascetic and the most naturally human kinds of life had been plain but less striking in the non-Church. The Church, however, was the whole Church and therefore it was clear that the distinction between St. Augustine and his followers was not the Church's.
mandments of which the 'counsels' seemed to be refinements. Sometimes for these particular individuals the 'counsel' was the only means by which the original commandment was fulfilled. Luther, opposing Eck, says that 'counsels' are not 'super' but 'intra praecipitae'; because they are only means of conveniently fulfilling commandments. Thus virginity is not a counsel to be adopted at will or refused. It is a means, perhaps for some the only means, of fulfilling the law of chastity. To such individuals it is evident that to refrain from marriage is a precept, absolutely obligatory. To the others it is not a counsel of perfection, since, being able to observe the law of chastity, there is nothing to be gained by renouncing marriage (Luther, de Veto Monasticis, vii. 583, 30ff.).

The result of the Protestant theory is a reversal of the Catholic conception about those who follow the evangelical 'counsels.' A life of virginity or of voluntary poverty ought no longer to be considered a very eminent kind of devotion. It is a confession of weakness, an admission that with the Protestant faith it is a lower condition than that of the ordinary citizen of the world. In comparison with the old Catholic judgment that the way of greater renunciation is the way of nobler devotion, the Protestant view appears strained, and is not in accord with the voice of the general conscience. It is not possible to alter the judgment of the common man's conscience so as to bring it into line with the deductions which theological thinkers make from the positions of faith. Unless we follow that theory, Protestants still continue to regard as peculiarly admirable the lives of those who have sacrificed wealth, honour, or bodily desire for the sake of renunciation of the world. This fact see Append. III. of J. O. Hanway's Spirit and Origin of Christian Monasticism, 1905. It is, however, to be observed that the Protestant theologian's denial of special honour to lives of complete renunciation has had a certain effect on the Protestantism which is less rich than Catholicism in examples of heroic Christianity. The general tendency of Protestantism has been to raise to a high level the common Christian life and to develop certain virtues of a kind that the Catholic Church has not prescribed, and, except in comparatively rare instances, has not achieved, the production of unique saints, like, for example, St. Francis of Assisi, whose devotion lays hold upon the popular imagination, and so contains a stimulus to the denial of the doctrine of 'counsels' and 'precepts,' and the consequent unwillingness of Protestant teachers to hold up for admiration lives which must always be rare, and are never imitable except by those who realize the peculiar glory of very great kinds of renunciation.

Further, it has happened that certain evangelical sayings, regarded by the Schoolmen as counsels of perfection, have, in times of high religious vitality, laid hold of the average man and compelled obedience. Thus, during the 17th. cent. in England, our Lord's teaching about the non-resistance of evil fascinated the early Quakers. In a Catholic community their kind of life would have been recognized as a form of the counsel of perfection, and they might very well have become an Order within the Church. The refusal of Protestants to recognize the distinction between 'counsels' and 'precepts' had a double effect. It forced the Quakers, who in this matter thought as Protestants, to defend their literal obligation to the commands of Christ as the only way of following Christ. It obliged those Christians whose consciences did not forbid them to use force in self-protection or in the interests of society, to condemn the position of the Quakers as fantastic, exaggerated, and definitely wrong. The same sort of thing happened in Germany and Flanders at the beginning of the Anabaptist movement at the time of private property; and less strikingly in other similar cases (see J. O. Hanway, op. cit. ch. 1.). The greater and more fully organized Protestant Churches have thus been deprived of the services of many enthusiastic men and women who might have been most valuable in deepening the spirituality of the general life; and the teachers of these Churches have been obliged to read glosses into certain passages of Scripture, and to dress up certain passages clearly of the Old Testament, Mount, in such a way as to obscure their plain meaning and weaken their original force.

It appears, therefore, that in formulating the doctrine of 'counsels' and 'precepts' the Catholic Church did not wish to give scientific expression to the natural and obvious judgment of conscience which recognized in the life of great renunciation a peculiarly high kind of life; that by formulating the doctrine the Church ran the risk of deducting being misused in the end outrage, and actually have outraged, the consciences of sincere believers; and the further risk of the list of 'counsels' being enlarged and that of 'precepts' diminished, until the common man's standard of the voice of the general conscience. It appears also that Protestant theologians, in refusing to endorse the natural judgments of conscience, have not succeeded, in fact, in preventing such judgments being made by their followers, but have deceived and confused them. Thus a formula in a way of life is of a sort which is not, in the public mind, the kind of life; and have risked, and actually suffered, the loss to organized Protestant Churches of souls who have felt the need of heroic self-sacrifice for the sake of Christ.


JAMES O. HANNAY.

COURAGE.—Courage has figured as one of the prominent virtues in every ethical system. Yet it has from early times given trouble to scientific moralists, because of its variety. It has at best an uncertain place in a list of the virtues, and is in many cases the result of a sort of falling into it, or associated with an utterly worthless or vicious character. This is, however, only the case where it is identified with fearlessness (p. 8). Absence of fear in physical danger may be the result of temperament, and so called courage must be distinguished from bravery. In moral evil it is not exclusive of courage as usually understood. Thus the Greek philosophers discerned that, to gain an accurate notion of courage, it was necessary to define things worthy or unworthy of fear.

In some of Plato's Dialogues, notably the Laches and the Protagoras, we are made to see the difficulty of finding a place for courage in any system which recognizes the paramount position of wisdom or knowledge in moral life. In the case of the Protagoras and the beasts show spirit and endurance in combat, but the conduct of men in vigorous military efforts loses the merit of courage if prudence suggests that the forces are adequate to the occasion. In the Republic, however (bk. iv. 429 f.), Plato distinctly lays down the principle that the Guardians of the City (in whom the virtue of courage principally resides) must acquire that quality by a sound training in the nature of things to be feared and of things not to be feared. Aristotle, in bk. iii. of the Nic. Ethics, submits the whole subject to a searching analysis. According to his principle of the Mean, courage lies between rashness on the one hand and cowardice on the other. As fear, the forbearance of evil, is not
altogether to be disparaged, Aristotle, like Plato, has to distinguish legitimate and illegitimate fears. Non-military times call for the exercise of patience more than for that of intrepidity,—though both are essential to the well-being of any people,—and there is occasionally cause for fear lest a comparative contempt for men or for authority, or for opinion; (2) that which comes from knowledge that the danger apprehended is not real; (3) courage arising solely from emotion—anger or vengeance—which man shares with some animals; (4) courage of hope—temporality; (5) the courage of ignorance which cannot recognize danger. It may, perhaps, be said that this distinction between genuine and spurious courage corresponds for the most part to the modern distinction between moral courage and that which is purely physical.

Although Aristotle in his general treatment of courage seems somewhat nearer to the modern ideas than Plato, in one respect Plato would seem to us more satisfactory; he includes in courage the power and will to resist evil generally, or to hear calamity without flinching; whereas Aristotle would restrict the term to its primary military significance, regarding other meanings as derivative or metaphorical. Certainly it seems illogical to attach, for instance, to a coward, who is not alarmed but stands to his duty in a shipwreck or an earthquake, while allowing it to one who behaves in like manner during the attack on a city.

Courage thus held its place with the three other virtues—wisdom, justice, temperance—in the system of Greece and Rome. These ‘cardinal’ virtues were combined with the three Christian graces of faith, hope, and charity, to form the seven virtues of the writers of the Middle Ages. Yet in the new atmosphere, courage—or fortitude, as it is commonly called in this connexion—underwent some transmutation. St. Ambrose—who derived his ethical system from the Greeks via Cicero, and passed it on to St. Augustine, and through him to the Western world—would make fortitude include boldness in withstanding temptations to sin. To a certain extent, he agrees here with Plato. But he also dwells much on the virtue of endurance or physical suffering as shown by the Christian martyrs. It would seem probable that the martyr-cult must have tended in the direction of emphasizing the passive side of courage or fortitude, by which it is assimilated to endurance or resignation.

The Christian idea of fortitude is expressed in many admirable works of mediaeval art. Many readers will recall Ruskin’s remarks on the Fortitude of Botticelli (Mornings in Florence, iii.):

‘Fortitudo’s Fortitude is no match, it may be, for any that are coming. Worn, somewhat; and not a little weary, instead of standing ready for all comers, she is sitting, apparently in reverie, her fingers playing restlessly and idly—nay, I think, even nervously, about the hilt of her sword ... and yet, how steadily and gladly will they close on it, when the far-off trumpet blows, which she will hear through all her reverie.’

It may be noticed that by mediaeval Christian moralists fortitude is regarded as the corrective of acedia (q.v.), the sin of gloom and inaction. It subordinates the emotions or any element of cheerfulness, a resolution to live in an atmosphere of hope.

Perhaps there are few virtues that have varied more than courage in their manifestations among different peoples and at different times. There is always an aesthetic as well as a purely moral element in the conception of courage, and human notions vary even more about the beautiful than about the good. Thus, during the age of chivalry in the West, to be the Crusades as enmity and barbarous, while the

knightly spirit of the Franks despised Eastern subtlety as mean and cowardly. Non-military times call for the exercise of patience more than for that of intrepidity,—though both are essential to the well-being of any people,—and there is occasionally cause for fear lest a comparative contempt for men or for authority, or for opinion; (2) that which comes from knowledge that the danger apprehended is not real; (3) courage arising solely from emotion—anger or vengeance—which man shares with some animals; (4) courage of hope—temporality; (5) the courage of ignorance which cannot recognize danger. It may, perhaps, be said that this distinction between genuine and spurious courage corresponds for the most part to the modern distinction between moral courage and that which is purely physical.

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taint ritual actions of which the blood-covenant is a well-known, though probably a late, instance. There is produced identity of aims or interests, as well as mutual agreement and sympathy.

1. Each has a part of the other in his keeping, and this part not only assimilates each to the other by transmission of properties, but is itself the other. Thus identity of interests is secured, and the possibility of mutual treachery or breach of covenant, but an injury done to A by B is equivalent to injury done by A to himself, but also by the fact that, if B is wronged, he may work vengeance by injuring... the part of A which he possesses' (Crawley, Mystics Rose, 237).

Without laying too much stress on the latter part of this, it is certain that the covenant-relationship as one of identity fits the facts better than as one of kinship. Yet it may be observed that, if the covenant produces identity of aims and interests, since the aims and interests of the individual are largely those of his kin, the covenant state will so far produce a kinship relation. But, as a third theory, it is maintained that the ritual act (eating together, transfusion of blood, etc.), while it involves the parties to the covenant in certain duties to each other, serves as a conductor of conditional imprecations, of potential punishments for the transgression of these duties (Westermarck, Moral Ideas, i. 590, ii. 208; art. CURING AND BLESSING, p. 356, below).

A common meal is the central act of the religious service which takes an oath to keep it, or execute vengeance on each other if it is broken. And, as many examples show, the food, drink, blood, etc., is itself the oath or curse, or is the vehicle of either. Thus, in Ma'ahgasser, the oath-passed by a sick man to himself that his liquid may poison him who is faithless to the bond (Duumont d'Urville, Voy. pittoresque autour du monde, Paris, 1854-1855, i. 81). Or, as in Morocco, a compact of friendship is sealed by eating together at the tomb of a saint, each one taking an oath to keep the compact (Westermarck, i. 557; cf. below, p. 356).

Examples show now the working of the principle contained in one of these theories, now that involved in the others, but the kinship theory is seldom observed in the complete form which the theory itself presupposes. It is not impossible that the primitive covenant contained both the idea of mutual assistance and that of a conditional curse, for the two are not mutually exclusive, as various examples suggest. But it should not be forgotten that the covenant frequently implies no more than faithfulness to the object of the covenant, and if there is a new relationship of common interest, of aims or of mutual utility, then the kinship theory is justified.

2. Covenssants between men.—Of all the various outward signs of the covenant, that to which most attention has been drawn is that each party to it drinks or is inculcated with the other's blood, or that they swear each other or some sacred object with it. Where the parties to the covenant form two groups, vested individuals undergo the covenant obligation from a primitive notion of an amicable bond (see BLOOD; BROTHERHOOD [artificial], and works cited there). Probably the idea is that kinship means blood-relationship—a relationship which can be involved in the blood-covenant—is not primitive. More primitive is the idea that contact, eating and drinking together, exchange of names, garments, weapons, and the like, will produce a close bond, whether involving identity or relationship between two unrelated persons. Here the underlying idea is that the whole adheres in the part, that whatever has been in contact with a person, whatever is his, is for all practical purposes himself; that for another to obtain possession of it brings the owner under his control; hence to offer it to another is in effect to offer oneself. Thus mutual eating, especially where the food is exchanged, or the mutual exchange of food, makes the mutual possession of food dependent on each other, makes their aims and interests the same, or produces identity or, according to the first theory, kinship. Here, primitively, the act of eating or exchange is itself the covenant, but it is also seen to be vehicles of conditional oaths or curses verbally pronounced. At the same time, witnesses human or Divine may be called to the compact which has been made. The purposes for which a covenant is entered upon are, e.g., friendship and comradeship between individuals; the adoption of a stranger into a kin-group; mutual aid and protection—assistance in war, in revenge, or in some hostile purpose; peace between tribes after war; commercial purposes; union between the members of a society or association, usually at the time of initiation into it, etc. It is obvious that, since a covenant brings the parties to it into such close affinity, their responsibilities towards each other are great and must be scrupulously fulfilled, while also there are produced many mutual privileges.

Where a common meal is the chief feature of a covenant, there is the idea that what is parted from each other is a bond of mutual identity, and this is still more marked where there is an exchange of food. It is possible that the covenant-meal may have been the earliest form of the covenant, and it should be observed that, quite apart from the theoretic view of the effects of mutual eating common among primitive peoples, there is a natural basis to it. For, wherever men eat and drink together, they tend to be friendly towards each other. But, where the theoretic view is accepted, according to the phrase used, 'the food will repay' him who breaks the compact (Westermarck, i. 557; cf. below, p. 356).

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Among the Ceramec the covenant of peace between two villages is entered upon by the people of one village making a feast to which those of the other are invited. The chiefs drop some of their blood into a dish of food, and weapons are also dipped into the blood. The ceremony is then repeated on the other side. A similar feast is also held at the other village, and the covenant is complete. Here there is a combination (found elsewhere also) of the blood-covenant with the covenant-meal (Riedel, De chiefs, 318). But cannibal intercourse between the signatories is forbidden. Thus, many of the tribes of the Archipelago—such as the Bambala, in the Uganda Protectorate, London, 1862, ii. 795.—have similar custom.

Drinking together is another common form of covenant-ceremony, the draught being frequently accompanied by an oath, while, as many examples show, the liquid partaken of is regarded as the oath itself, which will harm the breaker of it. But there is also such a simple form of friendship as that of the aborigines of Formosa, who put their arms round each other's necks and drink simultaneously a cup of wine (L'Anthropologie, v. [Paris, 1894] 352). Survivals of such a ceremony as this are well known. Nor is it improbable that drinking from other's blood at the making of a covenant was an extension of such a practice, while it is a common custom to mingle some blood with the liquid which is drunk.

As the basis of a covenant of friendship, the exchange of names is very frequent among savage tribes, the name being regarded as part of the personality, while the sacred nature of the act is seen in the fact that the name is usually not revealed, and one could do its owner no use of it. In such a ease the alliance is indissoluble, and forms one of the most sacred bonds. Other exchanges of personal belongings—garments, weapons, teeth, are the basis of covenants of friendship, and will make lasting friends of men who have been enemies. A temporary exchange of wives is occasionally found as a means of sealing a compact, especially among Australian tribes, with whom also, on the occasion of making peace between tribes or certain other alliances, a general exchange of wives takes place for the time being. By this means the identity or union of the two parties is assured (cf. American Antiquity, iv. 125 (4); J. J. Evans, 169, 175).

Salvage is occasionally the vehicle of the covenant state. Thus, among the Orongo in the Bissagos Archipelago the ceremony for sealing a friendship is to spit in each other's hands. The Masai spat at each other with a man who served as mediator of friendship (Hinde, Last of the Masai, London, 1901, p. 47); and among the Somalis a stranger becomes a member of his host's family by the host spitting in his right hand and rubbing it on the stranger's forehead (Paulitsche, Ethnogr. Nord-Africas, Berlin, 1893-1896, p. 246).

Opposite the meaning of the name of this rite are found. Mutual spitting is regarded as an interchange of life, since by many peoples it is held to contain a semblance of life (Cromble, Trans. Inter. Lit. Cong., 1891, p. 240ff.). Westerners, on the other hand, is of the opinion that saliva is the vehicle of a conditional curse, since the Masai spit copiously when cursing (op. cit. ii. 290). Spitting among the Masai is also reported to be a sign of the greatest goodwill and a compliment (Johnston, op. cit. ii. 333).

Covenants of peace between tribes which have been at war are frequent. They are by a covenant meal (see above). In some cases the material of the covenant-meal is the flesh of a human victim. Thus, the people of Vate kill one or more of their number and send the flesh for consumption to the host with the desire peace (Erskine, Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the W. Pacific, London, 1853, p. 334). In other alliances the cannibal meal is found. Chiefs among the Bambala (a Bantu tribe), in making a covenant against future bloodshed, partake with their followers of the flesh of a slave fattened for the occasion. Any chief who kills a slave after such a covenant must pay a fine to every village which took part in the bond or, as it is called, the covenant-meal (Johnston, op. cit. ii. 334). Hence, in a covenant the meal is served to prevent any member of the covenant from killing another, and to make amends for injuries done in war. Thus, if a covenant be broken, or if it be dissolved, the covenant-meal is taken again as a sign of friendship.

If, then, we consider the character of the liquor served at a friendly meeting, on the one hand we find a medicine or a beverage, and on the other an intoxicant or an anodyne. Here lies the secret of the great value of this form of peace-making, and it explains why it has been used by so many people, in war and peace, as a means of avoiding bloodshed. Even in times of war, the liquor is still served as a sign of friendship; but it is also used as an intoxicant, and the people often make a sacrifice to the god, who may be revealed by the drinker. The liquor is thus a means of communication with the god, and is used as a pledge of friendship. It is also used as a means of keeping the peace, and is regarded as a symbol of hospitality, and was regarded as so sacred that to break the covenant thus made would have been followed automatically by fatal consequences.

Other ceremonies are used elsewhere, with the purpose of making a covenant of peace binding. In Tahiti a wreath was made of green boughs, to which each party contributed. Two young dogs were exchanged, and a band of cloth was made together. In the ceremony, the cloth was then offered to the gods, and imprecations were uttered on those who should break the covenant (Ellis, Polynes. Researches, London, 1829, i. 318; see other instances in Farrer, Military Manners and Customs, London, 1853, p. 162).

Where the bodies of the parties to a covenant are cut to obtain blood, the marks of the wounds serve as tokens of the covenant. Similarly the garments or weapons exchanged will be constant reminders of it. At other times a charm is set up as a witness of the covenant state (cf. Graef, op. cit. ii. 210; Frazer, in Anthorp. Essays presented to E. B. Tylor, Oxford, 1907, p. 131 ff.).

In later times, and in more advanced civilizations, the covenant becomes simply a bond or oath for mutual support, or for unity between men more or less animated by a common purpose. Here there is little or no idea of kinship or identity, though some of the older ritual acts may survive, and the parties to such bonds recognize a brotherly feeling existing between themselves as a result of their bond and of their common purpose. In fact, the covenant at all times is intended to produce solidarity among those who are parties to it, though a body of these covenant acts is not actually and automatically produced. And, though the breaker of the covenant risks great dangers, these are not supposed to result automatically from the oath which he has taken, as in many instances from savage life.

3. Coveneans between men and gods, etc.—The ceremonies and symbolisms of covenants are even more important than the words of contract used, and, in fact, they constitute the covenant. Hence, in great measure, all religious ceremony and worship is the expression of a covenant relationship between men and gods. For the worship paid, man may expect the god to perform duties towards him, and the god is expected to confirm that relationship. But there are certain ceremonies, especially those of a sacramental or sacrificial nature, in which the covenant relationship appears more emphatically. In all sacrifices in which the victim is, or appears to be, a merchandise the victim is made of the flesh of him, the meal is the expression of a close union or a covenant between the god and the group of worshippers. This is seen in the fact that all the worshippers partake, while there are instances, as in Hawaii, where a refusal to eat would be followed by death (Bastian, Der Mensch, Leipzig, 1869, iii. 152). But, even when the slain animal is not the god,
COVENANT (American)—The substitution of an artificial for a natural basis of subsistence had an effect in America, as elsewhere, of establishing

the sacrifice or the meal which follows it marks a desire for union with the god, and is an expression of a covenant or union of spirit to him. In this case, as in covenants between men, there is a common meal of which the two parties to the covenant partake—and the god and the group of worshippers. In the OT, God is often represented as making a covenant with individuals and their descendants, or with Israel (Gen 9:15ff., Nu 23:19, Ex 6:24ff., Dt 5:1ff., Jer 31:34), and it is said that sacrifice was the basis of all covenant rites between God and the individual or the people of Israel (cf. Ps 50:1ff., Jer 31:34). This is particularly noticeable in the case of the covenant with Abraham (Gen 15:18ff.), and with Israel at Sinai (Ex 24:1ff.). In the first case there is no mention of a sacrificial meal, and in the second the blood of the sacrifice is sprinkled on the altar and the covenants are concluded. Hence the blood, clothing, etc., on the altar, but frequently in the OT the sacrificial meal may be regarded as the basis of the covenant—the god or his worshippers eating together and renewing their union with their creator. According to an old theory, the meal itself unites god and men in an act of communion (W. R. Smith, p. 271); or, according to another view, the food is here given to the children of the covenant, as food to the god and worshippers, and to the worshippers themselves, from whom the god expects that in eating and drinking together the spiritual bond of the covenant will be renewed. These ideas may, however, be carried over from the sacrificial meal. It is certain that the case of the OT writers, breaking of the covenant by the individual or nation was followed by punishment (Dt 17:8ff., Jos 7:1ff., 20:1ff., Jg 2:9ff., 2 K 18:12ff.), while blessing followed its being observed (Ps 132). In any case, what holds true of these OT sacrifices is true of similar sacrifices elsewhere. Indeed, in some aspects the mere eating of sacrificial food, the propitiating him, is the token of an alliance with him; hence the worshipping asks and expects help from the god to whom he, for his part, is faithful. The same is true of the vows made to a god and the worshiper, which he promises to perform, and the things, usually a sacrifice, for some specified help given him by the god.

In the OT other things are found as signs of a Divine and human covenant, e.g., the rainbow in the case of Noah and his posterity (Gen 9:11ff.), though here a covenant sacrifice appears also (899); circumcision is the token of the covenant with Israel (Gen 17:9ff.), though it is to some extent a sacrificial rite; and in Ex 31:10 the Sabbath is to be kept for a perpetual covenant. For the letters cuttings on the body as signs of a covenant, see BADGES.

Totemism, as an intimate relation which is supposed to exist between a group of kindred people on the one side and a species of natural or animal object on the other side, which objects are called the totems of the human group (Frazer, Totemism and Exogamy, London, 1910, iv. 1), is essentially a covenant relationship, since both parties have entered explicitly or implicitly into an alliance for mutual help and protection. This covenant state is generally furthered by various ritual acts, by which men assimilate themselves to their totem, these beings analogous to the covenant rites between human beings. The group of men is, in effect, allied with the animal species which is their totem; the relation is one of identity. Similarly, in the rite used at puberty for obtaining an individual animal guardian or monitum, and in the relative positions in which the individual and his monitum stand to each other, there is the suggestion that this relation is essentially a covenant one. Blood-letting is the most significant of such totemic rites. The Ahuau of the Aztecs and the monitum of the Indians are said to have sealed their compact with the monitum by drawing blood from different parts of their body (VPL, 740). Among the Indians of Honduras each youth formed a contract with his nagual, by offering some of his blood to it (whereupon such friendship was contracted between them, that when one of them died, the other did not survive). (Gerrers, General Hist. of . . . America, 176. 13, 190; the young Indian himself—perhaps the origin of the funeral feast. Other methods of this implicit covenant with the dead may be looked for in such rites as that of the mourners cutting themselves, letting the blood drop on the grave, or eating or drinking the fat or decomposed matter of the corpse. These are analogous to the similar rites in connexion with the cult of gods (see Hartland, op. cit. ii. 277ff.; Jevons, op. cit. 41ff.).

Various customs in human covenants—in which, e.g., the parties hold an animal which is sacrificed, its blood being sometimes sprinkled on a sacred object, or are sprinkled with its blood, or drink of what an animal, not apparently sacrificial—are probably connected with that type of covenant sacrifice in which the parties are a god and a group of men. Here, perhaps, the sacred nature of the sacrifice makes it an important bond in such a covenant, while similar sacrifices are frequently the vehicles of a curse; or, again, the god to whom the sacrifice or the blood is offered is regarded as a third party to the covenant (for examples, see Brotherhood [artificial], vol. ii. pp. 85ff., 870; Wellhausen, Theate arab. Heidö, Berlin, 1887, p. 128; Lewin, Wild Races of S.E. India, London, 1870, p. 228). In many human covenants a god is expressly called upon as witness to the contract, as in the similar appeal in the case of vegetables. The god human

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the gods as the principal members of the agricultural community. On their co-operation the maintenance of such a community depended. To some extent the obligation was mutual; for, while men repaid much benefit from the encouragement, advice, and assistance of the gods, these were beheld to men for the sustenance tendered through sacrifice. A definite and tacit, if unwritten, covenant thus came into being between gods and men, any human breach of which was visited with Divine punishment. The arrangement was purely one of self-interest on both sides. Man felt the necessity of placating the only beings from whom he could obtain foreknowledge of seasonal and other changes, and, deeply sensible of the value of supernatural assistance, he rewarded it as handsomely as he could—by gifts of such food, drink, and clothing as in his sight appeared most desirable.

Commencing this practice by an 'understanding' with the earlier tribal deities, he later extended it to the 'great gods' of the heavens and earth, whom from time to time he admitted into his pantheon. He felt that the wealth accruing from this co-operation with Divine beings should be fairly divided between gods and their victims; which would satisfy the gods, for his own special use—these to be worked and tended by (in all probability) the most skilful labourers. Thus, according to Guanilla (Orinoco Illustrado, Madrid, 1745, vol. ii. p. 278), a tribe of Guaybas, in commemoration at an eclipse of the moon, at one commencement work upon a plantation for the moon-spirit, considering the eclipse to be a sign of his displeasure at their failure to supply him with a separate field of maize. The gods of Peru had, thus, a good profit from wool, and pacos, the fleece of which was largely consumed on their altars, while the wool, woven into cloth, was burned to provide them with 'astral' clothing, or used in the provision of raiment for their dependants.

When men's sacrifice fails, either, as in Mexico, owing to the lack of large animals, or, perhaps, because of a more sanguinary popular temperament, the blood of human victims is supplied as atonement. Thus the Mexican god Huiztilopochtli lived wholly upon human sacrifice, countless thousands of victims, for the most part members of hostile tribes, being slain annually upon his altar. The hunter, too, as well as the cultivator and herdsman, paid his debt to the gods, who assisted him to track his game in dreams. Thus the Nicaraguan tendered to his deer- and rabbit-gods clotted blood wrapped in a cloth, and the Chonti offered blood to the great Chontic Huaca (Mucuento). Dwellings, too, were supplied to the Divine beings.

The natural conclusion of the savage in these circumstances is that a breach of his covenant with his divine gods brings upon him calamities of every description. There is much temptation on the part of the cultivator to withhold a portion of the firstfruits or other sacrifice; and, should this temptation overcome him, he becomes an easy prey to the vengeance of the gods. The Peruvians believed that in such a case the offended god sent an evil spirit to haunt the wrongdoer, and that it lay in wait for him in his habitual resorts. His crops failed, his health gave way under some terrible disease, his stock perished. Such were thought to be the consequences of hucha, or sin, in Peru; and, in the event of a national calamity, every member of the community was rigorously examined, until, the guilty one being discovered, restitution was forced from him. Throughout the two Americas the idea of the covenant with the gods was quite as current as elsewhere; and its inevitable workings have been observed in the economy of nearly every tribe.

Literature.—B. Sahagun, Hist. General de las Cosas de Nueva Espana, Mexico, 1526-29; Encomiendas de la Casa, Apolobonica Historia, Seville, 1654; Pedro de Arriaga, Ex- persión, Madrid, 1620; Villa-Gomez, Carta Pastorala contra los Idolatras, Lima, 1648. LEWIS SPENCE.

COVENANTERS.—The subscribers of the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant rejected the theory of the Divine right of kings, and vigorously opposed the assumption which crushed the liberties of the people. In the days of James VI., before the Covenants, the conflict was begun. George Buchanan in 1579 published his De Jure Regni apud Scotas, in which he taught that kings can only use their regalia for the benefit of the people, and, in particular, that the Scots had always claimed and exercised the right to call wicked rulers to account. Two Scotsmen had already dealt with the old kings. After the fruits of the earth produced under supernatural guidance, and to such live stock as had been raised under the same auspices. A step further, and we perceive that the legal outcome of such a policy was to set aside fields and their produce which would satisfy the god, for his own special use—these to be worked and tended by (in all probability) the most skilful labourers. Thus, according to Guanilla (Orinoco Illustrado, Madrid, 1745, vol. ii. p. 278), a tribe of Guaybas, in commemoration at an eclipse of the moon, at one commencement work upon a plantation for the moon-spirit, considering the eclipse to be a sign of his displeasure at their failure to supply him with a separate field of maize. The gods of Peru had, thus, a good profit from wool, and pacos, the fleece of which was largely consumed on their altars, while the wool, woven into cloth, was burned to provide them with 'astral' clothing, or used in the provision of raiment for their dependants.

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of religion. The royal favour to Presbyterianism was of short duration, and in 1596 Andrew Melville told James that he was ‘but God’s sullie vasall,’ and said:

‘Sir, as divers tymes before, so now again I must tell you, that the estate of the state is unbecoming; there is Christ Jesus and His kingdom the Kirk, whose subject King James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom not a king, but a head, nor a Lord, but a member.’

The words did not convince, and James, casting aside tradition, called by his own authority Assemblies, which yielded to his pressure. At last in 1610 an Assembly restored Episcopacy, and in 1611 the Estates ratified the new order of ecclesiastical government. In justification of his authority, James published, in 1598, The True Law of Free Monarchies, and set forth the Divine origin of the royal

‘Monarchy,’ he wrote, ‘as resembling the Divinity, approacheth nearest to perfection, as all the learned and wise men from the beginning have agreed upon.’ He declared that ‘kings are called Gods by the prophetical King David, because they sit upon God’s throne upon earth, and have the count of their ministration, while by his acts and writings he sheweth the people should pay obedience to the king ‘as to God’s lieutenant on earth, obeying his commandments in all things, except directly against God’s commands of God’s minister, science, or leading a judge set by God over them, having power to judge them, but to be judged only by God, to whom only he must give account of his judgment.’

In the Basilikon Doron, published shortly after The True Law of Free Monarchies, James instructed his son to know and love God, who had made him ‘a little God to sit on his throne, and rule over other men.’

True to his exalted notion of his office, James used his authority to change the government of the Church, and then turned to the customs, and forms of worship. In 1616, called by him, and the first which met after 1610, a new Confession of Faith, Catechism, Liturgy, and Book of Canons were projected; and in an Assembly at Perth in 1618 royal coercion secured the passing of the famous Five Articles, which were starting innovations in the Scottish ritual. When the government of the Church had been changed and the ritual modified, the king was satisfied with the exercise and recognition of his supremacy; but, while his ministers and writings shewed that the attachment to the theory of the Divine right of kings, he ruled in the Church through Assemblies, and, though these were coerced, he preserved the recognized forms of legislation.

Charles I. succeeded to his father’s belief in his Divine right, and continued, but without tact or discretion, the assertion of royal absolutism. In May 1635 he signed the warrant for a Book of Canons, which in the following year was imposed upon the Scottish Church, without the sanction of either an Assembly or a Parliament. Reference was made in the Book itself to a Liturgy, afterwards known as Laud’s Liturgy, which was ratified in 1636, and in 1637, on the sole authority of the king, was sent to Scotland. The Canons, as they made no outward change in the Church, did not stir the people, though they saw in them a violent exercise of royal power; but the Liturgy, also den, but he judged only as a judge, roused a popular clamour, and set the nation against him. The Liturgy met with instant opposition, and the riot which occurred in the church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, when it was first read, inaugurated a reaction. A new assembly was held, and produced the Covenants and the Confession of Faith, the two famous instruments of Presbyterianism, which gave definition to the form of worship to be adopted, and to the boundaries of the Church. The Scots, ever fond of legal bonds of association, prepared a document which is known as the ‘National Covenant,’ and multitudes signed it.

The document was prepared by Johnston of Warriston, one of the ablest of the lawyers, and the Rev. Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, who was the ecclesiastical leader of the Presbyterians; and with them most probably was associated Hope, the king’s advocate. It included the Negative Confession of 1581, which James vi. had signed; a list of the Acts of Parliament confirming the Confession; and the Covenant proper, by which the nation undertook to defend their religion and their king as guardian of it. The signing of the Covenant was begun on 28th Feb. 1638, in the Greyfriars churchyard, which contained the burial-place of George Buchanan, whose De Jure helped to drive James towards absolutism. If the first Coveners, drawn from all classes and representing the greater part of the country, were rebels against the king’s tyranny, their document infringed no law of the land. Yet it was the bond of a nation against the sovereign, and, with troubles in England, Charles was forced to yield. He appointed the Marquis of Hamilton as his commissioner, who tried to divide the Coveners by means of a new Covenant, the King’s Covenant, which included both to enforce the Confession of 1581; and, when the project failed, Hamilton in his master’s name promised a free Assembly, a Parliament, and the abolition of the Courts of High Commission which, with bishops and archbishops, was tried ecclesiastical cases. The Presbyterians did not admit that the royal assent was necessary for an Assembly, and accordingly they called one, which met on 21st November in Gallowtree Hall. The Marquis appeared as the king’s representative, and the members chose Henderson as moderator and John-
so doing, violated the rules of toleration. The Earl of Traquair, the king's commissioner, ratified the proceedings of the Assembly, though Charles indicated to Archbishop Spottiswoode that what had been done could be undone. Parliament agreed to the demand in overthrowing Episcopacy; and, in spite of his action as commissioner to the Assembly, Traquair refused assent in the king's name, and against precedent dissolved the Parliament. War was once more inevitable, since the nation's demands, in spite of the Treaty of Berwick, had been refused. Charles summoned an English Parliament, known as the Short Parliament, and dismissed it when supplies for a war with Scotland were refused. He succeeded, however, in collecting a force at York on 22nd August 1640; and on the 20th of the same month Leslie entered England with an army of 20,000, and marched to Newcastle. The Second Bishops' War was no more romantic than the First; and commissioners were appointed to meet at Hinton, and to arrange terms of peace on the basis of the abolition of Episcopacy and the recognition of the Covenant. The troubles in England forced Charles again to yield to the Scots, though not without an effort to find an uncontentious arrangement made with the Long Parliament, which had taken the business out of the hands of the king.

Hoping to create a party in his favour, Charles in 1641 visited Scotland, and remedied further arrests, especially in the case of the Incendiaries and the Plotters or Banders. The Earl of Traquair and Sir Robert Spottiswoode, the archbishop's son, were the chief men among the Incendiaries, who had been the advisers of Charles from the time of the Covenant; while the Plotters were led by Montrose, who had passed to the side of the king, perhaps the greatest figure of Argyle's prominence among the Covenanters. The affair known as 'The Incident,' whether it was a fact or merely a story, told against the king, and, when he departed from Scotland in October, he had neither weakened his enemies nor strengthened his own party.

In August 1642, Charles raised his standard at Nottingham, and the Civil War in England was begun. The king and the Parliament each sought the aid of the Scots; but themselves divided, were in great numbers favourable to the Parliamentary cause. The Parliament informed them that an Assembly at Westminster had been appointed to consider a reformation in church discipline and ceremonies; and on 2nd Aug. 1642 the General Assembly, associated with the Convention of the Scottish Estates, put forward the Solemn League and Covenant, drafted by Alexander Henderson, as the condition of an alliance. The subscribers to the Covenant were to be reminded to preserve the Reformed religion in Scotland, to secure in England and Ireland a reform in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God and the example of the best Reformed Churches; to seek the extirpation of Popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, and schism; and to defend the privileges of the Parliament, and also the person and authority of the king. The English Parliament accepted the Covenant 25th September 1642, Leslie, who had been created Earl of Leven, led an army into England, which helped to secure the victory of Marston Moor. In his difficulties, Charles granted a commission to Montrose, and, as the English army with the Marquis of Antrim sent him a wild horde of Irish and Sooto-Celts, Victory after victory in Scotland was gained by Montrose, though at the expense of horrible cruelties perpetrated by the savages of his army; and he did not know defeat till September 1645, when he met David Leslie, Leven's nephew, at Philiphaugh. The triumph of the Covenanters was secured, and, on the other hand, being opposed by the Independents, despaired of the success of the Solemn League and Covenant. Charles understood the situation, and in May 1646 threw himself into the hands of the Scots. Yet he would not accept their Cabinets, and they would not support him. Had he agreed to their terms, they would have defended him; but they handed him over to the English Parliament, on condition that his life should be spared, and the money due to them be paid.

One last effort to save his king was to be made by some of the Scottish nobles. The Earls of London, Lanark, and Lauderdale visited him at Carisbrooke Castle, and made a compact, known as 'The Engagement,' according to which they were to advise the king to find an uncontentious arrangement made with the Parliament, and the king was to preserve Presbyterianism in England for three years. In the Scottish Parliament, the nobles, barons, and commissioners from the large towns showed by a decided majority that they trusted the king, though they regarded and despised him, who did not believe that he was sincere. Hamilton, however, raised an army of 10,000 men, when they reached England were met by Cromwell and defeated. Charles was executed on 30th Jan. 1649, and Covenanters and Royalists alike were horrified. Charles was the victim of his cherished principle of the Divine right of kings, which, bequeathed to him by his father, destroyed the peace of Scotland, turning a member of a popular party of Argyle into rebels whom history has justified. James was a despot who knew the value of discretion; but Charles, with an erroneous doctrine of his personality and an anarchic theory of his power, was destitute of tact, and the Scots were strenuously resolved to possess him and his liberties. Yet, though he was a tyrant in their eyes, they would have remembered that he was their king and would not have taken his life.

Six days after the execution of Whitehall, Charles II. flew through Kinross and Kincardine to the Scottish Estates, though he was to be acknowledged only on condition that he accepted the Covenant. The zeal of the Covenanters was not diminishing, and just before the death of the king they secured the Act of Classes, which excluded from civil and military posts all who were hostile to the Covenanters. Montrose cared nothing for the Estates, and still dreamed that the country might be subdued. He failed, however, to gather the Royalist army of his visions, and yet would not cease from romantic expeditions and attacks. At last he was taken, and was beheaded on 21st May 1650 at the Market Cross of Edinburgh. Charles II. landed in Scotland in June, and, according to an arrangement already made, accepted the Covenant. His presence was a menace to England, and on 22nd July, Cromwell crossed the Border. David Leslie was in command of the Scottish army, which in the rush of events was now gathered for the defence of the king, though many of the Covenanters, led by Johnston of Warriston and James Guthrie, of Stirling, did not put their trust in Charles. In their fanaticism they succeeded in banishing all Covenanters from the army, and so interfered with Leslie that Cromwell secured a decisive victory at Dunbar. Immediately after the battle they prepared a Remonstrance against the government of Argyle
and his friends, and presented it to the Committee of Estates, with the declaration that they rejected Charles till he proved ‘the reality of his profession.’ Argyle was forced to choose an alliance with the Remonstrants or with the Malignants, and he gave his support to the friends of Charles. The Covenanters accordingly passed a resolution in condemnation of the Remonstrance, and the Estates abolished the Act of Classes. On 1st Jan. 1651, Charles was crowned at Scone, and Malignants and Remonstrants alike were satisfied. Cromwell, however, was still in the country, and once more David Leslie was placed in command of an army. In hope of a rising in favour of Charles, the Scots marched into England, but Cromwell followed and utterly defeated them at Worcester. Scotland was subjected to the English rule; and, though toleration was enforced, Resolutioners and Remonstrants continued their quarrel, till in 1653 the General Assembly was closed and its meetings forbidden. Enthusiasm for the Covenanters was no longer national but sectarian. The National Covenant had been the protest of a realm against the absolutism of the king, and the Solemn League and Covenant had been framed for the reformation of religion by those who believed that the soul of Scotland should be Presbyterian. In the events which followed the National Covenant, Charles had been compelled to submit to the Scots, and after his death the Covenanters, true to the Solemn League and Covenant, refused to become the guardians of his son’s Protestantism. Fanaticism divided them, but the factions were none the less devoted to the Church which James and Charles I. had assailed, and to its worship and government which had been saved from the hands of the destroyers. After the Restoration with joy, as the English rule was ended and the king was to reign who had been crowned at Scone. The Remonstrants or Protesters alone, in their anxiety for the Church, did not share in the joy, and soon it was seen that they were not foolish in their alarm. Charles nominated a Privy Council, without waiting for a Parliament to advise in the selection; and, while the members of the Council were with him in London, he dismissed the Government and the Committee the Estates, which had not acted after 1651. Remembering injuries and destitute of gratitude, he committed Argyle to the Tower, and then sent him to Scotland for trial, and at the same time issued an order for the execution of Johnston; however, escaped to France. The Committee of Estates, recognizing the attitude of the king to the Covenanters, broke up a meeting of Protesters, and seized among others James Guthrie, the minister of Stirling. In their eagerness to please they issued a proclamation against ‘all unlawful and unwarrantable meetings and conventicles’; and, in decreeing that there should be no meetings ‘without his Majesty’s special authority,’ showed how the notion in the king’s service no longer opposed the absolutism and supremacy which had been fatal to his father. It seemed at first that Charles, though ruthless towards the Remonstrants, would uphold the Church the true church of the Resolutioners; and James Sharp, minister of Crail and professor in St. Andrews, whom the Resolutioners had sent to London, returned on the last day of August with a communication to the Presbytery of Edinburgh. ‘We do resolve,’ Charles wrote, ‘that the democratic principles which George Buchanan taught in the De Jure; and, when he could not be brought to sentence, his book was publicly burned by order of the Government.

Without consent of the Church, Charles II. changed its order of protest and the men who would not obey his orders were driven from their livings. James VI. had forced or corrupted Assemblies and Parliaments to be his agents, while Charles I. had imposed the Canons and Liturgy with neither the Church nor Assembly nor legally selected. It is true that Charles II. acted through a Parliament and through his Privy Council, but the Parliament was not freely
elected, and the Church itself was not consulted. The 300 ejected ministers could urge the Presbyterian claim of free assembly. Their theory of the Divine origin of the Presbyterian polity might be denied, but they could point to Knox and Melvill as might be given to the ministers who were ordered to the struggles and successes of the first Covenanters. Many of the ministers quietly accepted the Episcopacy ordained by the ‘Drunken Parliament,’ but the men who were ejected, and not the men who conformed, were destined to the Presbyterian tradition, and as heirs of the Covenanters were entitled to their name. Opponents of the royal absolutism and advocates of ecclesiastical freedom, the second race of the Covenanters were destined to bear testimony through their sufferings and to their devotion to the lost liberties of their Church.

Fines were imposed by the Privy Council on those who neglected the ministrations of the curates, and soldiers were quartered on offenders till these were paid. At Archbishop Sharp’s suggestion the Court of High Commission was re-instituted to deal with breakers of the law, and the troubles increased when Covenanters, to whom an Act of Indulgence was ordered by the Court to pay their fines. In the disaffected districts the people were galled by the tyranny of the Council in imposing fines, quartering soldiers, and breaking up conventicles (q. v.) for worship. Passive obedience was required, and a rising of the oppressed was to be expected. Sir James Turner, the most zealous of the soldiers of the Government, was in Dumfries, and on 15th Nov. 1666 was attacked and taken prisoner by a company of Covenanters who had been stirred by a shameful tale of enormity. From Dumfries they marched, 3000 in number but untrained, across the country to Lanark, where they renewed their adherence to the Covenant. Information had not got to Edinburgh, they turned on their way to the city, as Sir Thomas Dalziel, a fanatic Royalist who had served in Muscovy, was on their track, and they reached Rullion Green, on the southern slopes of the Pentlands, Dalziel with his disciplined force routed them. Some were killed, many fled, and at least fifty were taken. Two of the leaders, John Neilson of Corsneck and Hugh M’Kail, who was a preacher, were tortured with the boot in presence of the Council, that they might appear before the Dutch Council and were afterwards sent to the scaffold. Ten men, and then five, were hanged in Edinburgh, and the work of execution was continued in Glasgow and Ayr. Many of those who had been engaged in the rising were fined and their lands and goods confiscated. To Dalziel was given the task of quieting the disturbed places, and with his ruthless severities he terrorized the people. In 1667, however, a respite was offered when Lauderdale, who had overthrown Rithes and Sharp in the Council, intimated an indemnity, under conditions, for the Pentland rising. While many accepted the terms, the sternest of the Presbyterians refused obedience to a Government which required conformity to an Episcopal Church and ignored the Covenant.

After the indemnity no further step towards conciliation was taken till 1669, when an Indulgence was offered. It was ordained that vacant parishes might be given to the ministers who would take collation from the bishops; and those who would not take collation might have the manse and glebe, without the stipend, if they agreed, among other conditions, to administer the sacraments from Galilee. The Presbyterians, professing their adherence to Presbyterianism, were admitted; but the most zealous of the Covenanters inveighed against them, and extreme Episcopalians objected to the Indulgence as an Act of Erastianism. Lauderdale, though responsible for the Indulgence with any clemency involved in it, was an avowed supporter of the royal absolutism; and the Lord High Commissioner, the Asserty Act ‘that his Majesty hath the supreme authority and supremacy over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical within this kingdom; and that, by virtue thereof, the ordering, disposing of the external government and policy of the Church doth properly belong to his Majesty and his successors, as an inherent right of the crown.’

Burnet, the Archbishop of Glasgow, was deposed for his opposition to the issue of the Indulgence, and Leighton, who succeeded him, proposed an ‘accommodation’ for peace between Presbyterians and Episcopalians. The scheme was futile, as compromise pleased no one, and Leighton, resigning the archbishopric, departed to England. The Indulgence did not remove the opposition of the Covenanters, and they flocked to the conventicles, carrying arms for safety in attack. The Government, on the other hand, showed no leniency. In 1670 an Act was passed requiring all to take an oath to give information regarding conventicles and the men who attended them; and another Act made death and confiscation of goods the penalty for preaching at conventicles. Not content with these severe measures the Scots, and especially the Highlanders, were to be punished, even to exile, should be inflicted on those who had their children baptized by the non-conforming ministers, and also on those who were to pass successive Sundays absenting themselves from the services of the Church. The pressure of the Government, did not cease, and the Bass Rock was turned into a prison. In 1672 the Parliament declared the ordination of ministers by the Covenanters a crime, and decreed that parents should be punished who left their children unbaptized by the curates for more than thirty days. For some reason a second Indulgence was published. It was offered to eighty of the clergy, and some of them accepted it, but the Covenanters were not satisfied. The Government in their straits decreed that magistrates for the burghs and landowners in respect of their estates were to be made responsible for conventicles, and householders were to answer for their families and servants. Another step was taken in the Dutch Council, where communing were issued against 100 persons, including men and women of social position, who were not to be harboured or fed or clothed by any one. Though landowners in 1674 had been made responsible for their tenants and servants, they were required in 1677 to take a bond for all persons on their lands. Many of these men in the disturbed counties, though friendly to the Government, would not sign such a bond; and in February 1678 a host of 6000 Highlanders with 2000 Lowlanders was sent to Ayrshire and let loose for plunder. The Duke of Hamilton and also the Earls of Atholl and Perth appeared with expostulations before the king, and, though Charles approved Lauderdale’s actions, the Highlanders were withdrawn. The disorder increased, however, in spite of inducements and coercive Acts; and the year 1679 witnessed among other tragedies the murder of Archbishop Sharp. From 20th May 1679 three miles from the city, by a hand of men who had absented of attending conventicles. These men were not taken, though a proclamation was issued for their arrest; and another tragic event was to increase the troubles. On 27th May
—th anniversary of the Restoration—a company of eighty men gathered in Kutherglen, and, after extinguishing the signal fire of the Covenant, and the market-cross paper denouncing the Acts of Parliament against Presbyterianism. The same company, increased in numbers, held a conventicle on the Sunday which followed; and Graham of Claverhouse was at the head of it, of course it aimed to seize the men who had appeared at Kutherglen. At Drumolog, two miles from London Hill, where the conventicle had assembled, an engagement took place, and Claverhouse was defeated. The victors determined to form a camp, and many fled to it. The Government, on the other hand, made ready an army, and the king sent the Duke of Monmouth to command it. The battle of Bothwell Bridge was fought on 22nd June with disastrous results to the Covenanters. They had enthusiasm; but, divided over the indulgences, they quarrelled when they should have been drilling themselves for action, and there was no capable and trusted leader. While the number of the dead was not great, more than 1000 prisoners were taken and conveyed to Edinburgh. For months many of the wretched men were confined in the Greyfriars churchyard. Two of the ministers were hanged, and five men, who had not been involved in the deductions, were tried and executed; and to Magus Muir, that the murder might be avenged. Many were allowed to leave their prison, after taking a bond not again to bear arms; and others, to the number of 250, were packed into a ship, and sent to the Orkneys, or to the Islands, and 200 of the unfortunate men, who were kept under the hatches, were drowned. The command to Monmouth, an Act of Indemnity was passed for those who had been at Bothwell Bridge, and a third Indulgence for ministers was published. Conditions, however, were attached, and there were few who did not reject them. Clemency was accordingly thrown aside; a general search was made for those who had been at Bothwell. The thumbkins and lighted matches to the fingers were used by the savage soldiers of the Government to force unwilling informers to reveal their secrets. Covenanters and Covenanting ministers, and wild men were made wilder. The Presbyterians who still remained staunch to the Covenanters separated from communion with those who had accepted the Indulgences, and deliberately threw over their King. The King himself, however, Richard. Cameron and Donald Cargill, were the leaders, and they and their followers called themselves 'Society People,' and were known as Covenanters, Wanderers, Hillmen, or Whigs. The 22nd June, 1680, Cameron and Cargill with some of their men, twenty-one in all, entered Sanquhar and affixed to the market-cross a declaration that they disowned Charles Stuart as king for 'his perjury and breach of covenant to God and His Kirk.' These men did at Sanquhar, in the times of Charles Stuart, what England and Scotland afterwards did when James Stuart was king. Cameron and Cargill were marked by the Government, and at the Market Cross, in July, Cameron was killed, and when he and Hackston of Rathillete, with some of the Hillmen, were attacked by a company of dragoons. Hackston was executed at Edinburgh with a display of abominable cruelty, and Cargill, who was not at Aird's Moss, became the leader of the Covenanters. He appeared in October at Torwood, and in a great assemblage excommunicated the king, the Duke of York, the Duke of Lauderdale, and others; and, though the sentence was futile and the action altogether fanatical, the devotion to a cause consecrated in the tradition of the country made Cargill a hero in the eyes of the persecuted Whigs. He, too, was to die for the Protestant religion.

In 1681 the Duke of York appeared in Scotland, and, in place of Lauderdale, acted as Royal Commissioner. After the Act for securing the Protestant religion, the Parliament, at his direction, passed the Act which declared that the kings of the realm derived their power from God, succeeding to it by lineal descent, and that the succession could not be changed. This declaration, in favour of the Divine right of the king, was followed by the Test Act, which required every holder of office to swear that he owned the Protestant religion as set forth in the Confession of 1567, acknowledged the supremacy of the king in all causes, would not consult about any State matter without royal licence or command, and would never endeavour to alter anything in the Government of the country. Never before had the Scottish Parliament displayed such abject subservience. Eighty of the ministers refused to take the test, and left their parishes; and in January 1682, fifty of the Covenanters published at Lanark a fresh declaration, and submitted the Succession and Test Acts. The Society People were counted rebels, as they were, and were treated as such. The Presbyterianism of Claverhouse, merciless leaders of the rudest soldiers, earned infamous reputations; and, when the troubles were at an end, men continued to talk of the 'Bloody Clavers,' while they spoke, too, of the 'Bloody Boys,' and the 'Bloody Lord Nithope,' who was pitiless in his persecutions. Their victims were fined or sent to slavery, and some were shot and some were hanged. In November 1684 the 'Society People published their Apologetic Declaration,' drawn up by a young minister, which contained a warning to their persecutors that they counted them, and would punish them, as the enemies of God and His covenanted work; and they did not shrink from killing their persecutors. An act of abjuration of the Apologetic Declaration was at once prepared by the Government, and he who did not take it might be shot without pretence of trial. John Brown of Fresthill, in whose house were found bullets and a treasonable paper, was condemned to be hanged and to be put to slavery. 'Whereupon,' wrote Claverhouse, 'I caused shoot him dead, which he suffered very unconcernedly.' A few days later, though Claverhouse was not the perpetrator of the deed, an old woman and a girl were hanged as his adherents; and they would not abjure the Apologetic Declaration.

James II. ascended the throne in 1685, and the Estates expressed their gratitude for the blessings which they owed 'to the sacred race of their most glorious kings, and to the solid, absolute authority wherewith they were invested by the first and fundamental laws of the monarchy.' Acts were passed against the Covenanters, and in one it was declared that any person who preached at or attended a conventicle was to be punished with death and confiscation of goods. The accession of James marked no change of policy in the treatment of the Covenanters, and the first year was known as 'the black year.' Argyle and Rutherglen were taken in the plot with Monmouth, for the removal of James from the throne, landed in Scotland in 1685; but he received no help from the Covenanters, whose cause, at an earlier time, he had forsaken. The plot ended in failure, and Argyle was taken and carried to Edinburgh, where he was beheaded. Before he arrived in the city, the Government resolved to make sure that their prisoners, who might be in sympathy with him, were securely guarded. About 200 of the Covenanters were accordingly removed to Dunnottar Castle. Men
Covenant Theology

1. Preliminary definition. — By this term is designated a type of theological thought which expresses the relations between God and man in the form of a covenant or legal agreement, formalized and binding upon the contracting parties. It was especially common among the English Puritans, from whom it passed to their descendants in America. On the Continent it is first found among the Reformed theologians in France and again in that of the 17th century. Its best known Continental representative is Cocceius (John Koch, 1603-69), who is often wrongly said to be its author.2 Through him and his successors (Barnmann, Witsius, and others) it received its modern literarly expression, and ever since has constituted one of the recognized types of Calvinistic or Reformed theology. It is the purpose of this article to explain the nature of this type, and to give some account of its origin and history.

2. Nature of the covenant theology. — (1) The covenant idea and the covenant theology distinguished. — At the outset it is necessary to distinguish between the idea of covenant and the covenant theology. The covenant idea is common Christian property. It is an inheritance of Christianity from the OT, which frequently describes the relation between Jahweh and His people in terms of a covenant, entered into with individuals and the nation as a whole. The covenant theology describes a special type of Christian thought which gives this idea a central importance and places it not elsewhere assigned to it, and uses it as the organizing principle of the entire theological system. According to this scheme, God at the Creation entered into an agreement with Adam as the federal head of the race, promising to him and to his descendants eternal life on condition of his obedience to the Divine command that he should not eat of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and threatening him with eternal death for himself and his descendants in case of his disobedience. To the same test, God entered into a second agreement with Christ as the second Adam, on behalf of the elect, promising them forgiveness and eternal life in consideration of Christ’s perfect obedience and satisfaction rendered to it, and assigning to all the gifts and graces which are necessary to the realization of this supreme blessing in experience. The covenant theology in its developed form is a scheme of doctrine in which the entire system of divinity is expressed in the terms of these two covenants, and man’s assurance of salvation based upon the fact that he is included within the latter. In order to understand its origin and significance, it is necessary to consider the problem which it was designed to solve.

(2) The covenant as a ground of assurance. — This problem was, in a word, the reconciliation of the sovereignty of God with man’s assurance of salvation. The federal theologians, as they are called, were Calvinists. Their major premise was the absolute sovereignty of God. Man, in their view, had no independent right as against his Maker. Unquestioning submission to the Divine command was his duty. Perfect obedience, were such possible, carried with it no reward, and even failure was not exacting. If, then, man was to be admitted to the Divine fellowship or assured of the Divine favour, it could be only by some voluntary condescension on God’s part, establishing by arbitrary enactment

1 So by Strong (Systematic Theology, Philol, 1897, p. 151 f.)
relations which had no necessary foundation in nature. The importance of the covenant for these theologians consisted in its assurance that such condescension had, as a matter of fact, taken place. By the covenant God not only bound Himself to a certain definite line of conduct, so far as man was concerned, but so far restricted the freedom of His own choice, but He made known to His creature the nature and conditions of His gracious purpose, and so removed the uncertainty to which he would otherwise have been exposed.

'God,' says Thomas Shepard, in his preface to Bulkleys Gospel Covenant, might have done good to man before his fall, as well as what he did without biding him hid in the bosom of the Covenant ... but the Lord's heart is so full of love (especially to his own) that, it cannot be contained so long within the bounds of secrecy, ... but must be beforehand order and break out into the many streams of a blessed Covenant.'

Arminian theologians also made use of the covenant idea, but for them it had less importance, because their view of the relation between man and his Maker was founded on natural right. Thus, Arminius, while recognizing that God dealt with our first parents by way of covenant, distinguished between the law of nature which God wrote on the heart of man, and the symbolical law, or law of precept, which deals with matters in themselves indifferent apart from the Divine command. While it is necessary to obey in either case, the latter obedience is 'far more subjection,' and 'is not so much obedience itself as the external profession of willingly yielding obedience' (Works, Eng. tr. ii. 570). To the Calvinistic theologians, on the other hand, the highest virtue consisted in submission to the will of God itself, because it was God's will, and the covenants gained their great importance because they defined the specific form which, from age to age, that will assumed for man.

This distinction explains the prominence of the covenant idea in Puritanism. Puritanism, as is well known, is a type of thought which makes much of uniformity. The Puritans believed that God had not only revealed a way of salvation, but had established words certain in themselves and laid down certain laws, by means of which this salvation was to be mediated to those whom God had chosen to enjoy its blessings. He was a churchman as well as an individualist, and valued the covenant not only as the groundwork of the regenerate assurance to the individual Christian, but as the charter which established the existence and defined the laws of the Christian society.

From this fact two further consequences follow which are necessary in the true definition of the covenant theology: (a) the covenant furnished the framework for the treatment of Christian ethics; and (b) it gave the key to the Christian interpretation of history.

(3) The covenant not the standard of Christian duty.—The use of the covenant as a standard of duty, important as it later became, is derivative, not primary. The earlier theologians knew of but one covenant between God and man, namely, the covenant of works with the Father and Son, and secondly the covenant of grace opened unto death, agreed to accept His satisfaction as an equivalent for the punishment due by guilty man, and to accept the persons of the elect as righteous for His sake. The doctrine of the lost Paradise were not brought under the covenant idea except in so far as the promise to Eve that her seed should bruise the serpent's head (Gen 3:15) was regarded as an anticipation of the later covenant of grace. In this way the covenant was extended to include all God's dealings with man, before as well as after the Fall. Two covenants were distinguished — the covenant of works made in Paradise with Adam as the federal head of the race, and the covenant of grace made with Christ, the second Adam, or with the elect in Him as their representative. In the former, God reveals the substance of the moral law as the condition which He prescribes for the attainment of salvation. In the latter, He acquaints men with the machinery which He devised for the repair of Adam's fault. But the substitution of the second for the first covenant does not render the moral law obsolete; it only alters man's relation to that law. After all, as well as before the Fall perfect holiness is essential to salvation, and not the least of the blessings of the covenant of grace is its clear repetition of the substance of the law originally promulgated in Paradise. The covenant of grace differs from the covenant of works in that it adds to the law the promise, i.e., the disclosure of the means through which Adam's original fault is to be repaired and the blessings of salvation won by Christ to be mediated to the elect. Accordingly, the covenant form of grace was given by the presentation of the substance of the moral law, institutions of worship (i.e., sacraments and ceremonies) which, varying from age to age, typify Christ, and seal to believers the grace which He has merited for them.

The literature and the covenant, therefore, is full of discussion as to the nature of the Church and of the sacraments. Since the sacraments are signs and seals of the covenant of grace, it is essential that they should be rightly administered, and that those only should be admitted to partake of them who are really entitled to the privilege. Here we find differences of opinion among those who were agreed as to the general significance of the covenant and were at one in opposition to Arminianism. Some held that the covenant form of grace was given by the presentation of the substance of the sacraments; others were willing to take a Christian profession (i.e., a dogmatic, as distinct from a justifying, faith) as prima facie evidence of right of admission to the sacraments. The controversy about the sacrament of election, which agitated New England in the latter part of the 17th and in the 18th cent., is an echo of these earlier disputes.

There was also a difference of opinion as to the extent to which the conditional language properly applicable to the covenant of works could be rightly employed of the covenant of grace. In the case of the covenant of works we have to do with a real condition. The whole significance of the agreement into which Adam entered, in consideration of Christ's promise of obedience even unto death, agreed to accept His satisfaction as an
be granted to the elect to make possible a faith of which they are incapable by nature. It would seem, therefore, that the condition of any future condition to be fulfilled on the part of the elect as distinct from Christ, and this was the position taken by some of the more rigorous Puritans. Christ, they held, was the sole party to the covenant of grace.\(^1\) Others,\(^2\) however, distinguished two covenants: the covenant of redemption entered into between the Father and the Son, and the covenant of grace made with the elect through Him. The covenant of grace, no less than that of works, they regarded as having national, the difference being that in the former case the sole condition was faith in Christ, which faith was itself made possible through the gift of the Spirit.

But, whatever difference of opinion there may have been as to the conditional character of the covenant of grace, all agreed that no one could be saved whose life did not conform to the standard which it revealed. Of all heresies Antinomiam (q.v.) was the most abhorrent to the Puritan, and many controversial tracts reveal the eagerness of the advocates of the covenant theology to clear their skirts from any imputation of sympathy with so abominable and dangerous an opinion. The assurance in which the Puritans rejoiced was indeed an assurance of salvation, of such an assurance as included ultimate conformity to the Divine law.\(^3\)

(4) The covenant as a key to the Christian interpretation of history.—Thus far we have considered the covenant theology primarily on its practical side, and we have pointed out its importance as well, since it furnished the formula for the Christian interpretation of history. The Biblical writers speak of a number of different covenants entered into by God with different individuals at different times, and we are aware of the relation of these covenants one to another. Should engage the attention of Christian theologians. Protestants were agreed that God followed a uniform method in His treatment of men, and hence could not admit any essential difference in principle between the covenants; but they could not shut their eyes to the contrast between the covenant with Moses at Sinai and the new covenant foretold by Jeremiah and the prophets, which the Apostle says was a superior, fuller covenant. How could they overlook the contrast drawn by Paul himself between the promise to Abraham and the law given by Moses. Thus, the relation between these different covenants constituted a problem of great importance, and furnished the nearest approach to a philosophy of history which the theology of the time possessed.

In general, it may be said that it was the disposition of the earlier Protestant theologians to minimize the difference between the Christian gospel and its preparation in the religion of Israel. All the Reformers recognize the contrast between the OT and the NT, and devote a section of their theology to a discussion of their differences. But they are agreed in the differences are superficial, that in substance, the two Testaments are the same. What the old dispensation shadows forth in types, the new fulfills in reality, but both alike, the OT and the NT, the law of Moses and the gospel of Christ, are to be regarded as different forms of the one covenant of grace (cf. the Westminster formula, "one covenant under different administrations," Westminster, viii. 5, 6).

With the recognition of the twofold covenant a further distinction is introduced. We have now the contrast between the breaking of any covenant of grace into between God and Adam, the substance of which requirement is repeated in the law given on Sinai, and the covenant of grace under its twofold administration, the OT and the NT. Another distinction needs us in William Ames (Amesius),\(^1\) and was further developed by Cocceius and his successors in the early part of the 17th century. These theologians, while making use of the general formula already described, distinguished within the administration of the OT, the old dispensation, and within the administration of the NT, the new dispensation, of these stages marked by characteristics of their own.\(^2\) Thus, there are the periods (1) from Adam to Noah, (2) from Noah to Abraham, (3) from Abraham to Moses, (4) from Moses to David, (5) from David to the introduction of which has its own institutions and sacraments. In like manner, the NT has its own divisions, e.g. (1) from the Advent to the Resurrection, (2) from the Resurrection to the Second Coming, and (3) the Final Consummation in the end of the world. However, it would be impossible for those theologians to do more justice to the facts of Biblical history than was possible under the more rigorous scheme of their predecessors. Robertson Smith, speaking of the federal theology of Cocceius, said: "The object of the (covenant) defects,\(^3\) i.e. 'is the most important attempt, in the older Protestant theology, to do justice to the historical development of revelation' (Prophets of Israel, Edin, 1882, p. 375).

Thus the covenant theology has a threefold significance. In the first place, it is a theory of salvation; in the second place, it is a programme for conduct; in the third place, it is a philosophy of history. The section that follows will attempt to show how the different covenants cross and re-cross in the course of the history.

3. History of the covenant theology.—(1) The antecedents.—The Biblical basis for the covenant theology is found partly in the account given in the OT of various covenants made by Jehovah with Israel\(^1\) and with representative Israelites,\(^2\) partly in the Pauline interpretation of the Christian gospel with the new or spiritual covenant prophesied by Jeremiah and other prophets.

The Heb. word 'covenant' (7273) in our versions, denotes either a treaty or alliance entered into between equals (e.g. between Abraham and the Amorites, Gen 14:14; Av and RV 'coerced a'etc.); a compact of aid and solemn promise (e.g. 'league'), or a constitution or ordinance establishing the relation between a monarch and his subjects (e.g. David and the Israelites, 2 Sam 23:6, 1 Sam 25:26). The difference of meaning is not without its bearing on the later history.

If we analyze the transactions described in the OT by the term 'covenant' (7273), we find that they fall into two classes—those in which Jehovah reveals to His servants a purpose which He has conceived independently of man, and whose execution is dependent upon no one but Himself, and those in which the conduct of the people with whom the covenant is made is a determining factor. Of the former class are the covenants with Noah and Abraham; to the latter belong the covenant of Sinai and the later covenants, Joshua (ch. 19), Hezekiah (2 Chron 29), and Josiah (2 Kings 23). The promise to Noah that day and night shall no more fail (Gen 9:27), or to

\(^{1}\) (1570-1633) Mediaea S.S. Theologer, Eug. tr. The Marrow of Sacred Divinity (London, 1618, ii. 257), following Schweizer (Reformation, 1884, ii. 447) and Schneckenburger (Vergleichende Darstellung, etc., ii. 116), regards this disposition to apply the covenant form to the different stages in the history of religion as characteristic of the Reformers theory from the first, and finds its beginnings in Bullinger and Leo Jud.


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Abraham that in his seed all nations shall be blessed (Gen 12:3 etc.), is obviously not in the same class with the promises which accompanied the Law to Israel. Abraham was, in the nature of the case, conditional upon the future conduct of the Israelites. Yet both alike are described by the same word. 

It is evident, however, that the reference in the prophets to a new covenant which Jehovah is to establish with Israel in the future (Jer 31:31; 32:38-39; Ez 16:60), 61:13; Jer 32:39-50; Ezek 36:24 37:22, 37:37; Hos 2:23-25, 3:3-9) is the same as that referred to by Jeremiah (Jer 31:31). Unlike the old covenant, this is to be inward and spiritual, a law written not on the tables of stone, but in the hearts of the people (Jer 31:32-34) and will be everlasting (Jer 31:34). 

The new covenant of the NT identifies with the Christian gospel, which is contrasted with the Mosaic law as the former or old covenant (Gal 4:5, He 8:10-13, 39, 5 Co 5). Like the latter, it was written not on the tables of stone, but by Jesus, the Blood of the new Law, who by His voluntary obedience and submission unto death has rendered the old sacrificial system superfluous and become the mediator of a new, an everlasting covenant. So is it in the new covenant (336º). This new covenant is symbolized in the cup which Jesus gave to His disciples at the last supper (Mt 26:28, Mk 14:25, Lk 22:15, 1 Co 11:25). It has its anticipation in the covenant of promise made by Jehovah with Abraham (Gal 3:16, Eph 2:14, Ac 3:25), which, being prior to the Law, cannot be superseded by it.

We find thus in the NT the same double usage which we found in the OT, the word δικαίωσις being used now to denote a free promise of God, as to Abraham and his seed, and later to Christian believers in the gospel, now of a series of precepts and oracles given through Moses and his successors, and conditional in their effects upon the obedience of the people.

(2) The new covenant is interchanged with that of the testament, or will—a substitution which explains the difference in usage in the Vulgate, and its literal translation in AV by the word 'testament.' (e.g. Mt 26:28, Mk 14:25, Lk 22:20, 1 Co 11:25, 2 Co 3:6, He 7:22 g, etc.).

In view of the emphasis laid by the Biblical writers upon the covenant idea, and their use of the conception to describe the different steps in the Divine training of mankind, it is surprising that it should so early and so completely have fallen into disuse in the religious thought of the early Christian writer who makes much use of it. He distinguishes several different covenants (δικαίωσις, testamentum) into which God has entered with man, and regards the study of their nature and value as a special science (Irenaeus, xi. 11; iv. 1, xxxii. 2). According to this division, God's dealing with man in the pre-Mosaic period is not to be conceived under the covenant relation, the reason being that law is not needed by those who are just (iv. xvi. 2). The Law, by which Irenaeus means the Jewish ceremonial law, was added later because of sin, and destined in time to be replaced by the Christian gospel, or new law of liberty (cf Acts 16:31; Phil iv. 1, xxiv. 4). As the ancient Church, which alone produces fruit righteousness and salvation are made possible.

We have thus in Irenaeus three distinct stages in the process of the Divine training of man—the pre-Mosaic period, typified by Abraham, in which man works out his own salvation through obedience and faith; the Law period, which gives the Law; the period from Moses to Christ, in which salvation is conditioned upon fidelity to the Jewish ceremonial law; and the period of the guarantee of the Law by the new covenant, which depends upon man's free fulfilment of the moral law, which Christ has established and reinforced with new sanctions. While, in general, the New Testament period is divided into the two later of these periods only, in principle the three belong together as stages in a single period. The new covenant in the NT is identical with the Mosaic covenant.


Thus Calvin finds the agreement (1) in the common hope of immortality; (2) in the fact that both were established by the unity of God; (3) in that 'they both had and knew Christ, the Mediator, by which they were united to God and made capable of receiving his promise.' (4) The difference consisted (1) in that the old covenant was God's personal institution; (2) the New Testament period is exhibited under the form of temporal blessings, which was not the case with the old; (3) in that the promise of the OT was not a legal promise, which exhibited 'only the image of truth, the shadow, not the substance,' whereas the OT gives us 'both the promise and the entire body'; (3) in that the OT is literal, and the NT spiritual; (4) in that the OT is one of bondage, the NT one of liberty; and, finally, (5) in that the promises of the Old Testament are for the people only, while the NT is for all. Cf. Brown, 'Essence of Christian Theology.'

2 It is instructive to compare Calvin's view with that of Irenaeus. He follows the Roman Catholic tradition in opposing the idea of a covenant in the OT, and of the two covenants, the Old and the New. He argues with him further in that he does not apply the term 'covenant' to God's primitive covenant with Adam. He differs from Irenaeus in that he brings both covenants under the conception of grace rather than of law. Irenaeus is extended backwards to include the pre-Mosaic period. In this, as we shall see, Irenaeus is typical of the development of the later covenant theology.
COVENANT THEOLOGY

In thus emphasizing the essential unity of God's dealings with His people, Calvin is representative of the Reformation. Luther, however, recognizes no difference in principle between God's dealings with His people under the old dispensation and under the new. The first specific treatise on the covenant which the present writer has been able to recover is that of the Swiss reformer, Henry Bullinger, which bears date 1534, and has for its title De Testamento sive fide Dei unice et externo. Bullinger, like his predecessors, recognizes only one covenant, namely, the covenant of grace. The nature of the covenant of grace is technical sense are to be found on German soil, and Precede the more famous school of Cocceius by more than half a century. Its representatives were Reformed theologians who, under the influence of a warm and vital piety, and developed a theology which differed in several respects from the stricter protestantism of Switzerland and France. This theology had three main characteristics. In the first place, it used the conception of the Divine covenant in the Church or the Kingdom, as a comprehensive theological idea to express the purpose at once of creation and of redemption, and to give unity to the rest of the system. In the second place, it associated this comprehensive idea of the covenant with Christ; and, in the third place, it deduced from the combination of these two conceptions, rather than from the dogma of predestination, its doctrine of the perseverance of the saints. The best known representatives of this theology were Caspar Olevianus and Zacharius Ursinus, the authors of the Heidelberg Catechism.

Olevianus's most important dogmatic monograph, published anonymously in 1585, is entitled De substantia fidei gratiae inter Deum et electos, tygique de medici, etc. This work, as the title indicates, discusses the nature of the free covenant between God and the elect, and the means through which its substance is communicated to us. The substance of the covenant consists in God's promise and oath that He will never be angry with His former. We may say, indeed, that the characteristic feature of the Reformed theology is the attempt to use legal phraseology to express its doctrine; and the question is essentially this: Why the covenant idea finds such favour with its representatives in the Protestant Church? The answer is not that such expressions and formulations voluntarily are assumed on either side, and hence not properly to be brought under the sphere of necessity.


The design of Bullinger's treatise is to show that the gospel is older than Judaism, Muhammadanism, and Catholoeism; indeed, that it goes back to 'Noah, Enoch, Seth, Abel, Adam, who without circumcision pleased God through faith.' He holds that there is no Christian virtue commended in the NT which was not equally exemplified in the words and deeds of Abraham. Cf. the citations given by Rockwell, Die Doppelte des Landfriedens Philip von Hetten, Marburg, 1871, ed. note 3.

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Besides Olevianus and Ursinus, Hepp mentions, as representatives of the covenant theology, Andrew Hyperennis, Professor of Theology at Marburg from 1641 to 1654 (Methodi theologicae sive praeparationis Christianarum religionis locorum communio, Basel, 1560); Peter Boeclius, Professor of Theology at Heidelberg, died 1562 (Ezekias distinctae et humanae communio, Heidelberg, 1561); Joachim Curzen (Ezekios perpisci et ferenda praeparationis Christianarum religionis locorum communio, Leiden, 1570, 1571; editor of the first edition of the Heidelberg Catechism, 1552; and Schaff (Treatise on the Doctrine of the Church, 1853). See Schaff (Methodus theologicae, Opl. ed. 3, 1. 234 ff.); Raphael Egenolf, Professor of Theology at Marburg (Dissertatione in Deutero Thessalonicarum mysteriwm Rom. 6; De fide et gratia ex loco Rom. 28, Marburg, 1568), the author of the famous statement of the Calvinistic-Covenant theory, and P. H. J. Sturm (Christianitates doctrinae summaria capita, 1693), and Ludwig Crocius (De perperversione sanctorum libros septem dogmatis et apologetici, Brevern, 1616).

The discussion of the covenant is introduced by Ursinus between Questions 18 and 19, which deal with the mediationship of Christ, and the gospel, and includes the following sub-heads:

(1) What is a covenant? (2) Whether it can be made without a mediator? (3) Whether there be but one and the same covenant, or more? (4) In what the old and the new covenant agree, and in what they differ.

Cf. Hepp, op. cit., p. 197. It is an interesting question when the idea of the covenant of God with Adam first makes its appearance in the Old Testament, and in what it may have come to be understood. The answer is found in our canonical Scriptures. See Schaff, op. cit., p. 129.

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The covenant idea makes its earliest appearance in English history in practical rather than theoretical form, in the National Covenants entered into by the Scottish people and their rulers. These were solemn engagements, in which the nation as a whole pledged itself to be true to the Reformed faith based on the Scriptures, and interpreted with the stern literalism of the Puritan conscience. Such a national covenant is the so-called Second Scottish Confession, a practical appendix to the early Confession of Knox (1560), to which the people publicly subscribed in the year 1581. It was frequently renewed in the course of the later history, and played a momentous part in the struggles of the Stuarts with their rebellious fellow-countrymen. It is not strange that a formula so pregnant with a scheme a way should have received early literary expression. See art. COVENANTERS.

One of the earliest Scottish monographs on the covenant bears date 1596, and is by Robert Rollock (1555-1598), a scholar of the University of Edinburgh (Questiones de Responsione ait quantum de fieri Dei quod sacramentum quod fieri should be). Here already there is evidence of the connexion between the covenant and the sacrament which is characteristic of the later history. 1

English monographs were frequent during the first half of the 17th century. An anonymous treatise, bearing date 1616, is dedicated to the mayor and magistrates of the town of Faversham in Kent. 2 Like Olevianus, its author uses the covenant idea as a framework for the exposition of the Creed. His practical interest is apparent in the emphasis upon the importance of renewing one's covenant made in baptism through 'a continual repeating' of it, which takes place in catechizing the children of the faithful (p. 63). Other treatises by John Preston (The New Covenant, or a Savoy Person, London, 1616; and George Downname, The Covenant of Grace, or an Exposition upon Lk. 17-25, Dublin, 1631), are likewise practical in nature.

The theological significance of the idea is apparent in the place given to it in systematic treatises. William Ames (1576-1633) in his Medulla S. S. Theologiae (Eng. tr. Marrow of Sacred Divinity, 1642) 3 distinguishes two covenants—the law or covenant of works given to Adam in Paradise, leaving as its sequel the fall of man; and the covenant of grace made with the redeemed through Christ. Ames traces the various steps in the administration of the covenant of grace, distinguishing not only the periods before and after Christ (the OT and NF), but also, under the first, the periods from Adam to Abraham, from Abraham to Moses, from Moses to Christ; and, under the second, the period from Christ to the end of the world and the eternal reign of the saints in heaven (t. xxxvii. xxiii.). In this he anticipates the later teaching of his pupil Coccineus.

Even more detailed is the description of the covenant given by Ussher in his Body of Divinity, 4 Here the nature of the compact made by God with Adam is described in great detail, and man in the person of our first parent is declared to have professed in the Godhead between God and man playfully declared in having down the chiefest points of Christian religion, London, 1645.

1 Mitchell (Westminster Assembly, London, 1883, p. 377) cites Robert Rollock, another early Scottish representative of the covenant theology, but the present writer has not been able to verify the reference. 2 A Covenant between God and man playfully declared in having down the chiefest points of Christian religion, London, 1645.


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The covenant idea received its first confessed expression in Puritanism. It appears in the 21st article of the 1648 Articles, 5 of which he was the author, and from thence passed to the Westminster Confession of Faith, in which it forms the subject of a special chapter (vii.). 6

The covenant was frequently discussed in the latter half of the 17th century. It appears not only in the works of the great Puritan theologians—Richard Baxter 7 (1615-1691), and John Owen 8 (1616-1683), but in many monographs by men less known to fame, e.g. John Saltmarsh, 9 Thomas Blake, 10 William Allen, 11 Edward Leigh, 12 and Daniel Williams. 13 It filled an important role in the controversies that divided the different parties in the Church, and a correct understanding of its nature and scope was regarded as one of the prime requisitions of the Church.
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the action of the human will. The tract of Williams, already referred to, gives an interesting picture of the questions in controversy, and the extent to which the stricter party were willing to carry their logical conclusions.

That these controversies were not confined to Old England, but speedily found their way across the water, finds interesting confirmation in a treatise of Peter Bulkeley, which appeared in London in 1616, and is entitled The Covenant of Grace, or the Covenant of God, opened. It gives the substance of sermons preached by the author in his parish in Concord, in New England. He speaks of great divisions which had arisen about the covenant, and some of the leaders called the preachers 'legal preachers,' and said that they were 'wholly ignorant of the covenant of grace, and . . . shut up under a covenant of works.' The reference is evidently to the rising Antinomianism which is associated with the name of Anne Hutchinson, 'that wretched Jezebel,' as Bulkeley calls her (p. 293). Bulkeley, who himself seems to have been a man of moderate views, gives a list of the questions in dispute, e.g. (1) whether the covenant of grace is between God and man, or only between God the Father and Christ; (2) what is the meaning of the reference to Abraham's seed in Gal 316; (3) what the covenant of Sinai was, whether of works or of grace; (4) whether justification is a condition of the covenant; (5) whether the commandment commanding faith be a commandment of the law; (6) whether faith be a condition antecedent to justification or only consequent; and (7) whether the conditional promises be as good as the unconditional ones written. It is very pertinent (p. 3).

The theoretical difference had its practical effect in the doctrine of the Church. The question here turned on how far it was possible to preserve the purity of the Church in the administration of the sacraments and ecclesiastical discipline. All but the Baptists agreed that the covenant of grace, like the Abrahamic covenant of the OT, included the children of believers, and therefore defended the practice of infant baptism. But this position raised perplexing questions as to the administration of the other sacraments. Since baptism could rightfully be administered to some who were not regenerate, why should the Lord's Supper be confined any more strictly? Why not recognize that the covenant conferred upon the children of believers certain ecclesiastical rights which extended beyond the circle of the elect, and be willing to accept a dispensational, as distinct from a justifying, faith as the sufficient ground for admission to the Supper. This point was further complicated by reference to his interesting treatise entitled The Covenant Stated—a position which brought him into a controversy with Baxter, in which he must be confessed to have been utterly helpless. It was quite impossible to make his position more straitely to defend his more exclusive position on this point.7

These controversies practical effects are seen in America. The case as to those who could rightfully be admitted to the Lord's Supper was one which agitated the New England churches during the so-called half-way covenant. The laxer practice advocated by Blake was long prevalent.2

A typical example of the Puritan treatment of the covenant is William Strong's posthumous Discourse of the Two Covenants (London, 1678), a voluminous treatise of 447 large quarto pages, the substance of which was originally delivered in the form of sermons. Comparing it with similar treatises he says: Continental writers, we notice its practical interlaced with his constant application of the points made to the different classes of people living in Strong's own day; (2) in the emphasis laid upon the obligations created by the covenant as distinct from its benefits; and (3) in its full discussion of the covenant relation of the children of believers. On the last point he leans to the views of Blake rather than to the stricter views of Baxter. He claims federal holiness for the children of the righteous as distinct from the personal holiness of regeneration, but he does not specifically apply the principle involved to the question of the Lord's Supper.

(4) Cocceius and his school.—The most eminent representative of the covenant theology is undoubtedly Jan Cocceius, or, as he is called in his Latin name, Cocceus. He was born in Bremen in 1605, studied Hebrew under Matthias Martinius, and theology under Ames and Croesus. He was Professor of Theology successively at Bremen, 1630-1638; at Freiburg, 1639-1659, where he succeeded Ames; and at Leyden, 1650-1669, where he died. He became the leading opponent and reformer of the scholasticism of his day, and by his more historical treatment of theology prepared the way for the theory of the covenant. In this attempt he found a fruitful clue in the covenant idea, which he used as the organizing principle of his system.

Cocceius' leading monograph is entitled Summa doctrinae de fide et testamento Dei, and was published at Leyden in 1648.1 After a discussion on the meaning of the word fides, or 'covenant,' he defines the covenant of God as nothing else than the Divine declaration of the method (ratio) by which God will save and of obtaining union and communion with him (Opera, Amsterdam, 1673, i. 10). It differs from human covenants in the absence of the mutual feare. God alone initiates it, yet it becomes complete only when man by God's grace hands himself to accept its provisions.2

Cocceius, like earlier theologians, distinguishes two covenants, that of works and that of grace. The sum of the former is the law, both natural and revealed, and with it the sin and guilt of Adam for all his descendants, except Christ. It was abrogated in a fivefold way: (1) so far as the possibility of its fulfilment is concerned, by sin; (2) so far as its condemnation is concerned, by Christ, as set forth in the promises and apprehended by faith; (3) so far as its terror is concerned, by the promulgation of the new covenant; (4) so far as the struggle with sin is concerned, by the death of the body; and (5) so far as all its effects are concerned, by the resurrection from the dead.

The new covenant is the agreement between the Father and Christ as the second Adam, wherein God declares His purpose, in consideration of Christ's atoning sacrifice, to save certain individuals by working in the inner man, and giving life and the gift of the Spirit, and to confirm the same by the institution of the Church, with its sacraments. This covenant is set forth in various ways, both before and after the coming of Christ. It was made known to Adam in Paradise through the institution of sacrifice, and renewed to Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, and to all the people of Israel through Moses. But its most glorious promulgation was through the coming of Christ Himself in the flesh, and the full revelation of God's loving purpose which He made. In this connexion, Cocceius is led to treat at length of the difference between the economies of the OT and of the NT, and to indicate wherein the superior excellence of the NT consists.

The novelty of Cocceius' treatment consists not so much in the special ideas which he enunciates as in the detail in which they are carried out, and, above all, in the free use which he makes of the Biblical illustrations. The idea of the covenant

1 Later enlarged edd. 1654, 1669. The covenant is also treated at length in Cocceius' Summa Theologica ex Sacris Scripturis repetita (Leyden, 1662, Amsterdam and Geneva, 1669), of which the covenant of works forms the subject of the eighth book, and the covenant of grace of the fourteenth and following books.

2 Cocceius distinguishes even greater force to the more radical position taken by Baxter with reference to the Lord's Supper.
Covenant Theology

as we have seen, goes back to Cocceius' teacher, Matthias Martinius; the distinction of different periods within the OT dispensation is recognized by Ames, but there is a breath of freedom and of originality about Cocceius' treatment which gives it a more distinctively English spirit; it has been, but it was brought into the prevailing tradition of the contemporary scholasticism, and it called forth, as such innovations always do, bitter opposition upon the part of those who sat in the seat of authority. 1 Cocceius, temperate and devout as he was, soon found himself in the centre of a bitter controversy, and, what was probably the last thing in the world which he intended, the founder of a school.

Among the representatives of the school of Cocceius may be mentioned Wilhelm Monnman, 2 Johann Braun, 3 Johann van der Weymen, 4 and Hermann Witsius. 5 The treatise of Witsius on the economy of the covenants was early translated into English, and had many readers both in England and America. It is one of the best sources for the knowledge of the covenant theology in its later and more developed form. 7

After an initial discussion of the covenant in general, Witsius begins by describing the covenant of grace and the covenant of works. With the strictest contradiction of parties, the law or the condition, the promises by which it was accompanied, the penal sanction which was attached to it, and the sacraments by which it was sealed. He speaks of its violation by man and its continuing by God in favour of the new covenant of grace. Like Cocceius, Witsius distinguishes between the covenant of redemption, made by the Father with the Son, and the covenant of grace, made by God with his elect. The substance of this is set forth under the familiar theological heads of 'election,' 'effectual calling,' 'regeneration,' 'faith,' etc.; and then its different economies or dispensations in the OT and NT, with the services and ceremonies, are discussed at length.

With this treatise, the covenant theology reaches its final development. Those who come after add nothing in principle to that which has gone before.

(5) The later history.—It is not necessary to follow the later history in detail. Treatises on the covenant continued to be written both in England and on the Continent. Ezekiel Hopkins, Bishop of Wells, published a series of sermons on the doctrine of the two covenants, posthumously published in 1712, in which he declares that 'of all the mysterious depths in Christian religion, there is none more necessary for our information or more influential upon our practice than a right apprehension and a distinct knowledge of the doctrine of the covenants' (p. 2). Thomas Boston, a Scottish Presbyterian (1767-1792), wrote a treatise on the covenant of grace, which was often republished both in England and in America, and

1 Among the leaders in the attack upon Cocceius were Samuel Marsius, Professor of Theology at Groningen, and Glicerius Vorster, Professor of Theology at Utrecht.

2 De varia conditione et sta ecclesiae Dei sub tripticho economia patriarcharum ac Testamentorum Veterum ac novium (Amsterdam, 1678), 2 vol., 4th ed., 1712.

3 Synopsis Theologiae et speculacionis economiae foederum Dei ob in dioecesae sui non ad conciones comorus, Utrecht, 1675.

4 Doctrina foederum, sive systema theologica distributione et electione, Americana, 1690.

5 Summa theologica christiana, 1660.

6 De economia foederum Dei cum hominibus libri iv., 1677.

7 Fincke, Die Geschichte der Theologie, 1620.

8 Others who were influenced by Cocceius were Abraham Helianus (1597-1678); Corpus theologiae christiana in xo, loco digestum, 1669; and van der Wey (Theologica utrumque copernicorum ex naturais examinate, Leyden, 1712), though in the case of both these writers the Cartesian influence is also apparent (cf. op. cit. 690 ff.).

9 A View of the Covenant of Grace, from the Sacred Records, posthumously published by his son, Thomas Boston, Boston also left some among his covenant of works, which was published in 1728, with a preface by Michael Boston.

had the rare compliment paid it of being embraced, with scarcely the change of a word; in a work written nearly a hundred years later (J. Colquhoun, 'Treatise on the Covenant of Grace')—not, indeed, without handsome acknowledgment on the part of the borrower. In the Continent, Turrettin gave the covenant idea a large place in his theology, and with his system it passed to America, to reappear in the federalism of the Princeton theologians, Charles and A. A. Hodge. It has continued down to our day to form one of the prominent tenets of evangelical Calvinism.

On the other hand, Jonathan Edwards makes little use of the covenant idea. While the covenant is occasionally mentioned in his history of redemption, the reference is incidental, and the idea exercises no formative influence upon the structure of the work. This is the more striking because of the extent to which Edwards holds fast to the main tenets of the older Calvinism. The reason is not far to seek, if we interest ourselves in the eternal law of things. Not well, but nature, was fundamental in his thought of God. To such a theology the covenant idea, born as it was of the effort to limit the Divine arbitrariness, was foreign. To orthodoxes, like Crisp and Saltmarsh, the covenant idea had long been simply a form into which the wine of a very different gospel had been poured; 5 Edwards, before all things the original thinker, was preserving a form to which there was no content to correspond. To the federal theologians, on the other hand, the covenant idea answered a real need. Their conception of freedom involved power to the contrary, and, in the case of man and God. In the former case, it was the foundation of human responsibility, and the covenant of works was conceived as a real transaction between different individuals. 6 In the latter case, it gave free scope to the electing grace of God, as we have already seen, had its significance as determining the channel within which God, in the exercise of His Divine sovereignty, had determined to confine the river of His grace. God might have acted otherwise, if He had been in the argument ran, but He was pleased to do thus and so, and this sovereign pleasure He has made known to us through the gracious covenant into which He has entered with men through Christ.

It is, no doubt, the weakening of this conception of freedom in our day which explains the falling into the background of the covenant theology. Arbitrariness, whether on man's part or on God's, is no longer the prevailing danger against which theologians are concerned to guard, and, in a world of law, other terms than those of private agreement seem better fitted to express the profoundest and most abiding relationships between God and man. It would, however, be a mistake to minimize the services rendered by the covenant theology to Christian progress. Artificial in its account of the relation between God and man, it was in reality

1 Edinburgh, 1818. Among others to whom the author expresses his indebtedness are the following, not hitherto mentioned in this article: C. E. M. Moore, Moor, Erickson, Brown, Hervey, Gill, Murhead, and Gill.


3 Locus, 1618, loc. cit., i. 1518.


5 Cf. the use of the covenant idea by Timothy Dwight, in his Theology, Explained and Defended (Middletown, 1812, i. 267, p. 207 f.).

6 Hepp (op. cit. l. 134 f.) calls attention to the difference of interest which separates the early covenant theorists and strict predestinarians, with whose teaching their system had so much else in common.

7 This incident appears with special clearness in the American federalists. Cf. A. A. Hodge, op. cit. p. 519 f., Questions 5, 9.
Covetousness—Covetousness in its most general meaning expresses an eager desire to gain some possession on which the heart is set. At first the desire, though strong, may be innocent and even commendable. Thus Caxton says (Geoffrey de Villehardon, 1489): "Strong desire and covetousness of silver and love of her lord," and Shakespeare represents the King in Henry V (Act iv. Sc. 3) as saying:

"Rope, I am not covetous for gold; Nor would I that my ditty should be lost; It yeares me not if my garments wear; Such outward things dwell not in my desires: But if it be a sin to covet honour, I am the most offending soul alive."

In the AV of the Bible the word 'covet' is commonly of evil significance, but it is also used to translate words of good import. Thus in 1 Co. 12-23 we have St. Paul's exhortation, "Covet [RV 'Desire'] earnestly the best gifts." Keen desire, however, was usually associated with unworthy objects, and Hobbes (Levithon, i. vi. 26) went so far as to call such riches (as called Covetousness) a name used always in signification of blame.

In distinction from avarice (q.v.), covetousness emphasizes the desire for things not possessed; avarice, the actual or intended hoarding of mind and spirit and life lays hold of the heart.

The evil in covetousness may be due, however, not merely to the strength of the desire, but to the fact that the object of desire is the possession of some one else. It may be able to seek to possess the spiritual insight or the Christian grace of another, for the imparting of such a gift ennobles and enriches both giver and receiver; but to desire it as a neighbour's or rival's good is to seek its deprivation.

When Ahabs coveted Naboth's vineyard (1 K 21), and David coveted Uriah's wife (2 S 11), they fell into deadly sin, and similar desires bring shame and guilt on those who cherish them. Wrong in itself, they themselves were condemned by the law as crimes. True restraint is exercised only when the rights of others are recognized and honoured.

The very spring of covetousness is found in the common experience of those who are in want; such a desire seems always most desirable. The virtues and defects of actual possessions are known by the owners, but the blessings that are beyond reach are painted by the imagination in glowing colours, and incite the heart to unadulterated desire. This tendency has led to some noble achievements, but it is also the source of amusing comedies, and of many of the deepest tragedies of life. The very opposite state of mind is happily represented in the reply that James Summater in the process of becoming a priest was asked to go to Rome and Venice:

"I suppose I ought to wish to go with you to Rome and Venice. . . . Nothing but a sense of duty will ever drive me to Rome and Venice. My difficulty is that our little back-garden, our copper beech, our weeping ash, our little nailed-up rose tree, and twisting yellow creeper" (Letters of James Sumtaker, London, 1852, p. 861).

COW (Hindi).—The belief in the sanctity of the cow, which is a very prominent feature of Hinduism, seems to have been inherited by the Indians from pre-historic times, before they and for the place of the cow in other religions, see art. ANIMALS in vol. i. p. 506 ff.
of which Mahabharata, a Hindu epic, addressed to Vasa, the personification of cows, and a kind of generating principle of the universe; and another (iv. 11) to Anadav, the primeval ox, to whom a similar function is attributed. In Vedica times the word go, 'cow,' was used to express some other ideas, and had a different import, but, rather in a mystical sense so as to suggest a mysterious connexion between them and the cow. Thus in the Naighatikas (the ancient list of Vedica synonyms, on which Yaska commented in the Nighatika) the word go, which originally and usually denotes 'cow,' is given as a synonym of (1) earth, (2) heaven, (3) rays of light, (4) speech, and (5) singer. The Earth especially was conceived under the figure of a cow, and is so represented in later mythology. This idea goes back to the Vedica Stotthitas. In a hymn, or rather a prose piece, of the Atharvaveda (viii. 10), Viraj, who 'verily was this universe in the beginning,' is extolled, and she is said to have some of the same characteristics of the cow in the following verse: 'She is the mother of all, and who milks from her the beings of their functions—the milker, the calf, and the milking-vessel being stated in each case. Paragraph 24 runs thus:

'she came to men; men called her: "O rich in cheer, cow!" of her Maa stood to brighten hers; of her Udd has gone; of her Yasti milked; from her he milked both cultivation and grain.'

This passage contains the germ of a myth which has been fully developed in the Puranas. A cow, as the sun consecrated universal monarch, desired to recover for her subjects edible plants, which, during the preceding period of anaehy, had all perished. He therefore assumed the Earth, which, assuming the form of a cow, fed from him and traversed all the heavenly regions. At last she yielded to him, and promised to feed all the world with her milk. Thereupon Prithvi flattened the surface of the earth with his bow, uprooting and thrusting away hundreds and thousands of mountains. Having made Svakshambhava Maa, the calf, he milked the Earth, and received the milk into his own hand, for the benefit of mankind. Thence proceeded all kinds of curds and milk, the resultant substance being cow-scent and cow-flavoured. By granting life to the Earth, Prithvi was as her father to his children, and the cow was the milk which had been appalled by Prithvi ('daughter of Prithvi'). Then the gods, the sages, the demons, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas, Priests, serpents, manes, and trees took a milk vessel and drank from their hand and milked the Earth of appropriate milk. And the milk and the calf were both peculiar to their own species.

This story is frequently alluded to in classic Sanskrit literature. In legends and popular stories the Earth is occasionally said to assume the figure of a cow, especially in times of distress, and to implore the gods for help, or to give advice to a king or queen, to whom she appears in a dream. Again, the mythical identification of the Earth with a cow furnishes the basis of many poetical conceits, e.g. that a king should milk the Earth tenderly in order to get plentiful revenue, etc. (see Yaska, sv. 29, 30; Hariva, sv. 35; Naighatika, sv. 35; Pitrs, sv. 35; Purus, sv. 35; Cauh, sv. 35.)

In the Mahabharata, a cow is mentioned as the source of numerous allusions and epithets. For example, in the Mahabharata, a cow is said to have given birth to the god Krishna, who is considered to be the embodiment of all the Vedas. The cow is also associated with the god Indra, who is said to have married a cow as his wife. The cow is also considered to be a symbol of fertility and abundance, and is often depicted in paintings and sculptures as a large, healthy, and well-fed animal. This is because the cow was believed to be a holy animal in Hinduism, and was considered to be a source of wealth and prosperity.

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COYOTEROS—CREATION

There is also a cow-heaven, Goloka, the residence of Surabhi. Once the mother of cows practised austerities, and so pleased Brahma by her frugality that he granted her immortality and assigned her as residence a region above the three worlds, the famous Goloka, while her daughters live among men. In another account, however, Surabhi is said to dwell in Rasatela, the lowest region in the nether world, and to have for daughters the Dikpālis, or goddesses presiding over the heavenly quarters. The cow-heaven, Goloka, is frequently mentioned in the epics and the Purānas. It is described as a rich paradise, a most beautiful place of the greatest splendour and happiness, which can be attained only by the most pious and virtuous, especially by givers of cows and by their worshippers. For the cow became the centre of a peculiar connexion (Mahābhārata, xiii. 80.1-3, 78. 241.)

The devotees had to recite the names of the cows, and to bow their heads in reverence to them (ib. 78. 16), and they were enjoined to subsist only on the products of the cow, by the, using cow-dung at the time, etc. For some religious purposes the devotee has to live and to sleep among cows in a cow-pen, or to follow a cow everywhere, as did Dilipa in the story told in the second book of the Bhagavad-Gītā.

Lastly, attention may be called to the story according to which Kṣaṇa, one of the most popular gods of India, passed his youth among cowherds and became the lover of the gopīs, their daughters, especially the lovely Kṛṣṇa. This fact illustrates the high reputation which resulted from the connexion with cows, since even herdsmen were thought the fit guardians and companions of the highest god.

The reverence for the cow has not diminished in modern times. It is well known that the Hindus of the present day are filled with horror at the slaughter of the cow, which is therefore prohibited in native States under treaties with the English.

LITERATURE.—The literature is given in the Introduction.

H. JACOB.

COYOTEROS.—The Coyoteros are a tribal division of the Apaches (q.v.), said by Drake (Indian Tribes of the United States, Philadelphia, 1884, i. 424) to have been the largest and fiercest of all the Apache tribes, although, owing to the indiscriminate method in which tribal names have been applied, it is difficult to make certain that other tribes included in the name are of the same size. The original home of the Coyoteros was on the head-waters of the Gila, between that river and San Carlos; but they were of nomadic habits, and ranged through Arizona and western New Mexico. Geographically, they are divided into two groups—final Coyoteros and White Mountain Coyoteros. The greater number of them are now located on the San Carlos reservation, with other tribes of the Apaches. They took a prominent part in the rebellion caused by the discontent which followed when the Apaches were moved from their tribal grounds to a reservation.

The Spanish name Coyoteros is said to have been given to them on account of the fact that they subsisted largely on the flesh of coyotes, or prairie wolves (Hardy, Travels in the Interior of Mexico, London, 1829, p. 430, quoted by Bancroft, NR i. 474.). Ruxton (Journ. Ethnol. Soc. London, i. 95 [1850]) calls them coyoteros, or 'wolf-eaters.' It is suggested, however, that the name may have been derived from their roving and unsettled habits (Hodge, Handbook, p. 256.) Among the Apaches they are known as Palawi or Parelka (Gatschei, Yuan-Spr. I. [1883] 571, 411; ZE xix. 125.) and also as Jibitche, or the Navahos, ' on the mountain' (ten Kate, Synonymie, Amsterdam, 1884, p. 6).

In culture they did not differ materially from the other Apaches. Among the Apache tribes themselves, we have seen that they have the character of the weapons, the distinguishing mark of the Coyoteros being the method of winging the arrows. These bore three feathers on the shaft, which was of reed, finished with hard wood and dipped with iron or pitch (Creaney, Life among the Apaches, San Francisco, 1877, p. 106). Like other members of the Athapascan linguistic stock, they readily assimilated the culture of neighbouring tribes; and, just as the Lapan followed the Comanche, the Pueblan Coyoteros showed traces of Pueblo customs. Their nomadic habits, as well as the character of the country, were unfavourable to any great advance in civilization, while their habitat in Sierra Blanca was peculiarly adapted to the raids by which they pillaged the occupants of the cow-pens, and acquired food and wealth. Their captives were held as slaves until ransomed or sold. The Pinalenos earned an envious notoriety by their success in this tribal pursuit (see Bartlett, Personal Narrative of a Voyage in N. America, 1854). The Apaches are divided into clans, but these are not totemic. Their names are taken, not from animals, but from natural features of their locality. Affiliation of the clans in different tribes is recognized. A feature of this fact illustrates the high reputation which resulted from the connexion with cows, since even herdsmen were thought the fit guardians and companions of the highest god.

The Apaches displayed little care in the disposal of their dead. The method followed by the Coyoteros is described by H. C. Yarrow (A Further Contribution to the Study of the Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians, I T E B EW, 1881, p. 111 f.), who says they take the least possible trouble. A hole in the ground made by a tree stump is a stone found, and into this they cram the body, partially wrapped up. The stone or stump is then pulled back 3 days, uttering loud lamentations at intervals; but, he adds, unless they are reminded of it, this is frequently forgotten.

LITERATURE.—References to the Coyoteros are scattered throughout the literature dealing with the Apache—see above, at end of art., Apaches, in vol. 1.; cf. also especially footnotes, p. 430, in Bancroft, NR i.; and Hodge, Handbook of American Indians (All. to Bull. 50 EE, Washington, 1907), pt. 1, under 'Apache' and 'Coyote.'

E. N. FALLAZIE.

CREATION.—1. The conception in primitive heathenism.—The principle of causality is a necessary category of thought. The desire for knowledge of the nature and origin of things is inborn. It stimulates the child, wonder and Apheres, the clamorous questions of every child and savage. Primitive man is philosophical in so far as he does not take things as a matter of course, as he makes the phenomena around him objects of reflection, as he is keen to discover the meaning of things which arouse his interest. Curiosity and credulity are the characteristics of the primitive mind, and the roots of all mythology, which has not inaptly been called ' primitive metaphysics.' At the same time it has to be remembered that the childhood of the race included the maturity of the individual, and in not a few creation-
there are features which reflect the vices and passions of grown men as well as the simplicity of child. Man may freely lands him in all kinds of error and confusion; his theories are incredibly childish and whimsical.

'Savages begin ... by mythically regarding various animals, spiders, grasshoppers, toads, eagles, fowls, and others as benefactors or recoverers of the world. As civilization advances, those animals still perform their beneficent functions, but are looked on as gods in disguise,' (ib. p. 241).

Bunjil, the South Australian maker of men and things, is identified with the eagle-hawk: Cagn, the Bushman Creator, with the manis-insect; and even Brahma or Vishnu, with a boar, a fish, or a tortoise. Among the native tribes of America the hawk, the coyote, or the musk-rat is the demiurge; among others the crow, the raven, or the hare plays the chief rôle in the task of creation. If the Creator does not partake of the character of a totem or worshiphul beast, he is identified with a wizard or medicine-man. Every race has had its legendary account of the origin of things, and, while creation-myths can never be far in advance of the ideas and sentiments of a people, they may, and often do, lag far behind. Religious conservatism makes adult nations slow to put away the childish things that faith has once consecrated. If a creation-legend has found its routes over, and been incorporated into the experiences of the world, scarcely anything short of a miracle is strong enough to charm it from the popular mind.

2. The conception in civilized paganism.—All the early ideas of creation are, of course, geocentric. The 'earth is at the centre of the universe' account may be but a circle of hills and valleys known to some wandering tribe. But the great phenomena of Nature—sun, moon, and stars, day and night, storm-wind and thunder-cloud, birds and beasts and things, all having a place where, and they form the warp and woof of all cosmogonies. In spite of immense diversities of detail, there is a family likeness in the creation-myths of the world. Nothing is more striking than the parallelism of the various mythological representations of the one Divine creative energy. Even the priests were helenothists rather than monotheists, worshipping one god as if there were no other, ascribing to him all the highest attributes of deity, but without any idea of logically denying the reality of other beings. The higher god of Memphis, whom the Greeks identified with Hephæstus, was called by his priests the 'master-artisan,' i.e. the Creator. At Elephantine, in the Nile district beside the temple of Khnum, a demiurge, who moulded his creatures like a potter. At Hermopolis it was Thoth who made the world, speaking it into existence. 'That which flies from his mouth, happens, and that which he speaks, comes into being.'

The following hymns date from about 2300 B.C. (1) To Amen-Ra: "Hail to thee, maker of all things, lord of law, the father of the gods. Denunciation of the old conception of a moral, beneficent creator, whose creeds have been involved in sacrifice and anthropomorphist myth."

Unfortunately this invocation of religion in
and men, and of all living animals: intelligence and speech, whatever is in the heart and whatever is on the tongue' (Genesis, 1:26-27).

In a papyrus at Turin, the following words are put into the mouth of 'the Almighty God, the savior of all the earth': 'I am the maker of heaven and earth. I raise up the waters and the creatures which are upon it: I make the waters. ... I am the maker of heaven and earth. I raise up the waters and the creatures which are upon it. I have given to all the gods the soul which is within them. When I open my eyes, there is light; when I close them, there is darkness. I make the hours East and the hours West come into existence. I am Cheperra in the morning, Râ at noon, Tnu in the evening, Ra at night.' (ib. p. 230.)

These are the things that I wish to ask Thee, O Mazda, O beneficent Son of Creation.

The theology of Persia teaches that from the beginning the kingdoms of Ormuzd (Ahura Mazda,) 'the Lord Wisdom' and Ahriman (Angra Mainyn, 'destructive spirit') were independent of each other. Ormuzd created this material world as a kind of rampart between the two invisible realms. Heaven and its lights were first made by his word; then, in succession, the waters, the solid land, the plants, the animals, and, lastly, man. But he rival tried to undo all the work, to spoil the fair creation. He confronted light with darkness, he pitied demons against angels, and to life, love, virtue, and truth he opposed error, vice, hatred, and death. Since then, the history of the old has been the history of the conflict between the two kingdoms of good and evil, wherein this earth is the broad field of battle. See, further, COSMOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY (Iranian).

In Egypt, however, as everywhere, the mythical mingled with the religious, the irrational with the rational. See COSMOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY (Egyptian).

India.—The problem of the origin of things naturally fascinated 'the brooding mind of India,' for ages the East was 'plunged in thought,' and history is a hollow shade thrown by the deeps from the depths. Some of the hymns of the Rigveda are, if not monotheistic, at least henotheistic in their pure and lofty idea of creation. Varuna is praised as the maker of all things, and the Vedas are, on the whole, of the usual polytheistic type, and side by side with the majestic hymns of creation we find a crowd of fanciful, humorous, often obscene, myths of the making of the world, all in flagrant contradiction with every pure religious conception. See COSMOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY (Indian).

The advanced thinkers of the Vedânta accepted a sort of the theory of idealism, and carried it so far as to affirm that the world of phenomena had no real existence; to the calculated it was all illusion; only to the soul which was entangled in the deceptive meshes did it seem real. He who explained the universe by explaining it away, and they did not deem it necessary to answer the question, 'Who created man?'

Persia.—The Avesta, the sacred book of the Persians, begins with the words, 'I proclaim and worship Ahura Mazda, the Creator.' The religious poetry of Persia does not stop short of monothelism, while its mythology and theology teach a dualism of the most pronounced type. 'It is through me,' says Ahura to his prophet, Zoroaster, 'that the firmament, with its distant horizons, ... subsists without pillars to rest upon; it is through me that the earth, through me that the sun, through me that the winds take their radiant course through the atmosphere: it was I who formed the seeds in such a manner that, when sown in the earth, they should grow,' etc. (Darmesteter, op. cit. p. 258.)

Who directed the rapid course of the wind and the clouds? What skilful artist has made the light and the darkness? ... These are the things that I wish to ask Thee, O Mazda, O beneficent Son of Creation.

The theology of Persia teaches that from the beginning the kingdoms of Ormuzd (Ahura Mazda,) 'the Lord Wisdom' and Ahriman (Angra Mainyn, 'destructive spirit') were independent of each other. Ormuzd created this material world as a kind of rampart between the two invisible realms. Heaven and its lights were first made by his word; then, in succession, the waters, the solid land, the plants, the animals, and, lastly, man. But he rival tried to undo all the work, to spoil the fair creation. He confronted light with darkness, he pitied demons against angels, and to life, love, virtue, and truth he opposed error, vice, hatred, and death. Since then, the history of the old has been the history of the conflict between the two kingdoms of good and evil, wherein this earth is the broad field of battle. See, further, COSMOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY (Iranian).

Lagarde and other scholars have strongly maintained that the first cosmogony in Gen. 1 is in some respects dependent on the Persian creation-story, particularly as regards the order of events; but it is generally admitted that the account of creation on Israel did not begin till after the time of the writing of the Priestly Document to which Gen. 1 belongs. Do that as it may, the Persian dualism with its eternal contrast of light and darkness, good and evil, has its obvious parallels in the Israelitish conception. Another view, perhaps, is that the shrewd thinkers like J. S. Mill have thought that the defects of the universe can be best explained by supposing the Creator hmpered through the inefficiency and insubstantialness of the materials with which he had to work (J. S. Mill, Three Essays on Religion, Lond. ed. 1869, pp. 178, 180).

Greece.—See COSMOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY (Greek).

3. The Biblical conception.—The OT has three types of ideas regarding the Creation, embodied in three strata of its literature. (1) The first is found in Gen 1:26-27. The opening words, and the fresh echoes of the ancient writing (J) to which it belongs. It is full of naive anthropomorphisms, representing God as moulding, breathing, planting, walking, and it undoubtedly has a background of popular mythology. But the writer adorns whatever he touches, transfiguring old legends with a new spirit, so that 'in depth of moral and religious insight the passage is unsurpassed in the OT' (Skinner, Genesis, 52). There is no attempt here to represent the creation of heaven and earth; the universe is taken for granted; speculation is not yet advanced enough to grapple with such magnitudes. The whole interest centres in the making first of man, and then of a pleasant and fruitful place for his abode. See, further, COSMOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY (Heb.).

(2) Another type of creation doctrine is found in the Deutero-Isaiah. It was the mission of this prophet to comfort Israel in her exile, and he fulfils it by giving her a lofty conception of God the Creator. He teaches that Jahweh is not merely the God of Israel, but the only God, who brought all things into being by a free act of creation. 'Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand? ... Lift up your eyes on high, and see who hath created these' (Is 40:12). Jahweh is greater than the infinite sea and sky. It was this prophet who made the creation of Jahweh a fundamental Jewish belief, and it is to be noted that in his doctrine there is not the faintest echo of the old creation-legends, not the remotest suggestion of a primordial chaos, or of a conflict between light and darkness, to say nothing of a slaying of 'dragons of the path.' As if to lay the ghosts of all such anticipations, he makes the God of creation say: 'I am Jahweh, and there is none else. I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil: I am Jahweh, that doeth all these things' (Is 45:7).
Pure religion has gained an absolute victory over mythology.

(3) The third type of cosmology is found in Gn 1. This majestic prologue to the Bible belongs to those Priestly Writings (I) of the post-exilic period. The whole passage is known as the Hexam- 
touch. Our interpretation of the opening sentences is affected by our solution of a difficult and delicate problem of syntax. Most scholars now rend the passage thus:

‘When God created to make the heaven and the earth—the earth being without form and void, and darkness being upon the face of the deep, and the spirit of God brooding upon the face of the waters.’

Let there be light, and there was light.

If this exegesis is correct, the writer teaches a dualism. He thinks of a dark watery chaos existing before the creation began, and gives it the mythical name Télων (‘the Deep’), which is evidently the Heb. equivalent of the Bab. Tiemát. This is the first of many parallels between the two famous Babylonian tablets, to which no one has the least right to appeal.

See, further, COSMOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY (Heb.)

The doctrine of a creation out of nothing—ex nihilo—is nowhere expressed in Holy Scripture. The first and only approach to it occurs in the words of the mother of the Godhead referred to in the New Testament (Rev 12:1-2). Here, without doubt, the distinction is made from the Greek doctrine of the creation of the world ‘out of nothing’, which is expressed in various ways in the scholastic philosophy of the thirteenth century. Here, in the NT, the Divine creation of the world is presupposed in many sayings of our Lord and His Apostles, as in those which mention the foundation of the world (Mt 25:31, Mk 11:24, Jn 17:24, Eph 1:1, He 4:13, 1 P 1:20), the creation of man and woman (Mt 19-24, Ac 17:26, 1 Ti 2:15), and those which represent Him as the Maker of heaven and earth (Mt 11:25, Lk 10:22, Ac 17:24), the Source of all things (Ro 11:36, 1 Co 8:6, Eph 4), the Father who through the Son made the world (Jn 1:1, Col 1:16-18, He 1:3). Faith grasps the fact that the worlds have been framed by the word (phiān) of God; so that what is seen hath its counterpart of things which do appear: (αὐτοῖς ἐκ φανμένων, He 11:3).

4. The Greek conception.—While the old cosmogonic myths were fading in the light of the pure religion of Israel, the wise men of Greece were thinking into the Greek mind a great decisive step which the Ionian cosmologists took once for all. Aristotle shows, in the substitution of impersonal causes acting according to law in place of personal causes acting arbitrarily. Barrow expresses the matter by simply saying that they ‘left off telling tales.’ This was the beginning of a new era in the evolution of thought, and ‘history teaches that science has never existed except among those peoples which the Greeks have influenced.’ (Early Greek Phil., 1892, pp. 8, 27). For details of Greek speculation, see COSMOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY (Greek).

5. The dogmatic conception.—Till recent times the Church’s doctrine of creation was based on the acceptance of Gn 1 as literal history, and particularly on an ungrammatical exegesis of the first three verses.

Most of the Fathers, the scholastics, and the Protestant theologians believed that the world was miraculously created out of nothing, in six days, some six thousand years ago. This was a truth of revelation, which closed all questions. Luther comments on Gn 1, that ‘Moses is writing history and reporting things that actually happened’ (Dissertatione De Divitis mundi, D. 1674). Calvin, however, says that a history of the creation should exist, and he rejoices a story of Augustine’s about ‘a good man, who, when some one politely asked ... what God did before the world was created, answered: He made a hell for the inquisitive’ (Instit. i. xiv. 1). But the doctrine of creatio ex nihilo cannot be necessarily manifested by the writer, rather, as we have seen, teaches a dualism.

This was, indeed, the explicit doctrine of some of the early Fathers, who remained in closer touch with the Jews, and therefore correctly interpreted the passage in question. Justin Martyr, quoting Gn 1:3, says that Plato (whom he accuses of attacking Moses) and his followers and ‘we ourselves’ have hence learned that ‘through the Word of God the whole world came into existence out of things subjacent and before declared by Moses’ (Apol. 1:59). Clement of Alexandria also maintained that Plato took from Moses his doctrine of a formless matter, expressly referring for the latter to Gn 1:1 (Strom. v. 14).

But Christian thought could not rest in a dualism, whether Mosaic or Platonic or Gnostic. The doctrine of an eternal matter was seen to be a dangerous rival to the doctrine of the eternal Logos, and almost with one accord the theologians tried to demolish the pagan conception of an uncreated ὄλθες. With the LXX or the Vulgate instead of the Hebrew text before them, they honestly counted the Septuagint, distinguishing Moses as a mystic doctrine of the creation of the world from their side, they still naturally based their doctrine upon reason. They were Christian philosophers meeting other philosophers on common ground. Their arguments have been restated in C. M. Walke’s recent book, The Doctrine of Creation (1910). ‘God alone is without beginning’ was the thesis they defended. If matter were uncreated, it would be equal with God—a second God. If there were two first principles, they would be—to repeat an eternalist—‘trinity’, and the third would be the ultimate principle. Plainly the one must come from the other, and, yet more plainly, matter from God rather than the reverse. ‘To be Lord of all, God must have created matter. If it were uncreated, the world could not be constructed out of it, for it could not be receptive of the qualities which God wished to impose upon it, unless God Himself had made it such as He wished it to be. That which is capable of being made in God must itself have had a wise and skilful Maker.

These arguments are certainly sufficient to prove the dependence of all things upon God, and the derivation of all things from God. But the affirmation of a time—of rather an eternity—in which God was not a Creator, in which the universe was non-existent, is another matter. Some of the greatest minds found it impossible to conceive such acimonism. Origen held that before the creation of our world God had created others, as He could create others after ours, without beginning or end; that matter, or the substance underlying all the successive worlds, is eternally created (de Principi. III. v. 3-4). Augustine had the deep and pregnant thought that the preservation of the world is a continuous creation (de Civ. Deli. xii. 25). Scotus Erigena, the profoundest thinker in the Middle Ages, taught that God’s working is equally eternal with His being; that creation is involved in His essence; that He necessarily manifests Himself in the world; that He precedes it not in time but only in the idea, as its cause (de Divisione Naturae, iii. 25). Thomas Aquinas confessed that reason could only be satisfied with the assumption that the world had no beginning. The world, he held, was the Deus creatum mundi, the cause must apparently always have its effect; and that the doctrine of a beginning, or the non-eternity of the world, is to be
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received sola fide, by an act of pure faith, in deference to authority: 'Mundum non autem demonstrabile vel soliho' (c. Cent. II. 38; Summa, i. 46. 104). The Theologian Germaine has this profound passage: 'It belongeth unto the Will, and is its property, that it should will something.' What else is it for? For it were vain to think there is a work beyond and this cannot have without the creature (or creation).

Therefore there must be creatures, and God will have them, to the end that the Will may be put in exercise. This is expressed in a different manner, and by a different 'io,' in the last place. Jacob Boehme likewise conceived that a hidden will, which did not become present to itself in the object of its creation, would not attain to manifestation for itself, and so would remain unconscious.

6. The philosophical conception. Philosophy entered into the matter of the creation when it ventured to ignore and then to repudiate the orthodox doctrine of creation. For a time it claimed its independence very modestly and tentatively. It seemed still content to bend the knee to authority. Boethius made a distinction between one who philosophizes according to the sense alone, and 'Sacred Writ'—the former representing matter as 'self-existing,' the latter as from 'God.' That 'matter was everything, yea, knows not God, nor faith,' and it is 'one to which those philosophies could not rise' (Works, ed. Spedding, v. 491). Descartes introduces his revolutionary ideas in the humblest tone. 'It may be believed, without discredit to the miracle of creation, that the nature of things purely material is much more easily conceived when they are beheld coming ... gradually into existence, than when they are only considered as produced at once in a finished and perfect state' (On Method, v. 118. Locke did not feel justified in rejecting the doctrine of creatio ex nihilo. He maintained that the impossibility of conceiving the making of something of which no part existed before cannot be regarded as a reasonable criterion to set a limit to the operations of an infinite Mind. To him the existence of an extra-mundane Creator was capable of demonstration. Its evidence, if he was not mistaken, was equal to mathematical certainty (Human Understanding, iv. 10). Such demonstrational processes were during the times of Natural Religion, and Coleridge, not without reason, complained that men had come to regard the relation of the Creator to the universe in the same light as that of a master to his work. Such mechanical determinism, if mechanical, was Spinoza who led philosophy into more fruitful fields. As opposed to those mechanical conceptions, 'the developed idea of God as the omnipresent life of the world, constantly operating in and through natural laws, is common to educated theism with pantheism, and is what modern theism owes to pantheistic exaggeration' (Fraser, Phil. of Theism, p. 53). Spinoza regarded the traditional theory of creation as making the nature of God arbitrary and the existence of the world a matter of chance. He therefore entirely rejected it. For, though its natura naturans, or Nature active, may in a manner be called the Creator of his natura naturata, or Nature passive, these are consubstantial and co- eternal, neither before nor after the other. There is no beginning in the universe; there can be no end. The existing order of things is the only one possible, and in its involuntary evolution it flows from its cause, the one in irregularity with the permanent necessity with which the angles of a triangle are derived from the triangle. Fichte follows Spinoza in emphatically repudiating the doctrine of creation, calling it the 'root error of all false metaphysics and dogmatism,' which perverts the idea of God from the outset, investing it with caprice, and changing thought into a dreaming play of fancy ('ein träumendes Phantasiren,' Werke, 1845, v. 479). Hegel regards the content of the act, not but fills it with a new content. 'God,' he says, 'is the Creator of the world; it belongs to His being, His essence, to be Creator; in so far as He is not this, He is imperfectly conceived. Creation is not an act of being, and this is what belongs to the idea belongs to it as an eternal moment or determination' (Werke, 1832, xii. 157 f.). 'God does not create the world once; He is the eternal Creator. This eternal self-revelation, this actus, is His notion, His designation' (v. 181). 'Ohne Welt ist Gott nicht Gott' (xi. 122). Schleiermacher felt that the idea of a beginning of God's creative activity places Him as a temporal being in the domain of change. He regarded the work of God as Creator as the same as Preserver, and the two together as identical with the totality of causation in Nature (Der christl. Glaube, 1889, i. 294-297).

All the English Idealists agree in identifying the Creation with God's self-manifestation, which they regard as an eternally necessary moral act.

'it is of the very essence of mind or spirit,' says John Caird, 'that it contains in it the necessity of self-manifestation. The term, self-manifestation, and that which we speak of as the "unification of the world" must be conceived as the expression not of arbitrary will, but of the very nature and being of God.' (Final Ideas of Christianity, i. 84 f.). Green expressly expressed the same profound thought more directly by saying that the world is as necessary to God as God is to the world. The words of two leading German thinkers will show how the later philosophy and theology and have welcomed the new conception:

'we do find,' says A. G. Fraser, 'that the presence of order and design within the cosmos means that the cosmos must have had a beginning. That the universe should exist without either a beginning or end, is more than any man or his God could do. The cosmos does not seem less consistent with the ideas of theism and providence, than the hypothesis of its sudden creation in time—whatever that may mean. ... We seem to be born into an unending and unending divine natural evolution' (Phenomena, pp. 125, 133).

We cannot do better than close this section with the calm pronouncement of the Nestor of Scottish philosophy:

'The will to create,' says Lotze, 'is an absolutely eternal predicate of God, and ought not to be used to designate a deed of His, so much as the absolute dependence of the world on His will, in contradistinction to its voluntary emanation from His nature' (Out. of Phil. of Rel. 74). 'It is a nauseous representation,' says Lipsius, 'to trace creation back to a single act now lying in the past, or to speak of a first beginning of creation; rather is the whole world-development, so soon as it is viewed religiously, to be brought under the idea of creation, consequently to be regarded as without beginning or end' (Dogmatische, 259).

7. The scientific conception. Science has widened man's cosmic view and increased his cosmic emotion. His doctrine of creation is transfigured in the light of astronomy and geology, biology and palaeontology. His vision of the making of this world at a certain recent time, and of the rest of the universe with it, is replaced by a grander vision of the slow and progressive formation, by the action of physical forces, of a universe in which countless new worlds are being formed to-day and will be formed to-day for many ages to come, and into which the sun—was formed hundreds of millions of years ago. His idea of a primeval chaos, which found expression in all his antique cosmogonies (as in Gn i.), is discarded for the conviction that, when he goes back as far as the material necessities of this universe, he, this universe, however changed in aspect, is still a cosmos. And his old belief that 'there are just as many species of plants and animals as there were different forms originally created by the Infinite Being' is lost in the great realization, according to the laws of reproduction imposed
upon them, produced others, but always forms like themselves' (Linnaeus), has yielded to 'a view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one; and, that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the law of gravity, it has, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being evolved.' (Darwin, Origin of Species, p. 402).

The progress of science, as Driver frankly admits, 'has brought the hypothesis of Genesis into sharp and undisguised antagonism with the Cosmogony of science, . . . and to expect to find in it supernatural information on points of scientific fact, is to mistake its entire purpose' (Genesis, p. 35).

There is no fact of cosmogony of science that is in conflict with that conception of 'a great and good Maker of the world' which is found at the heart of so many primitive and savage religions; or with Isaiah's idea of a Creator who 'hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance (Isa. 40:12, 15).

'The Great Original' can no longer be conceived as a Demiurg or Master-builder, putting forth His power once and then staying His hand; His creative action is spread all along the line of gradual development, revealing itself in ever higher potencies. And in place of a God beyond the stars, who created the world once upon a time and was content with 'seeing it go,' we have a Spirit who is 'closer than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet.'

Further research into the ultimate nature of matter seems destined to upset many hypotheses. 'There is nothing,' said Lord Kelvin, 'between absolute scientific belief in a grand but passive power, and the theory of a fortuitous concourse of atoms. . . . If you think strongly enough, you will be forced by science to the belief in God which is the foundation of all religion' (The Watcher, June 1903).

And now, even the atomic theory of the origin of things, after a vogue of more than 3000 years, is at length being cast aside, for it is suggested that the 'atoms of matter,' instead of being ultimate, 'are liable . . . to break up or explode, and to resolve themselves into called electrons, which again are described as 'knots or twists or vortexes, or some sort of either static or kinetic modification, of the ether of space' (Life and Matter, 22, 23). Either 'is probably the fundamental substratum of the whole material world, underlying every kind of activity, and constituting the very atoms of which our own bodies are composed' (The Substance of Faith, 74).

The scientific idea of creation as involution and evolution has thus brought us nearer than ever to 'the Mind which, like our own, must underlie the material fabric,' the Nous of Anaxagoras. 'The process of evolution can be regarded as the gradual unfolding of the Divine Thought, or Logos, throughout the universe, by the action of the Spirit upon matter' (Bab.-Assyr., 147). And we have seen who 'recognize in this extraordinary development a contact between this material and spiritual power, a contact which has been expressed in the Timaeus: 'Let me tell you, then, why the Creator created and made the universe. He was good, and desired that all things should be as like Himself as possible' (Jowett, iii, 43).

The scientific conception of creation has important bearings upon religion. It has at once made God greater and brought Him nearer. It has not only immeasurably expanded the heavens which declare His glory, but it has substituted the action of an immanent for the action of a transcendent Creator. 'The general effect of the intellectual movement of modern times, says J. Fiske, 'has been to discredit more than ever before the Latin idea of a powerful and all-controlling universe and occasionally interfering with it.' (Through Nature to God, 147).

The 'Great Original' can no longer be conceived as a Demiurg or Master-builder, putting forth His power once and then staying His hand; His creative action is spread all along the line of gradual development, revealing itself in ever higher potencies. And in place of a God beyond the stars, who created the world once upon a time and was content with 'seeing it go,' we have a Spirit who is 'closer than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet.'

**Creeds and Articles**

**Creeds (Bab.-Assyr.)**—Though the religion of Babylonia and Assyria was practically homogeneous, there were probably nearly as many different ideas of the gods and the nature of the universe as there were provinces; and the creed of the people became modified from time to time, either through the progress of thought or on account of political exigencies. These changes in the beliefs of the people, which sometimes bore upon a large scale the lines of the secondary, and in some cases as such to form either important variations in the original creeds, or transformations such as might have made a fresh statement of their position needful.

Notwithstanding that this was the case, it is not certain that in any of the centres of religions teaching the priests ever thought of putting forward anything in the nature of a creed, as we understand the word today; indeed, no document in which they have formulated the articles of their belief has yet come down to us, except the well-known legends of their gods (which, however, are more of the nature of popular tales and traditions than formalizations of the gods). They have formulated a statement of their religious beliefs, however, would not by any means have been either an impossible thing or anything little else than the original proclamations. Of course, and seemingly all at periods, they declared their creeds in the names they bore. Thus, in the time of Lugal-anda and Uru-ka-gina (c. 4000 B.C.), we meet with names similar to the following: *Sumer-Dumuzi, 'servant of Tammuz'; Enina-Surupak 1-siut, 'the word of Surupak is true,' or the

1 Or Sukurna. This was the god of Surippak, or Suruppak, now Fara, which was the city of Ut-napishtim, the Babylonian Noah.

**Hebrew.**—See 'Jewish.'

**Jewish** (II. Hirschfeld), p. 244.

**Muhammadan** (S. Lane-Poole), p. 246.

** Parsi** (N. Soderblom), p. 247.
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like; Amaalaras, 'the corn-god's steer,' etc.; and names of the same character continued to be used all through the succeeding periods. During the early Semitic period (2000 B.C.) there occur names which appear as Ashur-tiku, 'he was not the god'; Sammu-ila-Šamaš, 'if my god were not the sun'; Sin-lā-šan, 'Sin (the moon-god) has no equal'; Zēr-pitamumum, 'Zer-pitamum is my mother'; Yaru-šu, 'Jah is God'; Nabu-šu, 'Nabu is God.' In Assyrian literature we likewise find such names as Aššur-taklā, 'I trust in Assār'; Tutultu-Ninip, 'my trust is Ninip,' with its synonym Tutultu-apli-Šarra (Tiglath-pileser), 'my trust is the son of E-Sarra'; Ugur-šan, 'the word (or command) of Ea'; Sin-šanah, 'Sin is our mountain (of defence), etc.' Some names express belief as to the identity of divinities—possibly in opposition to those whose creed was different; for instance, Nabu-gid, 'Nebu is Jah'; Ya-bašarum, 'Jah is Dayton'; and such names as Yašā główni, 'Jah is our father,' form an interesting series. The Babylonians, like all the Semites, were intensely religious, and seldom objected to asserting their creed; indeed, some of these names show that the early Semites in general announced it boldly, and that what men called themselves became, as it were, a challenge to such as they regarded as heterodox.

Naturally, these are very short statements of creed. A faithful recounting in modern English of the many of the thirty or forty other longer ones are likely to be found. Sometimes, however, it seems to have been considered necessary to make some kind of a statement before beginning the utterance of an incantation. This took the form of a recital of principles or maxims or rules of a certain event, which justified the mystic words and the ceremonies which were to follow. Among these are the stories of the various evil spirits, the poetical description of the vine of Ėridu, and the primitive account of the Creation prefixed to, and forming part of, the incantation to toothache. The composition most like a creed, however, is that known as the mystical story of the Creation, which is prefixed to an incantation for purification:

Incarnation.—The holy house, the house of the gods, in a holy place had not been made;
A plant had not been brought forth, a tree had not been planted;
A brick had not been laid, a beam had not been shaped;
A city had not been built, a city had not been constructed;
A city had not been made, the inhabitants had not been installed (1);
Ninebuildings had been built, E-sara1 had not been constructed;
Erech had not been built, E-anon2 had not been constructed;
The Ayes had not been made, Enidu had not been constructed.
The holy house, the house of the gods—its seat had not been made;
The whole of the lands were sea;
When within the sea there was a stream, In that day Ėridu was made, E-sagila was constructed—
E-sagila, which the god Lugalsu-šanga had founded within the Aymes.
Babylon was built, E-sagila was completed;
He made the gods and the Aannakk altogether,
The holy city, the seat of their heart's joy, as supreme he proclaimed,
Marsh bound together a reed-bank before the waters,
He had made and cast east and west the bank, To settle the gods in a seat of joy.
He made mankind.
Amar made the seed of mankind with him.
He made the beasts of the field and the living creatures in the desert;
He made the Tigris and the Euphrates, and set (them) there. With his hands he proclaimed:
Iher, the marsh-plant, the reed, and the thicket, he made;
He made the verdure of the plain;
The above-mentioned rivers were the reed-bank.
The cow, her young, the steer; the sheep, her young, the lamb of the fold;
Plants, trees, and all sorts of forests also.
The goat and the wild goat were dear (2) to him.
Lord Marduk made a bank on the sea shore, (3)
[which at first he made not, he caused to be.
(1) The temple at Niffer.
(2) The temple at Erech.
(3) Or, 'as being good.'

He made [the plant], he made the tree—
Everything he made there—
He laid the brick, he made the beams;
He constructed the house, he built the city;
He built the city, he established the community;
He built the city Niffer, he built E-sara the temple;
He built the city Erech, he built Marduk (ib. 1524), etc.;

Here the obscure breaks off, and, where the text becomes illegible again, on the reverse, it is an incantation for purification, similar to incantations found in Assyrian literature.

It seems probable that the other centres of Divine worship in Babylonia had similar statements of the creed held in the place, and this presupposes theological schools and colleges for the priests. At present we do not know, however, anything about them; but the temple-libraries may ultimately yield information upon the point, together with statements of their beliefs similar to that translated above.

Cf. also art. BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS, and COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Bab.).

dach" (ib. 1898), "The Goddess Ishtar" (ib. 1899); F. Delitzsch, Babylon and Eriach, Leipzig, 1900, p. 74, and p. 97.

T. G. PINCHES.

CREED (Buddhist).—Nearly six centuries before the birth of Christ, at a time when religious animism and subsequent idolatry were rife, the son of a Sakyu chieftain, went forth from his home to 'seek after what was right.' Reverence and affection for the founder of one of the world's greatest religions have led his disciples, during many centuries, and in different Eastern countries, to embellish, in apocryphal literature, the story of Gautama's life and teaching. But it is beyond doubt that the scheme of life, religious faith, and moral standards attributed to the founder of Buddhism represents his actual teaching. In regard to this the greatest authorities on Buddhism are agreed.

When it is recollected,' says Rhys Davids, 'that Gautama Buddha did not leave behind him a number of deeply simple sayings, from which his followers subsequently built up a system or systems of their own, but had himself thoroughly elaborated his doctrine, partly as to details, after, but in its fundamental points even before, his mission began; that, during his long career, he had another, not his own, as it were, a cloister, a place of retreat, a sanctuary; that he was not a prophet, but a sage, a philosopher and thinker, speaking on principles and details of the system over and over again to his disciples, and to test their knowledge of it; and finally, that his leading disciples were, like himself, devoted to the subtlest metaphysical distinctions, and trained to that wonderful command of speech which Indian philosophers had; that when these facts are recalled to mind, it will be seen that more reliance may reasonably be placed upon the doctrinal parts of the Buddhist Scriptures than upon the more legendary late records of other religions (Buddhism, p. 861).

Odenberg (Buddhism, p. 315, Eng. tr.) speaks to the same general effect: 'On the whole we shall be authorized to refer to Buddha himself the most essential traits of thought which we find recorded in the sacred texts, and in many places it is probably not too much to believe that the very words in which the ecstatic of the Sakyu house preached his gospel of deliverance have come down to us as they fell from his lips. We find that, throughout the vast complex of ancient Buddhist literature which has been collected, certain notions and allusions, the expression of Buddhist convictions upon some of the weightiest problems of religious thought, are expressed over and over again in a style which has been adopted everywhere. Why not may not these be words which have received their currency from the founder of Buddhist Buddhism, which have been spoken by him hundreds and thousands of times throughout his whole life, devoted to teaching?

In the valley of the Ganges, the birthplace of Buddhism, this was, at the time when the new religion came into being, a maze of interacting ideas, which Rhys Davids (Early Buddhism, p. 28) has classified as follows: (1) The very wide and varied group of ideas about souls supposed to dwell within the bodies of all living beings, and to animate moving objects in Nature (trees and plants, rivers, planets, etc.). These may be summed under the convenient modern term of Animism. (2) We have later and more advanced
ideas about the souls supposed to animate the greater phenomena of Nature. These may be summed under the convenient modern term of Polytheism. (3) We have the still later idea of a unity lying behind all these phenomena, both of the first and of the second class—the hypothesis of a one First Cause on which the whole universe in its varied forms depends, in which it lives and moves, and which is the only reality. This may be summed under the convenient modern term of Monism. (4) We have the opposite view. In this the First Cause has either not been reached in thought, or it has been considered and deliberately rejected; but otherwise the whole soul-theory has been developed. The hypothesis of a unity of the ether is that the eternity of matter is held at the same time. This may be summed under the convenient modern term of Dualism.

In modern terms, though useful for classification, never exactly fit the ancient Eastern thought. And we must never forget that the clear-cut distinctions we now use were then perceptible to only a small minority of the ancient thinkers. Most of the people held a strange jumble of many of the notions current around them. The enumeration of these points merely aims at showing that, when Buddhism arose, the country was seeking, very much as the Western world is at the present day, in the multitude of questions—ethical, philosophical, and religious. There was much superstition, no doubt, and no little sophistry. But, owing to the gradual disenchantment of those who were, partly also to the mutual courtesy and intellectual alertness of the time, the whole large proportion of the people who were earnestly occupied in more or less successful attempts to solve the highest problems of thought and conduct (16, p. 24).

Traces of the influence of all these ideas upon his mind can be found in the teaching of Gautama, but the current beliefs satisfied neither his nature nor his aspirations. In two authoritative texts he reveals the reasons why prevailing beliefs were impotent to satisfy him, and why he set himself to understand the fountain-head of truth.

The first is as follows:
"An ordinary unenlightened man, though himself subject to rebirth, old age, disease, and death, to sorrow and vexation, I am not subject to these... What? Why should I set forth? Let me, when subject to these things, see the danger therein, seek the way out of it, and which is not subject to these, even the supreme bliss and security of Nirvana" (Dhpatsara, 1.160).

The other text says:
"Before the days of my enlightenment, when I was still only a Bodhisattva, though myself subject to rebirth, old age, disease, and death, to sorrow and vexation, I was not subject to these. Why should I set forth? Let me, when subject to these things, see the danger therein, seek the way out of it, and which is not subject to these, even the supreme bliss and security of Nirvana" (Maghantar, 1.163).

After having followed, to no purpose, the paths of metaphysical speculation, of mental discipline, and of the ascetics, Gautama resolved one moonless night, the fruit of his prolonged spiritual effort, the truth of things being of a suddenly so clearly revealed to him that he could not for a moment from devotion to his creed and to the mission that it imposed upon him.

The enlightenment which Gautama received, and which was regarded by himself and his followers as a victory over all the powers of darkness, is uniformly described as:
"a mental state of concentration, bliss, insight, altruism. The different Suttas emphasize different phases, different facets, as it were, of this condition. But they regard it as one and the same upheaval of the whole mental and moral nature,—with emotion, and intellect being equally concerned. Thus one Sutta (the Mahabodhi pariniravanai) describes the three forms of Knowledge; another (the Dvedvadha-vakika) in the certainty, the absence of doubt; another (the Dhamma-theravada) on the will, another (the Aryan, parivaraya) on the bliss and security of the Nirvana to which he has attained."

In the face of these Suttas the rectal ends:
"When this knowledge, this insight, has arisen within me, my heart was set free from the intoxication of doubts, set free from the intoxication of ignorance. In me, thus emancipated, there arose the certainty that suffering is real, and I came to regard birth as it is an end. The higher life has been fulfilled. What had to be done has been done, and the future life then is no longer to be expected."

This last insight did I attain to in the last watch of the night. Ignorance was beaten down, insight arose, darkness was destroyed, the light came, inasmuch as I was there serenely, as an angel, master of myself" (Rhys Davids, Early Buddhism, p. 32).

Having received enlightenment, Buddha proceeded to Benares. There he met some of his former disciples, the five ascetics, and explained to them the fundamental teaching of his exposition preserved in the Dhammakakka-pavattana Sutta, the Sutta of the Foundation of Righteousness.

This exposition is described as "Turning the wheel of the Law," which, while retaining the Buddhist figure of speech, fails to represent the idea the figure was meant to convey; the rendering in the Tibetan gives up the figure as having no underlying meaning. The "cakra" (Pali cakka) is no ordinary wheel; it is the sign of dominion; and a "cakravartin" is he who makes the wheel of the universe, and of righteousness, turn. The eternity of matter is held at the same time. This may be summed under the convenient modern term of Dualism.

The full text of the Sutta is as follows:
"There are two extremes which he who has gone forth ought not to follow—together with ascetic and sensual indulgence, or to the passions, to the pleasures of sensual things, a low and pagan asceticism (of seeking knowledge and principle) for the worldly-minded; and habitual devotion, on the other hand, to self-morification, which is painful, ignoble, unprofitable. There is a Middle Path which discovered by the Buddha which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace, to insight, to the higher wisdom, to Nirvana. Verily! it is this Arjan Eight-fold Path; that is to say, Right Views, Right Aspirations, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Modes of Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Middleness, and Right Rapture."

Now this is the Noble Truth as to suffering. Birth is attended with pain, disease, old age, and death; and pain is prolonged Union with the unpleasant is painful, pain is separation from the pleasant; and craving is unsatiated, that, too, is painful. In brief, the five aggregates of clinging (that is, the conditions of individuality) are painful. Now this is the Noble Truth as to the origin of suffering. Verily! it is the craving thirst that causes the renewal of becoming, that is accompanied by sensual delights, and seeks satisfaction, now there, now there, that is to say, the craving for the gratification of the senses, or the craving for a future life, or the craving for prosperity. Now this is the Noble Truth as to the passing away of pain. Verily! it is the passing away so that no passion remains, the giving up the, the getting rid of, the emancipation from, the harassing no longer of, this craving thirst. Now this is the Noble Truth as to the leading to the passing away of pain. Verily! it is this Arjan Eight-fold Path, that is to say, Right Views, Right Aspirations, Right Speech, Conduct, and Mode of Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Middleness, and Right Rapture' (Rhys Davids, Early Buddhism, p. 511).

This concise statement contains all the essential elements of the Buddha's creed. The great deliverance, of which Gautama himself speaks, is not a change, but a transformation of the mind and the means whereby he had attained it, formed the basis of all his subsequent teaching. It was this gospel of deliverance which won his earliest disciples, and which they in turn were commissioned by the Buddha to preach to suffering men. Sixty monks were soon enrolled as converts of the new faith, and they were sent forth as its first apostles. In sending them forth, Gautama thus addressed them:
"I am delivered from all fetters, human and divine. You, too, O monks, are freed from the same fetters. Go forth and wander everywhere, out of compassion for the world, and for the welfare of gods and men, and for the propagation of the dharma of the four noble directions. Preach the doctrine, sanitary in its beginning, middle, and end; and point the spirit, and convey its letter. Preach a life of perfect restraint, chastity, and celibacy... I will go also to preach this doctrine" (Makawagga, 1.11.1).

When the band of believers was increased to a thousand, Gautama preached on a 'burning' sermon, on a hill Gayasaha, near Gayap:
"Everything, O monks, is burning... The eye is burning; visible things are burning. The ear is burning; audible things are burning. The nose is burning; odours are burning; the tongue is burning; tastes are burning; the body is burning,
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objects of sense are burning. The mind is burning, thoughts are burning. All are burning with the fire of passion and desire.

Observing this, O monks, a wise and noble disciple becomes aware of (or disgusted with) the eye, weary of visible things, weary of the ear, weary of sounds, weary of odours, weary of tastes, weary of the body, weary of the mind. Becoming weary of the five senses, he leaves himself from this evil and sets himself free. When he realises that he has left himself, he recites: 'I am free of passion, free of desire, free of depravity, free of self. I am free in the path, I am free in the practice, I am free in the discipline. I am completely ended, perfectly ended, led to the complete end.' (Mahāyāna-sūtra, i. 21, 22.)

Shortly before his death the same teaching was again committed to the faithful Ananda:

'O Ananda, I am now grown old, and full of years, and my journey is drawing to its close; I have reached eighty years—

say sum of days—and, just as a worn-out cart can only move with difficulty, so the body of the wise and noble disciple going with difficulty. It is only when I become plunged in meditative sleep that my body is at ease. In future he ye to your

selves your own light, your own refuge; seek no other refuge. Hold fast to the truth as your refuge; look not to any one but yourselves as a refuge' (Mahāparinibbāna-sūtra, ii. 33, 35).

(2) The duties of the monks who were to be the mission-aries of his faith to the world:

'Which then, O monks, are the truths (the seven jewels) it behoves you to spread abroad, out of pity for the world, for the good of gods and men? They are: (1) the four earnest rejections (śraddhatā, apātijjatā; on the impurities of the body, on the tenaciousness of the mind, on the thought of the conditions of existence); (2) the four right exertions (abhijñatā, ākhiṇatā; viz. to prevent desire from arising, to get rid of it when arisen, to produce merit, increase it); (3) the four paths to supernatural power (abhisam-pāla; viz. will, effort, thought, knowledge); (4) the four forces (paṭika-bala; viz. faith, energy, recollection, self-concentration, reason); (5) the five fire organs of sense (khās, i.e. the sevenREAM limits of knowledge (bodhi-sāna; viz. recollection, investigation, energy, joy, serenity, concentration of mind, equanimity), (6) the noble eight-fold path (Mahā-parinibbāna, iit. 60).'

In order to form an accurate judgment regarding the meaning of the teaching of Buddha as set forth in the Dhammapadā-sūtra, Provinces Sutta, it is necessary not only to explain the terms used in the sutta, but also to understand the doctrine which it involves. In subsequent Suttas each word, each clause, and each idea in the Discourse is fully commented and enlarged upon. It is possible, in the light of these explanations, to arrive at a true conception of an unmeaning word of the Discourses conveyed to early Buddhists. From the same sources a general idea of the underlying beliefs may be gained.

1. The Buddhist scheme of life. In Buddhism the man is regarded as a soul residing in a physical body, or as possessing a soul which may be separated from the body and continue to exist. A belief in self or soul is regarded so distinctly as a heresy that two well-known words in Buddhist literature have been coined on purpose to stigmatize it. The first of these is sakkāya-dīthi, 'the heresy of individuality,' the name given to this belief as one of the three primary delusions (the others being doubt, and belief in the efficacy of rites and ceremonies) which must be abandoned at the very first stage of the Buddhist path of holiness.

The other is attavāda, the doctrine of self or soul, which is a name given to it as a part of the chain of causes which lead to the origin of evil. It is the opposite of the doctrine of non-soul (anatta), and belief in the efficacy of rites and ceremonies—as one of the four upādānas, which are the immediate cause of birth, death, decay, death, sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief, and despair.

What then is man? He is an aggregate of different properties or qualities—called skandhas, or aggregates. These skandhas are as follows:

1. The material properties or attributes (rupa);
2. The internal properties (internal identification), (samma);
3. The tendencies or potentialities (lit. 'confections,' saṅkhārā); and
4. Thought, reason (viññāṇa).

It is distinctly laid down that none of these are separate, nor the skandhas as a whole, the soul.

'Therefore, O monks, whatever in the way of material form, sensations, perceptions, etc., respectively, has ever been made, or is, or either in our case or in the outer world, or strong or weak, or low or high, or far or near, it is not self; this must be in truth percived, who possess real knowledge. Whosoever regards things in this light, O monks, being a wise and noble hearer of the Dhamma, is not turned to despair, from confusion and consciousness. When he discerns therefrom, he is free from desire, he becomes endowed with the right knowledge of desire he obtains deliverance; in the delivered there arises a consciousness of his deliverance; re-birth is extinct, holiness is completed, duty is accomplished; he no longer returns to this world, he knows' (Mahāyāna-sūtra, i. 6. 444f.)

Gautama refused not only to give a definite answer to questions concerning the relation of the body to the soul, but only to keep the matter.
The question 'whether the soul is the same as the body, or different from it,' was one of the Indeterminates, prohibited questions.

It is the union of the skandhas which makes the individual:

Every person, or thing, or god is therefore a putting together, a compound. And in each individual, without any exception, the relation of its component parts is ever changing, is never the same for two consecutive moments. It follows that no sooner has separatedness, individuality, begun, than dissolution, disintegration, also begins. There never is a moment without a putting together: there can be no putting together without a becoming different; there can be no becoming different without a putting together, a disintegration. There never is a moment without a disintegration, a putting away, which sooner or later will inevitably be complete' (Rhys Davids, Early Buddhism, p. 57).

The great fact of life is the 'Wheel of Life,' called Pāli-Samappajjā (i.e. origination through dependence). <br><br>As the wheel is an account of Ignorance, the saṅkhāras; (2) on account of the saṅkhāras, Consciousness; (3) on account of Consciousness, Name and Form; (4) on account of Name and Form, the six Provinces (of the six senses); (5) on account of the six Provinces, Contact; (6) on account of Contact, Sensation; (7) on account of Sensation, Craving; (8) on account of Craving, Attachment; (9) on account of Attachment, Becoming; (10) on account of Becoming, Birth; (11) (12) on account of Birth, old age, and death, grief, lamentation, suffering, dejection, and despair.

Buddhism teaches that everything in life has a cause, and that the Wheel of Life must revolve, one cause leading to another, according to an irresistible law. But there is no attempt to explain the ultimate cause of all things. This Doctrine is embodied in the familiar stanzas, which is engraved upon many an image of the Buddha, and impressed upon the moulded ashes of the dead:

'Of all the phenomena spring from a cause
The Buddha the cause has told,
And he tells, too, how each shall come to its end,
Such alone is the word of the Sage' (Pīthāna, i. 40).

Death does not cause the Wheel of Life to cease to turn; it is only a link in the ceaseless chain of existence. At the moment of death a new life comes into being. The skandhas re-combine, under conditions determined by the amount of merit or demerit which their previous combination has accelerated or diminished. Thereby is the cause in the chain of re-birth. And yet he is not the same; he is on a higher or a lower scale of existence, according as his previous life has been good or bad. This is karma (q.v.), the doctrine on which the whole of Buddhist teaching turns.

Existence is conjointed with pain—pain to which there is no end. The conditions which make a individual are the conditions which give rise to pain. Birth, death, disease, unions, separations, are all conditions which, if not to mak e individuality, are painful; existence, from beginning to end, is painful.

But why this pain of life, this life of pain? The second truth answers the question. Rhys Davids says that the last words in this Noble Truth might be rendered 'the lust of the flesh, the lust of life,
and the love of this present world' (Early Buddhism, p. 55). The author of The Creed of Buddha says (p. 80), with reference to this craving, or thirst, which Gautama affirmed to be the origin of suffering:

"It is the desire for the pleasures, or rather for the joys, that minister to the real self is wholly good. It is desire for the pleasures that minister to the lower self; it is the desire to affirm the lower self, to live in it, to cling to it, so rest in it, so enjoy it. It is the desire to identify oneself with the individual self and the impersonal world which centred in it, instead of with the Universal Self and the eternal world of which it is at once the centre and the circumference—it is this desire, taking a thousand forms in this path, that is to turn itself to evil by ceasing to suffer from mankind. If the self is to be deluded, as the temperament, the environment, is changeable, and unreal must be extinguished; and the gradual extinction of unworthy desire must therefore be the central purpose of one's life.'

The question that Gautama set himself to solve was the cessation of the pain consequent upon and inherent in existence itself, and the answer to his search was the attainment of Nirvāṇa, by way of the Noble Eightfold Path.

2. The Eight-fold Path.—The divisions of the path are, as already stated: Right Views, Right Aspirations, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Mode of Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness, and Right Contemplation. The fundamental principles of the path are: (1) 'The entering upon the stream, Conversion; which follows on (a) companionship with the good, (b) hearing of the law, (c) enlightened reflection, or (d) the practice of virtue. The unconverted, and to them a sense of sin, enmity, and impurity; but if, by one or more of the means just mentioned, he has arrived at a perception of the 'four Noble Truths,' he has become converted, and has entered the first path. While he is ever in this path he becomes successive from the delusion of self, from doubt as to the Buddha and his doctrines, and from the belief in the efficacy of rites and ceremonies. Better than universal consent in this world, better than going to heaven, better than lordship over all worlds is (this three-fold) fruit of the first path' (Dhammapāda, verse 178). (2) The path of those who will only once return to this world. The converted man, free from doubt and the delusions of self and ritualism, succeeds in this path in reducing to a minimum lust, hatred, and delusion. (3) The path of those who will never return to this world; in which, the last remnants of sensuality and malevolence, hatred, will fade away, and at the end of the path, desire for oneself, or wrong feeling towards others, can arise in the heart. (4) The path of the holy ones, more exactly, worthy ones, arahata; in which the saint becomes free from desire for material, or individual existence; from pride and self-righteousness, and ignorance (Rhys Davids, Buddhism, p. 105 f.).

Several words are used in this description of the Eight-fold Path which require explanation.

i. Right Views.—Right Views refer principally to the four truths, enunciated in the Dhamma-chakka-pavattana Sutta, and the 'three signs,' which include (a) the first of the four truths, (b) impermanence, and (c) non-self, i.e. the absence of a soul. Right Raptures. The Ajahn and non-self are both declared to be the 'signs' of every individual, whether god, man, or animal.

ii. Right Aspirations.—The Buddhist faith does not teach the suppression of all desire, but the satisfaction of wholesome desires, wholesome cravings, idle excitements, by the cultivation of the opposite—right desires and lofty aspirations. In the Majjhima (iii. 25) examples are given of right desire, e.g. the desire for emancipation from sensuality, aspirations after the attainment of love for others, the wish not to injure any living thing, the desire for the eradication of wrong, and for the promotion of right dispositions in the heart.

iii. Right Speech.—To shun the company of the witless; to hold communion with the wise; to give honour where honour is due: this is a great blessing (Maha-parinibbana Sutta, ii. 31).

iv. Right Conduct.—The two most important features of this quality are love and joy. Love, in the Pali, is metta, and the Metta Sutta (Sutta Nipāta, viii. 7-9) says:

'As a mother, even at the risk of her own life, protects her son, her only son, so the private love without measure towards all beings. Let him cultivate towards the whole world—above, below, around—a heart of love unconditioned, unwholesome, free from opposition or opposition. A man maintains this mindfulness all the while he is awake, whether he be standing, sitting, lying down, or lying down. This state of heart is the best in the world.'

Again, the Majjhima (i. 129):

'Our mind shall not waver. No evil speech will we utter. Tender and compassionate will we abide, loving in heart, void of malice within. And we will be ever suffering such an one with the rays of our loving thought. And with that feeling as a basis we will ever be suffering the whole world with the thought of love, far-reaching, grown great, beyond measure, void of anger ever.'

And the Hivuttaka (xxvi.):

'All the means that can be used as bases for doing right are not worth the stigmata as part of the emancipation of the soul through Love. That takes all those up into itself, outshining and putting them in radiance and glory, just as the light of the sun, which is itself, whose rays avoid not the sixteenth part of the radiance of the moon. That takes all those up into itself, outshining them in radiance and glory—just as the sun in the morning, the dawn, the sun, the rays of the sun, the brightness, the splendour, the light. When the dawn is breaking, the morning sun shines out high, and the rays of the sun, the brightness from above, do not avoid the sixteenth part of the radiance—such help as tends towards doing right avail not the sixteenth part of the emancipation of the heart, through Love.'

The joy of the truth is referred to in the Dialogues of the Buddha:

'When these five hindrances have been put away within him, he looks upon this body as a chattel, as a vessel, as an instrument, or means of delivering from sin, as a means of delivering from evil, as a means of deliverance from our ill-doing, as a means of delivering from our ill-will.' (Lasita Sutta, Nettippakā, iii. 2).

vi. Right Effort.—This signifies 'a constant intellectual alertness.' The three cardinal sins of Buddhism are: sensuality (dosā), ill-will (moha), and stupidity or dullness (vaśī). The last mentioned being regarded as the root of all sinfulness.

The 'Four Great Efforts' (sammappadhāna) are the effort or exertion (a) to prevent sinfulness arising, (b) to put away sinful states which have arisen, (c) to produce goodness not previously existing, and (d) to increase goodness where it does exist (Maha-parinibbana-sutta, SBE xi. 63 n.).

The Four Roads to Sainthood (iddhipāda) are four means by which sainthood is obtained, viz. (a) the will to acquire it, (b) the necessary exertion, (c) the necessary preparation of the heart, and (d) investigation (SBE xi. 63).

vii. Right Mindfulness.—This is closely connected with Right Effort. Dialogues in the Digha (ii. 290-315) and Majjhima (i. 55 f.) are devoted to the subject:

'The disciple, whatsoever he does, whether going forth or coming back, standing or walking, speaking or silent, eating or drinking, is to keep clearly in his mind all that it means, the temporary character of the act, its ethical significance, and that, above all, behind the act there is no actor (goer, eater, speaker) that is an eternally permanent entity.'

viii. Right Rapture.—In the Dhammapāda (verses 197-200) this Right Rapture is thus described:

'It is in very bliss we dwell, we who hate not those who hate us;
Among men full of hate, we continue void of hate.
It is in very bliss we dwell, in the world among the living;
Among men very sick and weak, we continue well.
It is in very bliss we dwell, void from care among the care-worn;
Among men full of worries, we continue calm.
It is in this very distress we dwell, who have no hindrances; we will become free of joy, like them, to their lifelong splendor!

In conformity with the Pali text, all the divisions of the Eight-fold Path are described by a single word—right. This is, perhaps, the best translation of the original samādhi. The word signifies 'going with'; used as an adjective, it is rendered 'general,' 'common,' or 'corresponding,' 'mutual,' as an adverb, 'commonly, normally, or fittingly,' 'properly, correctly.' It is used, in a secondary sense, to mean round, fit and perfect, normal and complete. 'Right,' therefore, in the sense of 'correct' has to be understood, i.e., in agreement with their nature. The word is not used with a moral significance. The eightfold description of the perfect life is of such vital importance for the correct understanding of the Buddhist creed that it may be convenient to summarize the meaning of each division of the path:

1. Right views: free from superstition or delusion.
2. Right aspirations; high and worthy of the intelligent man.
3. Right speech: kindly, open, truthful.
4. Right conduct: peaceful, honest, pure.
5. Right livelihood: bringing hurt or danger to no living thing.
6. Right effort; in self-training and self-control.
7. Right mindfulness: the active, watchful mind.
8. Right rapture; earnest thought on the deep mysteries of life.

Gogerly (Journ. Ceylon As. Soc., 1865) gives a slightly different rendering:

2. Correct thoughts. A clear perception of their necessity.
3. Correct words. Inflexible veracity.
4. Correct conduct. Purity of conduct.
5. Correct (mode of obtaining) living.

3. The hindrances in the way.—The hindrances in the way of treading the Eight-fold Path, and thus securing deliverance, are very clearly detailed. They are described under different headings—
(a) The Five Hindrances—'the Ten Fotters,' and 'the Four Intoxications.'
(b) The Ten Fotters (vyāgyāya) are: (1) delusions about the soul (sakkaya-ditthi), (2) doubt (viiviksha), (3) reliance on ceremonies (sabba-bata-pandana), (4) sensuality (kama), (5) ill-will (paṭigha), (6) desire for worldly wealth (riipa-rāga), (7) desire for rebirth in heaven (ura-pa-rāgo), (8) pride (maña), (9) self-righteousness (uuddhacca), (10) ignorance (avijjā).
(c) The Four Intoxications consist in the mental intoxication arising from sensual pleasures, from the pride of life, from ignorance, and from speculation.

4. The ultimate aim—Nirvāna.—When the traveller has resolutely trodden the Eight-fold Path, overcome the Hindrances, broken the Fotters, and resisted the Intoxications, he has reached the goal of all Buddhist ambition and effort—Nirvāna.

To him who has finished the Path, and passed beyond sorrow, who has set himself on all sides, thrown away every fetter, there is no more force of grief.' 'Him whose senses have become tranquil, like a horse well broken-in by the driver; who is free from pride and the lust of the flesh, and the last of existence, and the deligament of ignorance even in the gods' society. Such a one, who has attained to this, remains like a king among the gods, on whose broad earth, unvexed; like the pillar of the city gate, unmov'd; like a gem without blemish, unblemished. For such there are no more births. Tranquil is the mind, tranquil the words and deeds of him who is thus tranquilized, and made free by wisdom.' (Bhavavijñāna Sutta, verses 90, 94-96.)

They who, by steadfast mind, have become exempt from evil desire, and who have meditated in the teaching of Gautama, having obtained the fruit of the Fourth Path, and immersed themselves in that ambrosia, have received without price, and may be in the enjoyment of Nirvāna. Their former carcass, exhausted, no new kamma is being produced; their hearts are free from the longings after future life; once being destroyed, and no new yearnings springing up within them, they, the wise, are extinguished like this lamp.' (Ratana Sutta, 7, 14.)

There is no alms-giving, or holy person, who has quenched (sin) by means of holiness, from whose eyes the veil of error has been removed, who is well-trained in religion, and who, free from yearnings, and skilled in the knowledge, has attained unto Nirvāna.' (Samādhipātthana Sutta, 14.)

The word Nibbāna (Pali for Nirvāna) occurs only infrequently in the Pāli texts. A few illustrations of this word, and other synonyms—given are:

Three wise people (speaking of Arhatas), meditative, persevering, ever full of strength, attend to Nirvāna, the highest bliss (verse 25). "Who are the cordial who has found, who looks with terror on sloth, cannot fall away,—he is in the very presence of Nirvāna." (verse 23.) 'If they keepest thyself as silent as a soundless grove, then last surge away. The angry and the angry and the angry, the angry,—I shall enter the best self-morality to be patient, long-suffering; the best (thing of all) to be Nirvāna; for he is no (true) monk who does not make strikes, no (true) ascetic who insatiably destroys the sensual lust. 'There is no fire like lust, there is no sin like hate, there is no misery like the snake-bite, there is no happiness like peace. 'If danger is the way of peace, the embittered, the unrighteous, the knowing this as it really is, is Nirvāna, the highest bliss' (verse 201). 'Those who, in the past, were ever on the watch, who, in the right night, whose heart is set on Nirvāna, their sinfulness dies away (at the 'It is as if their eyes go to an end')' (verse 226).

In the light of these passages, what is Nirvāna? In the original it means 'going out,' 'extinction.' It cannot mean the extinction of the soul.

It is the extinction of that sinful, grasping condition of mind and heart, which otherwise, according to the great system of Kamma, is the cause of renewed individual existence. That extinction is to be brought about by, and runs parallel with, the growth of the opposite condition of mind and heart; and it is complete when that opposite condition is reached. Nirvāna is therefore the same thing as a sinless, calm state of mind; and, if translated at all, may best, perhaps, be rendered "holiness"—holiness, that is, in the Buddhist sense, perfect peace, goodness, and wisdom.' (Rays Davids, Buddhism, p. 111.)

Fe., further, art. Nirvāna.

Describing Nirvāna, Rhys Davids says (Early Buddhism, p. 721.):

'One might confine ourselves with the praises, many of them among the most beautiful passages in Pali poetry and prose, based on this condition of mind, the state which the Buddha has himself pronounced perfect according to the Buddhist faith. It has its pet names, the poet epitaphs, bestowed upon it, each of them—for they are not names—emphasizing some aspect of the transcendental nature of Nirvāna. The term has this undefined conception—the barrenness of the refuge, the cool cave, the island amid the floods, the place of bliss, emancipation, liberation, safety, the supreme, the transcendent, the uncreated, the tranquil, the home of ease, the calm, the end of suffering, the medicine for all evil, the annihilation, the unborn, the immaterial, the imperishable, the abiding, the further shore, the unbinding, the bliss of effort, the supreme joy, the ineffable, the supreme, the cutting off, the cessation of suffering, the cessation of craving, the cessation of clinging, the completions, the enlightenment, the knowledge of the end of the three cardinal sins—sensuality, ill-will, and stupidity.' (Buddhism, 2nd ed., iv. 251, 263.)

Such, then, according to the authoritative Buddhist scriptures, is the creed of Buddhism. But is it the whole of the creed which Gautama preached to the world? Was this the faith by which Buddha won the 'deepest heart of the East'? The new religion was never classical, nor dogmatic, nor facile, nor facile. It neither evolved the soul, or ego; atheistic, i.e. there was no place for God in his system of thought; pessimistic, i.e. he regarded all existence as intrinsically evil; epoistic, i.e. in his scheme of life he taught men to think of themselves and their personal interests, i.e. he regarded Nothing as the supreme reality. Oldenberg says of the philosophy of Buddha: 'We have a fragment of a circle, to complete which, and to find the centre of which, is forbidden, for
and Paul. Kattenbusch traces the Old Roman Creed back to the year ±100 A.D., and finds in it the archetype of all other forms in both East and West. Other writers have dated the whole of the early Christian, and, indeed, the whole of Buddhism, as early as the 1st century. It is interesting to note that the earliest visible reference to the creed is in the New Testament, in John 20:23, where the resurrected Christ commands his disciples to "Go therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." This reference is usually taken as evidence of the existence of the creed as early as the 1st century. However, it is possible that the reference is to a later version of the creed, or to a different form of the creed.

At first we can trace only bare allusions, as in a passage of Marcion's revised New Testament where he speaks of a 'covenant with God,' a 'Holy Church,' and implies that the words 'Holy Church' were contained in the Baptismal Creed which had been taught him in Rome before his breach with the Church in A.D. 145. So, again, in two passages of Tertullian: de Virgin., vol. i., "The rule of faith, indeed, is one altogether ... of believing in one God Almighty, Maker of the world, and in Jesus Christ His Son Jesus Christ, and Mary the Virgin, crucified under Pontius Pilate; the third day raised from the dead, received in the heavens, sitting now at the right hand of the Father, about to come to judge quick and dead, through the resurrection also of the flesh." de Praescr. xiii.: "What the (Roman) Church has made a common token with the African Churches; has recognized one God, Creator of the universe, and Christ Jesus, of the Virgin Mary, Son of God, the Savior, and the resurrection of the flesh."

With scanty references in Dionysius and Novatian, we pass on to the 4th cent., when Creeds come out to the light of day, and, greatly to our advantage, Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, whom he had been kindly received as an exile by Bishop Julius of Rome (c. A.D. 307), left on record his acceptance of the faith of the Roman Church. The accuracy of his quotation, recorded by Ephraimian, is confirmed by the testimony of Rainerius, priest of Aquileia, who (c. A.D. 400) wrote a commentary on this form, and compared it with the above different form of the creed. Evidently Kattenbusch has minimized the evidence for the existence of similar Eastern forms of the 3rd century. He thinks that the Creeds of Ctesar and Jerusalem, recovered from the pages of Athanasius and Cyril, were derived from the Roman Creed after the date when Paul of Samosata was deposed (c. A.D. 272); and that the Roman Creed was altered to meet the needs of the East, and became the parent of Creeds in Asia Minor and Egypt, as well as in Palestine.

At present the theory of Kattenbusch still holds the field, and is supported by Harnack; but his critics are closing him in on every side. Kunze, working on the same lines as Zahn, reconstructs an Antiochene formula of the 1st cent., which he claims as an independent sister form:

** CREED OF ANTIOCH. **

1. I believe in one and an only true God, Father Almighty, Maker of all things, visible and invisible, 

2. And in One Lord Jesus Christ, His Son, the only-begotten and firstborn of all creation, begotten of Him before all things, through whose agency all things were established, and all things came into existence.

3. Who, for our sakes, came down and was born of Mary the Virgin.

4. And crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried.

5. And the third day rose according to the Scriptures.

** CREEDS (Ecumenical). **

Within two generations from the Apostles a catechism at Rome produced the famous form which lies at the root probably of all similar forms, certain in the West, and reflects without question the religious tenor of the great body of the Apostles' Creed.

Hence, also, the evolution of the thought of a Divine Saviour in the person of Avakatsitsara (c.e.), which was purely metaphysical invention, and of Malraux, the future Buddha.
6. And ascended into heaven.
7. From thence he shall judge the quick and the dead.
8. Then shall he come to be judged in the presence of God.
9. [The beginning of the third article has not been recorded.]
10. Thus.
11. Remission of sins.
12. Resurrection of the dead, life everlasting.

The Creed which Zdenek have constructed from the Didascalia, a book written in the 3rd cent. not far from Antioch, affords an instructive contrast.

CREED OF THE DIDASCALIA.

1. I believe in God Almighty.
2. And in our Lord Jesus Christ (His Son), who for us came and was born (Mary?) a virgin,
3. and was crucified under Pontius Pilate and died,
4. and the third day rose from the dead,
5. and ascended into the heavens,
6. and sitteth on the right hand of God the Almighty,
7. and is with power and glory to judge dead and living.
8. And in the Holy Ghost .
9. (a Holy Church).
12. resurrection of the dead.

The uncertainties attending such reconstructions stand in marked contrast with the comparative certainty with which we can trace back the Old Roman Creed, the only really doubtful point about which the question whether originally it did not read: "I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, who for us and for our salvation came down from the heavens, was born of the Holy Virgin, was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died, and rose again from the dead, ascended into heaven, and sits on the right hand of God the Almighty, and is with power and glory to judge dead and living." Once again, the foundation of the later history of the Creed is still at some points obscure. We know that it was used by the Abbot Firminus, who founded monasteries at Reichenau and Hornbach. It is quoted in the Codex Eusebii Nicomachi 199 of the 8th cent., and in the Dicta Abbatum Pannoniarum, which was written about A.D. 720. Probably it was brought into its mature shape at Luxeuil or Bobbio. All the later additions, such as 'descended into hell' and 'communion of saints,' were in use in the Gallican Creeds of the 5th cent., with the exception of 'maker of heaven and earth.' The latest addition may have reached some of the Western countries by way of the travels of Columban, who in Burgundy and Rhetia came across relics of the Old Latin Church of the Danube, and the stream of influence which had flowed from the East in earlier centuries. Nowhere is this the case more than in the Pannonian Creed. Any way, we can make sure that it was from Rome that the Received Text was finally spread, since there are indications that Firminus was quoting from a Roman source, and there would be every reason for the decision in favour of a revision of the Old Roman Creed in the light of experience which had found each of the added phrases useful. The desire of Charles the Great for uniformity, and his careful inquiries about the different uses in Gaul, led him to the triumph of this Revision throughout the Western Church, as the Creed of daily use, although the Gallican Creed of the Church of England still retains certain Gallican peculiarities, only-begotten (unigenitus, non unigenitus) shall come again at the end of the world, and everlasting life after death.

2. The Nicene Creed.—The history of the Nicene Creed begins with the Council of Nicaea, when the Creed presented by Eusebius of Cesarea was deliberately revised to guard against the doctrines of Arianaheim. Whether he had composed it for the occasion, or had simply quoted verbatim

1 Theol. Literaturblatt, xxviii. [1911] 19, 221.
3 Nomina, 102, 1902, 191.
4 Das apod. Symbol, 152.
6 XTW, 1906, p. 262.
the Creed of his Church, is uncertain. So far as it goes, it does not follow the lines of the Creed of Crete, but the wording imply; but he adds a free warning against Sabellianism, and a Baptistical Creed is not likely to have ended abruptly with mention of the Holy Ghost. But the Council was not satisfied. Prompted by Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, the Emperor Constantine himself proposed the insertion of the term homousia, which guarded against all evasions of Scripture teaching. Other changes may be noted by comparing the two forms.

**Creeds of Nicene Council.**

1. in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible.

2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Son Only-begotten, first born of every creature, before all the ages, begotten from the Father, by whom also all things were made;

3. Who for our salvation was made flesh, and lived as a citizen among men, and was crucified and was buried,

4. and arose again the third day,

5. and ascended to the Father.

6. And will come again in glory to judge the quick and the dead.

7. And in the Holy Ghost:

8. and was incarnate and was made man.

9. was crucified and was buried,

10. and rose again the third day,

11. and ascended into heaven,

12. and is coming in glory to judge the quick and the dead, whose kingdom shall have no end.

13. And in one Holy Ghost, the Paraclete, who spoke in the prophets,

14. and in one baptism of remission of sins,

15. and in one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church,

16. and in the resurrection of the flesh, and in the life eternal.

17. We acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins.

18. We look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come.

Three important changes must be noted, which tend to prove that Cyril was the author of this revision, since they agree with the teaching in his lectures: (l.) Art. 7 from son to sitteth; (ii.) Art. 8 from glory to glory to glory; (iii.) Art. 12 from resurrection of the flesh to resurrection of the dead. To these we add the skillful insertion of some of the Conciliar language, including the term homousia, which marked the return to full communion with Athanasius and his allies. What could be more natural than that Cyril, after his return from exile in A.D. 362-364, should so revise his Creed? Epiphanius had connexions with Jerusalem and had lived in Palestine, so his acquaintance with the Creed is easily explained. The theory has been questioned by historians, who claim that Epiphanius wrote down the original Nicene Creed, and that the revised Creed has been interpolated

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1. *Cath. ii. cii.*
2. *Lectures.*
3. *Catholic and Apostolic Church.*
by a copyist. He also maintains that the Jerusalem Creed reconstructed from the pages of Cyril is the invention of scholars. 1 Gibson also calls attention to the frequent division of the Creed "new both to the Creed of Nicea and to the Creed of Jerusalem, so that even if the Creed of Jerusalem lies at the basis of the Enlarged Creed, it has been revised by the help of other Creeds, as those of the Apostolic Constitutions and the Church of Antioch." 2 This dependence had not escaped the notice of Hort, and the sources may be regarded as one, since the Seventh Book of the Apostolic Constitutions comes from Antioch, and was put together by the Emperor Constantine's friend, Melcitius, Bishop of Antioch, is quite enough to explain why he should also make use of the Creed of Antioch.

We may regard the ease for the opposition as not proved, but it is clear that Hort's theory must be tested again in the light of all new evidence. He supposed that the subsequent connexion of the revised Creed with the Council of Constantinople in A.D. 381 could be explained by the suggestion that Cyril had it to prove his orthodoxy. But, since Cyril's leader, Melcitius, became first President of that Council, there could be no question about Cyril. A more probable theory has been suggested by Kunze. After the death of Meletius, Bishop of Ambrosianus, Bishop Gregorius of Nazianzus who succeeded him, the new Bishop of Constantinople was Nectarius, Prætor of the city, who at the time of his election was unchristianized. Now it seems to have been suggested to the Emperor by Diotrephes of Jerusalem. At the end of the Council of Chalecedon (A.D. 451) all the Bishops signed the decrees with little notes. One of them, Callinicus, Bishop of Apamea (in Bithynia), referred to the Council of Constantinople as having been held at the ordination of the most pious Nectarius the Bishop, and Kunze suggests that there was some connexion in his mind between the Creed and the consecration of Nectarius. Probably the revised Creed was professed at his baptism, and became from that date the Baptismal Creed of the city. It would naturally be quoted in the Acts of the Council, now lost, from which it was cited at the Council of Chalcedon as the Creed of the 150 Fathers, the original Nicene Creed being accurately distinguished from it as the Creed of the 318 Fathers.

It is not easy to decide on the true form of the text cited at Constantinople, since the form quoted at the second Synod varied from the form quoted at the sixth Session, and both from the form in Epiphanius. Copyists were continually at work assimilating the forms, and to them may be attributed the slight variations found in the pages of Epiphanius which are printed in italics. It is possible that the variations in the texts used at Chalecedon represent the already divergent texts used at Constantinople and Rome. 3

The later history of the Creed is coming out into clearer light. It is probable that the words 'and the Son' in the clause about the Procession of the Spirit were added not by the Council of Toledo in A.D. 589, when King Reccared accepted the Nicene Creed and abjured Arianism, but by later copyists. The Creed thus interpolated spread into Gaul. In A.D. 802, Charles the Great sent a delegation to consult Pope Leo on the text, controversy having already arisen in Palestine between representatives of the Eastern and Western Churches. Leo freely admitted that it was quite orthodox to teach that the Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son, but deprecating the insertion of the words in the Creed, the Roman Church agreeing with the Eastern theologians as to its form. He even advised the Emperor to give up singing it in his chapel, thus emphasizing its interpolations. It was not interpolated, and in A.D. 1014 the Emperor Henry II. prevailed on Benedict VIII. 'to chant the Symbol at the Holy Mysteries'; and thus came in the use of the Interpolated Creed.

The Western theologians start from the point of view of the immanent Trinity, from meditation on the coinherence of the Divine Persons, while their Eastern brethren are willing to accept the phrase 'from the Father through the Son,' as guarding the truth that there is only one God, Deity. It is one of the saddest facts of history that a merely verbal difference should keep Churches apart, since frank explanation on both sides could clear up the theological as well as the historical question. 4

3. The 'Athanasian' Creed.—The history of the so-called Athanasian Creed—more correctly designated, after the analogy of the Te Deum, by its first words Quenebque est— is still at some points obscure. But we are no longer restricted as to the dates of the important MSS. With the help of photographs, palaeographers are enabled to decide that some MSS belong to the 8th cent.; one, in the famous Ambrosian Library at Milan, may even be of the end of the 7th (Col. Ambros. Bibliotheca 19.)

The famous two-portion theory, put forward by Swainson and Lumbly, has been shown to rest on precarious foundations, and may be dismissed without further notice. We have not yet reached ultimate certainty about small details in the text, the order of certain words, the use of the conjunction et, or the claim of the form surrexit against the reading resurrectit, but any polishing which the Creed has received in the course of its long history is of small account, now that we can say that it reaches us substantially as it was written. It belongs to the class of individual, private confessions of faith, and is, properly speaking, an instruction rather than a Creed, which may be offered as a substitute for the Apostles' Creed, or a canticle parallel to the Te Deum, with which it found its way into an appendix to the Psalter from the end of the 8th century.

There is little difficulty in identifying 'the Faith of the holy prelate Athanasius' commended by a Synod of Antioch, which was presided over by Bishop Lodgar (c. A.D. 670), and then learned by heart by all clergy.

Some forty years after (c. A.D. 633) it had been quoted by the Fourth Council of Toledo together with the so-called Creed of Damascus. The clauses quoted were 4, 20, 21, 22, 28, 29, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, so that it is evident that the Spanish theologians had the whole text before them.

We can also trace quotations with great probability in the sermons of Cesaris of Arles, the great preacher of the 6th cent. (?543), as has been proved beyond question by Morin. 5 Any doubts which may be felt about the authorship of the pseudo-Augustian sermon 214 do not affect the general argument. Morin joined out that the Creed reproduces both the qualities and the literary defects of Cesaris. In his recent lectures at Oxford he was disposed to put the date later. 6

The proof is not yet forthcoming that the Quenebque belongs to the time of Cesaris, if it is not from his pen. The argument of Waterhand, 7

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1 Theological Messenger, 1892 (a summary of his argument was published in JThSt, Jan. 1905, p. 256 ff.)
2 The Three Creeds, p. 171.
3 C. F. A. Burn, Fascimiles of Creed Texts, Camb. 1908, p. 18.
5 De Sylogue du Pape Frambiennes et son Association au Saint Oeuvre d'Aires, in Revue bénédictine, xviii. (1900) 257 ff.
6 JThSt, Jan. 1911, p. 161. His criticism of all current theories, including his own, is too sweeping, but deserves most careful study.
7 JThSt, Jan. 1911, p. 161.
that it belongs to Apollinarian times, still carries much weight. The fact remains that the illustration from the context of Christ's nature in clause 35, though it had been used freely by St. August-sine, as before him by St. Ambrose, is misused by the Eutychians, who pleaded for one nature in Christ, as soul and body make one nature in man. After the epicurean nature-shrank by evidence covered by Mother Person is Christ, he suffice came Gaul in the beginning of the 5th century. For full justification of the Eutychian position, we must look to the Gaulish bishops of that time, and after the Council of Ephesus. Indeed, the parallels to clauses 32-33 in Vincentius and Fanustus are, as it were, sharpened by subtle turns of phrase, just as we find Alcin and Paulinus of Aquileia sharpening by their quotations from the Quicunque, against the revived Nestorianism of the 8th century.

Moreover, there is a new line of argument which was not the rise to Waterland. In the recently discovered writing of Priscillian we have trustworthy evidence of a heresy which spread from Spain to Gaul in the beginning of the 5th cent., and which called for close vigilance and reasoned arguments from Church teachers to counteract it. The De Fide of Bacchinius is the apology of a monk who came from Spain into Gaul at that time, and was closely examined by the Gallican bishops as to his faith, and it is a significant fact that it has been preserved only in the Ambrosian MS of the Quicunque. The heresy of Priscillian was both Sabellian and Apollinarian. He confused the Persons of the Trinity, and denied that the Lord had a human soul, as the following passages may suffice to prove. In his Blessing over the Faithful he writes:

"For thou art God who... art believed as one God, invisible in the Father, visible in the Son, and art found as Holy Spirit united in the work of both; 1 speaking for God assuming flesh, assigning to Himself the form of God and Man, that is, of Divinity and Humanity."

When language so inaccurate was vehemently put forward as Catholic teaching, there was need of a summary of Catholic belief on the Trinity and the Incarnation, which should lay due stress on the responsibility of the intellect in matters of faith, and at the same time do justice to the moral aspect of these problems, and prove that faith worketh by love, that only they that have done good shall go into life eternal. The Quicunque explicitly refers to this. May it not have been written for the purpose? 2

This suggestion of the present writer has been warmly accepted by Künstle, 3 who has made a special study of Spanish canons and treatises against Priscillianism, though he eludes the argument by assuming that all such writings against Priscillian must have a Spanish origin—for which there is no proof.

From the time of Antelmi the parallels in the Communio and of Vincentius of Lérins have been held to prove his acquaintance with the Quicunque, if not his authorship, which seemed probable to

Ommannye (1897) as to Antelmi (1693). Perhaps it is rash to attempt to discover Ommannye's quotation from the funeral sermon which Hilary of Arles preached after the death of Honoratus, his predecessor both in the See of Arles and in the Abbey of Lérins, if it suggests acquaintance with the Quicunque, suggests also that Honoratus, rather than Hilary, was the author:

'A daily witness wast thou, moreover, in thy most sincere discourses of the Father of Ancient, as of the Holy Ghost, which are not surey has any one treated so emphatically, so clearly, of the Trinity of the Godhead, since thou didst distinguish the Persons from one another by the Father and by the Holy Ghost, and yet dost impose upon them in eternity and majesty of glory' (P. Honoratus, 28).

With this we may compare a quotation from a sermon on the kingdom of Christ by Faustus, whose, like Hilary, had been a loyal disciple of Honoratus:

"Therefore, beloved, that we may gain that which he has obtained, let us first follow that which he taught; and, first of all, let us hold the right faith; let us believe Father and Son and Holy Ghost (to be) one God. For, where there is unity, there cannot be inequality; and, since the Son, because he is in God, is perfect, complete, and full, that fullness certainly cannot be described as "less" (in Depositions S. Honoratus).

Whatsoever may have been here given to Honoratus as a teacher on the very lines of the Quicunque, there can be no question as to the ability and earnestness of the community which had gathered round him during the years of his episcopal rule at Autun, D.D. 430-439. For, we do not focus all that the Gallican Church could show of learning and piety. Their age contrasts favourably with the following century, when Cassarius represents the last hope of the ancient culture, and when the authority of the Sabellianism which was about to sweep away all its landmarks—a century in which the composition of the Quicunque would seem to be incredible.

The arguments of Breuer, that the Quicunque is a work of St. Ambrose, have not received any mention in an article, nor do not seem to be based on any fresh evidence; but they certainly strengthen the arguments for a 5th cent. date. As similar arguments for the so-called Oratorian Commentary, possibly from the pen of Theodulf of Orleans, speaks of its use by clergy as a manual of Christian teaching, which reminds us of the Canon of Antun as well as of the use made of it by Cassarius. Addressing a Synod, the writer says that he has carried out their instructions to provide an exposition of this work on the Faith, which is up and down recited in our churches and continually made the subject of meditation by our priests. A similar use is directed in the 9th cent. by many prominent teachers—Hayto of Basel, Anskar of Bremen, and Hincmar of Rheims.

In the Middle Ages the use at Prive spread everywhere, and subsequent researches have proved that the whole service of Matins, including Lauds, Prime, and Terce, was most popular in England as a preparation for the Mass. William Langland, in 'Piers the Plowman,' at the end of the 14th cent., writes of the duty of all classes to cease from work on Sundays, 'God's service to hear, Both Matins and Mass.' But the fact remains that comparatively few of the people understood Latin, although the devout layman who could afford to possess a breviary would, of course, be able to read and follow it in
the Office. There are several early translations into the vernacular, at one time Norman French, at another English; but there is no evidence of any wide-spread acquaintance with it in such translations. In the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., the English Reformers directed that the Athanasian Creed should be "sung or said" after the Benedic平s, at the greater Feasts. In the Second Prayer Book the number of Feasts was increased at which the use of it was obligatory, and only in 1662 was it substituted for the Apostles' Creed, which had hitherto followed it.

In the course of the present day no amended translation is likely to bring peace, such as the translation put forward by the Archbishop of Canterbury's Committee. The real crux lies in the difficulty which is felt about using the warning clauses in a mixed congregation on days when it is impossible to preach an explanatory sermon. A relaxation of the rule, such as permission to use it at the first lesson of the Festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday (when the clergy, and presumably the instructed faithful, could well make it, as the author of the Oratorian Commentary suggests, 'a subject of meditation'), would meet the difficulties of wounded consciences on both sides. The Roman Catholic Church uses it still in Prayers of the Hour. The English Church has only put it in an Appendix to the Hour Office, without any directions for use.

Conclusion.—Looking back over the history of the three great Creeds, one is amazed at the complexity of the problem thus singled out by the common sense of the Church, through the centuries, as of primary importance. We are not concerned with the credibility of miracles as such, only with the evidence that the first witnesses believed that Christ rose from the dead and sent down His Spirit. The earliest forms of Creed present an Historic Faith which summed up their gratitude for the mystery at last revealed through the Spirit to the Church, with the assurance of forgiveness of sins and resurrection to a better life. The theological terms of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds do not bring in metaphysics of set purpose, or condemn the Church to wander in a barren wilderness of controversy. Athanasius himself declared in his famous and often-quoted phrase "of one substance." He was moulded by it. He found in it a bulwark of the ancient belief that the Son was one with the Father (Jn 10th) and to be worshipped with Him. He had no word for it. It was recognized by the Churchmen of Augustine to make that term current, coin, even though he shrank from the boldness of his thought. Let us note that it was on psychological rather than metaphysical lines that he approached the problem, led on by deep moving on the mystery of his own personality to speculation on the deeper mystery of Divine Personality. And in the first part of the Quinquaginta, whether the author owed little or much to Augustine, it is by the measure of such munificence that it may be valued. The very bravery of the antitheses ranging through the great series of Divine attributes—uncreated, infinite, eternal, almighty—shadows forth the truth of the equal glory and co-eternal majesty, and excludes every rationalistic explanation—Sabel- lian, Arian, or Priscillianist. But this is definitely the Creed of the Church teacher, face to face with errors which are common to the human mind in every age and everywhere. In the hour of death the Examen of the Church Creed suffices as 'an anchor of the soul . . . entering into that which is within the veil' (He 6th).

See also Confessions.


A. E. BURN.

CREED (Egyptian).—In seeking to arrive at a conception of the Egyptian creed, we are met by the fact that, generally speaking, the Egyptian never attempted to formulate or define a body of doctrine with regard to the earthly gods worshipped in his land. This absence of any systematic theology is due mainly to the prevalence of the idea of the local god. The Egyptian State rose out of a number of small independent tribes, and, even after the unification of the kingdom at the beginning of the Dynastic period, the original subdivisions still existed in the shape of the 'nomes' or provinces, roughly 42 in number, into which the land was divided. Each original tribe possessed its own local god, supreme in his own district; and these gods continued to be worshipped as separate divinities, though they were, in many cases, mere duplicates of those existing in other localities. The Egyptian never attempted to transcend this local belief. The Egyptian Church, thus, has only put it in an Appendix to the Hour Office, without any directions for use.

Conclusion.—Looking back over the history of the three great Creeds, one is amazed at the complexity of the problem thus singled out by the common sense of the Church, through the centuries, as of primary importance. We are not concerned with the credibility of miracles as such, only with the evidence that the first witnesses believed that Christ rose from the dead and sent down His Spirit. The earliest forms of Creed present an Historic Faith which summed up their gratitude for the mystery at last revealed through the Spirit to the Church, with the assurance of forgiveness of sins and resurrection to a better life. The theological terms of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds do not bring in metaphysics of set purpose, or condemn the Church to wander in a barren wilderness of controversy. Athanasius himself declared in his famous and often-quoted phrase "of one substance." He was moulded by it. He found in it a bulwark of the ancient belief that the Son was one with the Father (Jn 10th) and to be worshipped with Him. He had no word for it. It was recognized by the Churchmen of Augustine to make that term current, coin, even though he shrank from the boldness of his thought. Let us note that it was on psychological rather than metaphysical lines that he approached the problem, led on by deep moving on the mystery of his own personality to speculation on the deeper mystery of Divine Personality. And in the first part of the Quinquaginta, whether the author owed little or much to Augustine, it is by the measure of such munificence that it may be valued. The very bravery of the antitheses ranging through the great series of Divine attributes—uncreated, infinite, eternal, almighty—shadows forth the truth of the equal glory and co-eternal majesty, and excludes every rationalistic explanation—Sabellian, Arian, or Priscillianist. But this is definitely the Creed of the Church teacher, face to face with errors which are common to the human mind in every age and everywhere. In the hour of death the Examen of the Church Creed suffices as 'an anchor of the soul . . . entering into that which is within the veil' (He 6th).

See also Confessions.


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cosmic gods and their relationship to the Creation. The most complete and popular of these was due to the priestly college of An, or Heliopolis (the Biblical On). The priests of the sun-god at this town—from the most ancient times the most noted temple in all of Egypt—had at a very early period a scheme of the relationship of the various members of the cycle of cosmic gods to one another and to the universe, and their doctrine of the great Heliopolitan ennead gives us that view of things that was held with various modifications in different localities. In their scheme there existed in the beginning a primordial liquid element, the Nun or Nu, from which there emerged the sun-god Ra. Then, Ra-thenceforth a local god—produced the male and female divinities Shu and Tefnut, who may be regarded as representing air (or the firmament) and moisture. From Shu and Tefnut, or perhaps by a fresh procession from Ra, came Seb and Nut, the earth and the starry heavens, and from Seb and Nut came the two further pairs of gods, Osiris and Isis (the Nile and the fruitful ground [2]), and Set and Nephthys (the barren desert lands of the life beyond). Creation reaches its present form by the interposition of Shu, the air-god, who came between Seb and Nut, the earth and the heavens, as they were locked in embrace, and lifted up Nut, who since his interposition stands ever between Seb, the heavens, and Nut, the earth at the cardinal points, and her body adorned with the stars.

The Heliopolitan ennead must have been formulated at a very early period of Egyptian history, for in the Pyramid texts the list of the gods is given as above. The popularity of this scheme gave rise to various imitations of it, and other towns and districts formed enneads of their own, sometimes displacing one of the nine gods of Heliopolis to make common cause with a local god, sometimes adding him to the nine, careless of the fact that thus their ennead contained ten divinities. Even as thus modified to suit local preferences, however, the Heliopolitan scheme did not meet with universal acceptance, and side by side with its doctrine of creation there existed other beliefs quite inconsistent with it. At Memphis the fabric of the world was attributed to Ptah, who carved the earth like a statue; at Elephantine to Khnum, the fashioner of the life and body, like a potter working with his wheel; and at Sais to Neith, who wove the universe as a weaver weaves a piece of cloth. In the Creation-story preserved in the famous legend of the destruction of mankind, the heavens are represented, not by the woman-goddess Nut, but by the celestial cow, across whose body the sun-god journeys in his barque. It is probable that this attempt at a scientific grouping of the gods and explanation of the Creation was not so much a popular doctrine as an inspired fiction, not even held by the various priestly colleges, who elaborated it and modified it to suit their local tastes and rivalries. See COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Egypt.).

2. Beliefs with regard to immortality and the life after death.—In dealing with these, we come into touch with what probably makes the nearest approach to a universally accepted body of doctrine to which the Egyptians ever attained. The idea of immortality has been nowhere more tenaciously held than in ancient Egypt, and the documents relating to it have an overwhelming preponderance in the religious literature of the nation. The most accepted form of belief is that associated with the cycle of Osiris legends. Osiris appears in the Heliopolitan myth as the most important and the most sublime personage, as the heavens and earth, the sun and moon, the air and water, the day and night, the period and the seasons, the fields and the forests, the pyramids and the cliffs, all center in him as the one controlling principle. The chief objects of Osiris at all periods were to forward the accomplishment of the divine order, and to bring order out of chaos or confusion. The doctrine of the Egyptians in regard to Osiris is the first and the purest of all the religious conceptions which have been developed, true subservience to life again is justified before the gods against the accusations of Set, and made god and judge in the under world. Already by the time of the Vth dynasty the idea had been conceived that the story of Osiris was repeated in the case of each Pharaoh, and the conception gradually filtered down, until it was held that every man who was possessed of the necessary knowledge might after death become an Osiris, be restored to his former life and enter into everlasting blessedness. Practically the Egyptian believed, from the earliest historical period, that, because Osiris died and rose again, and after being justified entered into everlasting life, therefore those who believed in him would share the same destiny. Ch. clv. of the Book of the Dead makes the definite assertion of parallelism between the god and his worshipper:

'Homage to thee, O my divine father Osiris; Then hast thy body with thy soul; and thou didst . . . thou didst not become corruption. I shall not decay . . . and I shall not . . . corruption; I shall have my being, I shall live, I shall generate, I shall wake up in peace.'

It is impossible to say whether or not the Egyptian believed that Osiris suffered death on his behalf; the essential connexion between the death and resurrection of Osiris and his own immortality. This belief is held, with no essential variations, throughout the whole historic period.

Definitely the nine gods of Heliopolis, however, when we pass from the fact of immortal life to the manner in which it is to be spent. Nowhere is the jumble of inconsistencies, which seemingly never worried the Egyptian mind, more hopeless than here. The prominent beliefs regarding the state and the abode of the blessed dead are at least four in number, each quite distinct from, and quite inconsistent with, all the others. The oldest and most widespread belief was that after death the deceased leads a second life under much the same conditions as those which ruled the first, dependent upon constant supplies of food and drink, and partaking in his new existence of joys similar to those of his former state. In this state the centre of interest is the idea of the post-mortem fashion of the life and body, like a potter working with his wheel; and at Sais to Neith, who wove the universe as a weaver weaves a piece of cloth. The ancient ideas of the dead were destined to have an abode of blissful labour and pleasure in the Egyptian Elysian Fields. The dead man flies up to heaven like a bird, or ascends a gigantic ladder, and, after passing through many difficulties, arrives at the god Osiris, called Sekhet Aaru, or 'Field of Bulrushes,' where he spends his time in the same agricultural pursuits and field-sports which had occupied him on earth.

Finally, another belief was that the souls of the departed dwell in the upper world through which the sun passes during the hours of the night—a land that in the daytime is one of darkness and desolation. Only at night, as the sun in his barque passes through the twelve domains of the darkness, do the deceased experience something of joy and activity in the hour when he traverses the particular domain in which their lot is cast. Later the belief arose that the illuminated soul, if instructed in the proper formula, might share the voyage of the god through the Under World, merely being gladdened by a passing glimpse of him. These various views co-existed with the Osiran doctrine, though they are essentially quite
independent of it, and, indeed, can be accommodated to it only with difficulty. The popularity of the last of them—of which we shall speak in the fourth, fifth, and seventh volumes—depends, thus far, upon the authority of the sun-god. It was mainly confined to the period of the XIXth and XXth dynasties.

3. Beliefs with regard to the nature and attributes of the gods. In regard to this, we shall not disturb those who believe all that is of mere local significance in regard to the various divinities, it is possible to arrive at a fairly clear idea of what the Egyptian believed concerning the nature of the gods. The material is mainly to be found in the various hymns, the Zendavesta, and the Apocryphal Wisdom of Sirach. In the hymns we are met with a great and almost meaningless accumulation of epithets which are applied individually to various gods in the most bewildering fashion. Setting these aside as mere formalities, we generally find a residuum of evidence as to the nature of the god who is being addressed. Thus, from a fine hymn to Amen at Cusae, we have the following:

'Sole form, producing all things, the one, the sole one, who creates all beings. All beings, human and divine, have come from his eyes, and born from his mouth. He is who makes pastures for the herds and fruit-trees for men; who creates that which is noble and base, that which is light and dark, that which is under the heavens, that which is in the earth. ... Amen is the creator and sustainer of being. Further, he is a god of mercy and justice; listening to the poor and the needy. In his heart is the heart of the timid man from the violent, judging the poor and the oppressed. ... The mercy most longed for, at whose coming the day grows bright. Maker of beings, Creator of existences, Sovereign of life, health, and strength, chief of the gods. We worship thy spirit, O Amen. Do not forget us, we give thee praise and account of thy mercy to us."

Again, from a hymn to Ra in the papyrus of Hu-nefer, we have a remarkably clear statement of the unity, the eternity, and the inscrutable nature of the god:

"Thou art unknown, and no tongue is worthy to declare thy likeness; only thou thyself, thou art One. ... Millions of years have gone over the world; I cannot number the generations which through thou hast passed. Thou dost travel through unknown incognitos, millions and hundreds of thousands of years. ... This thou dost in one little moment of time."

Strangely enough, it is in the hymns and prayers, otherwise "the most human of all the gods," that we find, on the whole, the most endless multiplication of ceremonial epithets, and the greatest dearth of statement as to his nature and attributes. There are, of course, in the hymns and other portions of the religious literature of Egypt, many references to his functions as the bestower of immortality, and prayers that the deceased might share in everlasting life; beyond that there is little that distinguishes him from such gods as Amen and Ra. One of the best known of his hymns has the following:

"The circle of the solar disk is under his orders; winds, rivers, inundation, fruit-trees, as well as all the animal plants. ... Every being invokes him, every man adores his beauties. Delightful for us is his love; his grace enrobes the heart."

There is nothing here which might not be said of Ra, Amen, or any other of the gods of Egypt.

CREED (Jewish).—Articles of creed in the modern sense are unknown in the earlier period of the post-Biblical Judaism. No earlier period had been felt to express man's relation to God in other forms than those found in Dr 6:910 and similar passages of the OT. The belief in God being based on the biblical report of revelation to the patriarchs, and assuming the character of a postulate, obedience to His law was considered a mere logical consequence. The simplicity of this system contrasts strangely with the elaborate array of articles of faith which characterizes the later systems. It is therefore desirable to examine the factors that bridged the gulf.

It was inevitable that Judaism should absorb a certain amount of the metaphysical speculations of the various religious systems which left their mark upon the world. The chief outcome of this was the Philo's theology. In the concluding chapter of his treatise on the 'Creation of the
World' (de Opificio Mundi, ch. ixi.) he gives the result of his investigations in the form of the following five 'lessons' taught by Moses:

1. God's creation; 2. God's providence; 3. God's authority; 4. God's providence embraces the world. The early Jewish Rabbis, however, being concerned with the practice of the Law rather than with speculations, sought to check their propagation among the people.

In reply to the Mishna, 'that should not be studied by a company of two, and the Chariot not even in solitude, unless the student be sagacious and capable of drawing right conclusions,' (Magen, ii.) the terms 'work of creation' and 'Chariot' stand for metaphysics in general. In an additional note the Mishna says explicitly that for him who inquires into 'what is above and below, what was heretofore and will be hereafter, or deals lightly with the glory of his Maker, it would be better for him never to have been born.'

Moreover, Ben Sira (Sir 32):' utters a solemn warning against the study of metaphysics, and several authorities of the Talmud (of the 4th cent. A.D.), commenting on the words both of the Mishna and of Ben Sira, make no other concession than that of allowing the communication of the 'headings of the chapters' to scholars of ripened wisdom (Hagiga, fol. 13). We find, however, in the Mishna an attempt to formulate, in a negative way, something like a creed:

"The following," we read (Sanh. x. 1), 'have no part in the future happiness: he who asserts that the resurrection of the dead did not take place in the Toshur; that the Toshur is not of Divine origin; and the heretic.'

The passage thus enjoins, by way of climax, the king in retirement after death, revelation, and the exaltation of God, and we see, later on, that the same passage was made the basis of real articles of creed. The authorities of the Talmud, however, proceeded in a different way. Instead of forming dogmatical belief, they selected from the moral code three of the most important prohibitions, viz., idolatry, incest, and murder, and laid down that death was to be chosen rather than transgression even under compulsion (Sanh. fol. 74). An enlarged list of laws was imposed upon mankind in general under the name of the 'Seven Noachian Laws,' forming the nucleus of a religious system. They comprised the command of jurisdiction, and the prohibitions of blasphemy, murder, incest, robbery, and the eating of flesh from a living animal (Sanh. fol. 56). A kind of creed in epigrammatic form is Hillel's famous recommendation to the heathen who desired to learn the essence of Judaism in a few words: 'Hillel, then, do not do to thy neighbour' (Shabb. fol. 31).

The first steps in the changing of this attitude were indirectly prompted by Muslim theologians, who created a speculative theology known by the name of Kalâm. The Muhammadan criticism of the anthropomorphisms of the O.T. interfered with the Jewish antipathies to metaphysical research, and the struggle was carried right into the Jewish camp by the sect of the Karaites who, rejecting all Rabbinical tradition and authorizing no value to the authority of Mishnah and Talmud, took up the method of the Mu'tazilite (dissenting) Kalâm for their own needs. The consequence was that Rabbanite Jews were compelled to follow suit and to employ philosophical arguments for the defence of revealed religion. This marks the beginning of the religious philosophy of the Jews, and its oldest exponent was Sa'adya of Fāvāyām, who died in 942 at Sura, in Babylonia. In his work, 'Kol Dammim' and 'Eloq Dammim,' the warning of the Mishnah against metaphysical speculations, on the plea that the Sages did not forbid honest reflection (Amudat, ed. Landauer, p. 21). He was also the first to venture a definition of the idea of creed. 'Faith,' he says, 'is a notion arising in the soul with regard to a subject, the true nature of which has been recognized' (ib. 11). What he really means is conviction gained by the success of the various arguments of the philosophers, such as personal perception, truthful evidence, and logical conclusion. As none of these applies to the tenets of the Jewish religion, he adds, as a fourth source, 'reliable tradition based on revelation'—a phrase which marks the difference between the creed of Rabbanite Judaism on the one side, and Muhammadan as well as Karaita Kalâm on the other. Beyond this first attempt, however, Sa'adya has specified no real articles of faith, employing for the remainder of his work the methods of the Mu'tazilite Kalâm, which held sway among Jewish philosophers for two centuries afterwards.

The hereditary colouring of the Kalâm in the writings of the famous Arab philosopher Avicenna (Ibn Sinâ), in connexion with the criticism of Muslim theologians and the growing pretensions of the Karaites, gradually brought about a reaction in favour of a more decided accentuation of the tenets of Rabbanite Judaism. But in this case also, how little in practice in formulating articles of creed, they again turned to the Arabs, who employed the term 'aqida (phr. 'aqidah) for this purpose. The first Muslim who formulated articles of creed was the famous theologian of Samarkand (1093), who laid down the tenets of his faith in a work entitled 'Aqida (Cod. Brit. Mus. Add. 19143), written in the form of a catechism. Of greater popularity, in fact the standard work on the subject, was that of Ibn Khaldun (1142), which, it is probable, served Jewish writers as a model for the formation of their articles of creed. For it should be noted that the first Jewish work which contained something approaching axioms of faith did not see the light till that period. About 1140 the poet and philosopher Judah Hallevi of Castile composed his famous work al-Khazari in defence of 'the despised faith.' The book (which is written in Arabic) is based on a narrative dealing with the search of the king of the Khazars for the right belief. Being dissatisfied with the doctrines offered to him by a philosopher of the Avicenna type, a Christian and a Jew, he finally asks a Jewish Rabbi for his creed. The last named, in contradiction to his predecessors with their more or less speculative theories, answers:

'I believe in the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, who led the children of Israel out of Egypt with signs and miracles. Our belief is comprised in the Torah' (ib. Khazari, p. 44).

This formal confession is subsequently supplemented by the following sentence:

'To this [prayer] the believer attaches the following articles of creed (Iyad' which completes the Jewish belief, viz. (1) the recognition of God's sovereignty, (2) His eternity, (3) the providential care which He bestowed upon our forefathers, (4) that the Torah was sent from Him, and (5) that the proof of all this is found in the delivery from Egypt' (ib. 154).

From these words we conclude that the notion of articles of creed was familiar to Judah Hallevi, though he saw no necessity to formulate them for the benefit of his Jewish brethren. Sweeping away speculation of all kinds, he substitutes for it a priori belief, from which everything else follows as a necessary consequence (ib. 270). In this way he shows the contrast between his attitude and that of religious speculators, he reproduces in ten axioms the system of the Karaita Kalâm (ib. 275-278). Judah Hallevi's omission to condense the results of his investigation into a similar system is thus far quite consistent with his views. A more definite attempt to formulate axioms of belief on Arab-Aristotelian lines was made by Abraham b. David of Toledo (1161)—the author of a work (like-
Arts for liturgical purposes prefixed each paragraph with the words 'I believe with perfect faith'—words which are absent from Maimonides' original. It was Samuel b. Tibbon who placed the word 'pē' (to believe') at the head of several articles of the first two categories of these articles in poetic form the most popular is the Yigdal hymn by an unknown (but probably Spanish) author. Those who followed Maimonides, writing on the same subject, as Isḥaq Crescas († 1410) and Abraham Abravanel (1357–1508), have added nothing new, and need not, therefore, be further considered.

There now remains a word to be said on the tenets of the creed of the Karaites. By rejecting the Rabbinitic method of interpreting the Bible, they avoided the Muhammadan charge of having altered the Torah, and, being disciples of the Mu'tazilite school, they were under no suspicion regarding their conception of Biblical anthropomorphisms. They had, however, to defend their belief in (1) the prophethood of Moses and the other prophets; (2) the validity of the Torah, and their own interpretation of it; and (3) the arrival of the Messiah. Now the ten axioms reproduced by Judah Halevi (see above) touch only the physical side of the question, and it was left to others to supply the religious element. Judah b. Elijah Hadasasi (1149) was the first to attempt this by grouping the Karaites laws round the Decalogue. Kaleb Alfonsi, who (in 1407) wrote an introduction to Hadasasi's work, extracted from it the following ten articles:

I. God is the creator of all creatures.
II. He is only one Eternal.
III. Every other existing being is created.
IV. God sent Moses and all other prophets mentioned in the Bible.
V. The law of Moses is true.
VI. Believer must have knowledge of the Torah and its interpretation.
VII. The Sanctuary (at Jerusalem) is the palace of the Most High or Divine dwelling.
VIII. The resurrection of the dead [will take place] at the time of the arrival of the Messiah.
IX. There will be a final judgment.
X. Just retribution.

In view of the close relationship between the paragraphs I.–III., IV.–VII., IX.–X., the artificiality of the number ten is conspicuous. Israel Haldarayyân of Alexandria, who (in 1257) composed a digest of the Karaites laws, condensed the Articles into the following six: (1) God; (2) the messengership of Moses; (3) the Torah was revealed through Moses; (4) (Jerusalem); and (5) the judgment.


HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD.

ARTICLES (Muhammadan).—The Muhammadan creed or profession of faith (kalimah as-salāhā) or, shortly, Article, is the word 'I testify that there is no god but God, and I testify that Muhammad is the apostle of God.' It is one of the articles of faith ('aqidah) of faith ('imām), and also one of the 'five pillars' of practical religion (iddah). According to Ibn Khattab (Mehe, Lohmoo, 1861, p. 19) and Zunz (Literaturgesch. des synagoge, Potsie, Berlin, 1860, p. 507), this hymn was completed in 1451 by Daniel ben Judah Duyan of Ronie.
CREEDS AND ARTICLES (Parsi).

1. According to Yasn. xxx, 2, man must make a choice between the two 'creeds' or 'confessions' (verānā). In the beginning the Holy Spirit said of himself and of his spiritual antagonist that their 'confessions' (verānā) did not agree with each other. The word, 'confession' implies a choice, and the corresponding verb is used in the middle voice by fra- as a technical term to express the profession of a religion, especially of the Mazdaian faith: fra-verb, 'profess, confess,' 'I make my profession of faith,' etc. Although from the very beginning Zarathushtrian Mazdaism thus meant a sharp contrast with surrounding worship and practice (cf. Vend. xix. 6; Zarathushtra's mother had invoked the Aryan Māzā; i.e., Mazda-term, neithr proselytizing aims or doctrinal discussions produced a creed in the same sense as in Christianity. The Zarathushtrian reform was of a moral, economic, and ritual kind, rather than intellectual. But the Avesta contains several beliefs based on different occasions, e.g., in putting on the sacred cord, on rising in the morning, in the nayishesh and other prayers, etc. These formula sum up the most peculiar tenets and practices of the Parsi religion. It may be that some of them originated during the Sassanian restoration, owing to the need of briefly distinguishing their own faith from Christianity and other rivals. We shall mention only the most important formulæ. In the post-Avestan time some of the settled in India, who presumably present a summary of their beliefs and sacred customs to Indian rulers.

2. In its shortest form the Fravarene (Yaz. xi. 16, xvii. 12; Yt. xiii. 83, etc.) contains four points: Fravarene, Mazdayasn, Zarathushtrish, Vidēa, Ahrāmatkōh. I profess myself a Mazda-worshipper, a Zarathushtrian, an anti-devil (enemy of the demons), a servant (or proclaimer) of the Lord. That is, the believer declares himself (1) a monotheist; (2) a member of a historically founded religion; (3) a dualist. Or, to put it differently, (1) the revealed God is Ahura Mazda; (2) the revealer is Zarathushtra; (3) the peculiar higher form of life instated by the revealer as the due service of God consists, with the faith against the demons. These points are co-ordinated in a way characteristic of revealed or founded religion (cf. Transactions of the 3rd Int. Congr. for the Hist. of Rel., Oxford, 1908, ii. 405 ff.). (4) The last point seems to hold on to a whole faith, yasnēavād designating more particularly the Divine worship, and 1ākāshō designating the doctrines and tenets of religion in general. Additions are sometimes made to the Fravarene: homage to the genius of the gōkās (hours, watches), of the days, of the months, of the seasons, of the years (Introd. to the Yasn. Y. xi. 16, xxvii. 5; esp. in the five gōkās recited at the five hours of prayer of the five stages of daily and contained in the Khorda Avesta (the book of prayer), etc.); or a more authentic addition—homage to the Amesha-Spenta (Yasn. xii. 1), or other amplifications. A still shorter form (Yasn. xii. 8) runs: 'I profess myself a Zarathushtrian, having made both my avowal and my profession of faith.' Another short formula in Pahlavi runs: 'I declare my adherence to the Mazda-worship and right, and renounce all evil beings and things ornament.' (E. S. Dadaibai Bharucha, Khorda-avestā-arzōh, Bombay, 1906, p. 2).

3. A more explicit creed is formed by the Hāsd. xii. and xiii. of the Yasn. designated, according to Anquetil Duperron, by the Parsis as Fra-verb, 'confession,' 'creed,' and called after the opening words Frastrnē, 'I praise' (Yas. xi. 17—xiii. 7), and Astryē, 'I avow' (Yasn. xii. 8—xiii. 9, as divided by Darmesteter). Astryē, with the shortest Fra-verb, belongs, e.g., to the parer of the investiture with the kōst. Frastrnē is placed at the head of each Yast and of each Patet, and it occurs in a shorter and in a longer—evidently more original—form, which contains elements of really ancient respect. The term fra- (from the Persian fra-, 'I avow good thoughts, good words, good actions.' In the course of the confession, cattle-stalking and destruction of the villages of the Mazdayans are abjured; folk and cattle ought to live in peace. A Frastrnē, 'I make my profession of faith, etc. Although from the very beginning Zarathushtrian Mazdaism thus meant a sharp contrast with surrounding worship and practice (cf. Vend. xix. 6; Zarathushtra's mother had invoked the Aryan Māzā; i.e., Mazda-term, neither proselytizing aims nor doctrinal discussions produced a creed in the same sense as in Christianity. The Zarathushtrian reform was of a moral, economic, and ritual kind, rather than intellectual. But the Avesta contains several beliefs based on different occasions, e.g., in putting on the sacred cord, on rising in the morning, in the nayisheshes and other prayers, etc. These formulæ sum up the most peculiar tenets and practices of the Parsi religion. It may be that some of them originated during the Sassanian restoration, owing to the need of briefly distinguishing their own faith from Christianity and other rivals. We shall mention only the most important formulæ. In the post-Avestan time some of the settled in India, who presumably present a summary of their beliefs and sacred customs to Indian rulers.

4. Anquetil Duperron describes the ceremonies to be undertaken by an unbeliever desiring to join the Parsi faith. The Parsi creed belonging to that ritual and included by Spiegel in the Khorda Avesta is evidently much later than the Avesta. It runs: 'The good, pious, right religion, which the Lord of the created beings has sent, is the one brought by Zartāsh. The religion is the religion of Zartāsh, the religion of Ormazd, given to Zartāsh. The creation of an outsider into the Parsi communion is, in fact, nowadays almost an unheard-of thing; such requests have been rejected lately.

5. The Mazdayans who confesses his sins and seeks also the other course, in quite a different position from a proselyte not belonging to the sacred blood. The explicit formulæ of penance, Patet, give a good idea of what was considered by later Mazdaism to be essential to the Parsi practice of his faith. To the cloistered, having been numbered at length the sins and wickednesses repented of, and having referred to the fact
that the same faith had been professed by the men of the holy tradition, mentioned in the Fruutury, and by Adabdar Mahranpand (4th cent. A.D.), the believer proclaims that neither happiness nor a longer duration of life is possible after the penalty of death, can separate him from the right religion, because he dreads hell and hopes for paradise.

6. On the arrival of the emigrating Parsis at Sanjan in A.D. 716, they presented to the Indian prince of Gujarat a list of sixteen 

dolazy, composed by the most learned of their dasturs, and containing the principal rules and tenets of their religion, selected and stated in a way fitted to consolidate the ruler, without denying or concealing the real content of Mazdeism. The points stated are as follows: (1) the adoration of Ahura Mazda, of the Sun, and of five elements; (2) silence during the bath, in reciting prayers, in presenting offerings to the fire, and in eating; (3) the use of incense, perfumes, and flowers in religious ceremonies; (4) the honour accorded to the cow; (5) the use of the sacred shirt, string, and sp; (6) singing and music at weddings; (7) the adornments and perfumes of ladies; (8) the precepts of generosity in giving alms, and of digging tanks and wells; (9) the precept to extend one's sympathies to all male and female beings; (10) the aubulations with gomutra (emphatically called 'one of the products of the cow'); (11) the wearing of the sacred cord in praying and in eating; (12) the sacred fire fed with incense; (13) the five devotions every day; (14) conjugal fidelity and purity; (15) the annual ceremonies in honour of the forefathers; (16) the precautions to be observed by women after child-birth and during menstruation. There exist different versions in Gujarati and Sanskrit.


NATHAN SÜDBERLOH.

CREEK INDIANS.—See Muskogeans.

CREMATION.—See Death and Disposal of the Dead.

CRESCENT.—See Symbols.

CRETE.—See Aegean Religion.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Primitive and Savage).—I. Introduction.—While revenge is the action of an individual against one who has done him wrong, punishment is the action taken by society against one who has transgressed its laws. Revenge may, however, be followed up by a group of persons in sympathy with the injured person, in this case passing over to the blood-feud (g.v.); and individual or collective revenge may be recognized by the society as the specific form of punishment to which it lends its sanction or its aid. Men seek revenge because they feel that their rights or interests have been wronged upon another without suffering the consequences. The exercise of justice by a community or its representatives against an individual who is obnoxious to it, or to any of its members, is based primarily on the feeling with which underlying the action. Punishment is to some extent vengeance—the vengeance of society for its own preservation. The criminal must suffer, must expiate his crime, whatever other notions may in time enter into the idea of punishment. Private vengeance and public justice are thus so far similar in their point of view and in their action, save that the latter tends to be more discriminating and impartial. Not the individual sufferer himself, but others judge and condemn the guilty person. Public justice at lower stages is extremely limited, and side by side with it exists private or collective vengeance (e.g. the blood-feud). This is to some extent justice, since society recognizes the right to its execution. It has become a specific form of punishment because society has sanctioned it. Or, public justice may, again, recognize private revenge by handing over the evil-doer to the injured person of his relatives, or by making him or them the executors of justice. Public justice, save in the case of a few crimes which more particularly menace the existence of society as a whole, has to content itself with regulating private revenge, or with suggesting a system of compensations. Finally, as it advances, often through the growing supranomy of chiefs, it eliminates private revenge more or less completely, though this can hardly be said to be true of any savage society.

The simplest form of regulated revenge is the duel—the right of the injured party to challenge the offender to single combat, or the case where the aggressor must stand up to the throwing of spears (as in some Australian instances), or must submit to the plundering of his house in revenge. The actual revenge is regulated by being limited to a certain period or to certain offences. The blood-feud is the best example of regulated revenge (see Post, Grundriss der ethnik, Jurisprudenz, ii. p. 467; Eliot, Moral Ideas, i. 496 ff.; see s. 6, ii. (1) below).

In the earliest times, if men, like some of the higher apes, lived in separate families, the family would, when necessary, assist any individual member of it in following up an act of revenge, because they were bound to be in sympathy with him for the wrong done. Thus individual revenge easily passed over into collective revenge. It is out of this feeling of sympathy that justice, strictly so called, arises. Actions by which any individual feels aggrieved are generally those by which all individuals feel aggrieved when they are done to themselves; and the condemnation of such actions tends to formulate itself as a custom or law which cannot be transgressed without risk of incurring the hostility of the society or or individuals composing it. Custom is, in fact, a strong expression of savage man's sense of right and wrong, and it is the test by which actions are judged, although, indeed, some of the actions, from a strictly ethical point of view, may be indifferent. Hence, both collective revenge and public justice are the expression of mutual indignation, though the latter expresses it more strongly. For, the more men realize their solidarity, the more is any ill done to one regarded with indignation by all, as a result of
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the working of sympathetic emotion. And, as the ill done has transgressed that customary law,—the expression of what is right and what is wrong,—the punishment inflicted is an expression of moral indignation at the wrongdoing. It may be out of all proportion to the offence committed, and in such a case is on a level with mere unthinking revenge, but it is not on just equivalence. At lower levels of savagery, punishment has some proportion to the offence. It is at higher levels, in barbaric and despotic societies, that punishment is most cruel and disproportionate to the offence.

The tendency of punishment is to supplant mere revenge (which is occasionally regarded as wrong) is aided by the fact that the latter often causes great inconvenience to the society, and tends to multiply the revengeful actions. The society, by its collective emotions, decides between the avenger and the wrongdoer, and decides upon the punishment, or restrains the amount of revengeful action. Thus the judgments of a central tribunal are gradually preferred to revengeful acts. Case by case the chief has been given powers over all the community because of the fear of anarchy arising out of private revenge (The Bassutos, 1861, p. 225). The injurious results of the blood-feud are well recognized by savages, and the chief sees the need of the headman for the sake of his people. If the chief will not interfere to stop its excesses; or it sometimes gives place to an appeal to them, or to the payment of a compensation by the offender, as a matter of private arrangement, one suggested by them. This custom generally tends to pool in the tribe to a certain degree, with a graduated scale of payments according to the magnitude of the offence (§ 5). With the growth of the power of the chief, he not only advises or sagaciously, but determines and orders the carrying out of justice over a wider field. Moreover, where the injured person or his representatives are too weak to take revenge against a powerful tribesman, or, on the other hand, where there is proportion to the offence, to the sympathetic emotions of the society, being aroused in the one case for the victim and in the other for the aggressor, gradually contribute to the formation of a tribunal in some shape or form, and to the cessation of private revenge.

Yet private revenge often exists side by side with punishment by a tribunal or a chief. This is natural when we consider what savage character is. But, on the whole, there is a tendency to make some headway in the expression. Thus it may be recognized as the right way of punishing certain wrongdoers, provided that it does not exceed certain limits. This is particularly true where the husband is allowed to avenge himself on the adulterer. Or it may be permitted that the criminal caught hard-handed in certain crimes, e.g. theft, should be slain at once. Or, again, the blood-feud may be the approved method of punishing the murderer. Or the aggrieved person or his relatives may be chosen as executors of the sentence passed by the tribunal. Thus, among many of the Bantu tribes, a murderer proved guilty is given over to the relatives of his victim to deal with him as they choose (Macdonald, J.Afr. xviii. 108). Many other instances might be cited. Private revenge sometimes continues alongside, or in spite of established tribal tribunals in the case of large societies scattered over wide areas, and in which there is little feeling of homogeneity, and hence little preponderance of sympathy in favour of an aggrieved person. Revenge may also be pursued in all societies in matters not usually taken cognizance of by the laws.

2. Crime, morality, and religion.—Even in the earliest stages of human history man may have dimly felt it ethically wrong to murder, commit adultery, or steal, apart from the fact that the instigative act of revenge brought it home to him that in committing it he was transgressing against the rights of another. These crimes are so universally condemned that there can have been no time when they were not regarded as deeds which it was wrong to commit. The sense of guilt attached to these crimes has been largely increased with the growth of society, of the group in which men lived, because such actions tended to destroy the unity of the group. Custom laid down that there were certain things which must not be done, and it was, therefore, highly immoral to do them. Nor is it improbable that, even at the very earliest stages of the growth of the ideas of right and wrong, man may have thought vaguely that in doing wrong to another he was incurring the anger of whatever worshipful being or beings he was aware of. This thought also would become more definite with the growth of society. Where a group of men living together worship a being whom they believe to be interested in the group, any transgressions of custom will be regarded as transgression against him, because the customs would certainly be regarded as having been instituted by him. Whatever constituted a menace to the group or any of the individuals composing it would be said to have offended against the gods, who naturally favoured the community and not him who menaced its existence. The god is apt to punish the group for the breach of custom, and hence the offender is made to suffer speedily for his evil-doing. So are the gods of the Navaho, among whom the victim is punished by the group as a whole. Others are not so punished, but the group approves of the act of revenge by which the offence is required. Revenge or punishment is thus supposed to satisfy the anger of the god. Some sort of expiation is looked for by the victims, and while the evidence here taken is found in the fact that the divinities of very primitive tribes are also to some extent moral governors, who are thought to dislike particular crimes and to punish them. Among savages at a higher level there is a certain amount of evidence proving that their gods take account of crime and are guardians of morality. Whether or not it be true that all morality from the first is connected with religion, it is reasonable to suppose that religion serves to strengthen and assisted morality by its insistence on the fact that the gods or gods of the group desired its welfare, and that all offences against that welfare were thus more than offences against law.

3. The administration of justice.—A regular organization for enforcing justice or maintaining custom hardly exists at the lowest levels of society, though its beginnings may be seen. Justice is a matter of individual action; and yet, as among the Yaghan of Tierra del Fuego, where the feeling of the community gives support to the existing customs, some help in avenging wrongs may always be looked for from relatives or neighbours (Hobhouse, Morale in Evolution, 1. 46, citing Hyades and Deniker, Mise. scient. du Cap Horn, Paris, 1891). This is an approach to collective revenge, and, as a rule, the greater the wrong, the more likelihood is there of the avenger being supported. But, whereas there might be cited a breach of tribal custom, the breaker of a custom is the breaker of a law, and his action arouses strong disapproval. Hence, society approves the action of the avenger, e.g., in cases of murder or adultery; or it takes similar action against the wrongdoer. The latter course is most frequent in the case of crimes which are regarded as bringing the whole community into danger or subjecting it to Divine anger, e.g. sorcery and incest (breaches of exogamous custom). Yet, again, a whole clan or tribe will put to death or banish a man who makes him—
self a nuisance to every one, as among the Eskimos, where a whole village has occasionally risen against and slain an atrocious murderer (Nansen, *Eskimo Life*, 1893, p. 163). Conjoint action by the community is found amongst the Mpongwe, who, according to Tabor (in *Trips to Gorilla Land*, 1876, i. 105), is common among Australian tribes, where the whole camp joins in punishing the ill-doer (Westermarck, *op. cit.* i. 171). But, even when such joint action occurs, individual revenge, especially to litigation to a council of elders; or, again, as among the Kaure, village chiefs judge lesser matters, while chiefs of clans hear appeals against their judgments and try all more serious crimes, aided by the advice of a council (Letourneau, *D'Ecol. juridique*, p. 94). But it is probable that, as among the Central Australian tribes, these offences are breaches of the strict marriage laws (incest, forbidding marriage between the brothers and sisters), or murder by the elder or eldest brother for an avenging party to go out and punish the offenders (Spencer & Gillen, *op. cit.* 15, 477; 163, 556 ff.). In some instances the council has nothing to do with cases of murder, adultery, etc.; and the laws relating to property or to litigation are brought before it (Nagas, *Stewart, JERAS Be* xxiv., 1855, p. 669). Kandhs (Dalton, *Eth. of Bengal*, Calc., 1872, p. 294) and Formosans (Letourneau, *D'Ecol. juridique*, p. 94). Or, as among some N. American tribes (Oglivas, Wyandots, etc.), the avenger appears before a council, and, having obtained judgment in his favour, demands compensation. If this is not given, he falls back on revenge (Kohler, *ZVII* viii. [1897] 407). In many cases, too, the council (as in the case of the chief) delegates the execution of justice to the person who would otherwise be the avenger. Sometimes the leading men of a group will intervene to prevent disputes or to arrange composition. Less usual are the instances of the decision being taken by a council, and as final in all private cases (Todas and other aboriginal Indian tribes [Shortt, *TES*, new ser. vii., 1868, p. 241; Forsyth, *Highlands of Cent. India*, 1871, p. 563]; Tagbana [Worcester, *Philippine Islands*, New York, 1888, p. 107], and a few others). Thus, generally speaking, the savage council seldom constitutes a court in the strict sense of the word.

With the advancing power of the chief, the administration of public justice passes largely into his hands; yet even so, the blood-feud, or the right of the husband to punish in cases of adultery—is still used and permitted, and often the chief's prerogative is exercised only when appeal has been made to him. But there now comes into great prominence in most higher savage tribes, a regular system of compensation or fines for various crimes, payable to the aggrieved person or his representatives, or, in some cases, to the state. We find also in many places regular codes of laws, with different laws for different offences. Sometimes the chief merely intervenes to prevent excessive revenge and to suggest compensation, as among many American Indian and African tribes; sometimes his power of intervention extends to the actual payment, generally those of a public kind; or, again, he merely acts as arbiter or adviser rather than as judge. But, the more his power is established, and the more autocratic he is, so much the more do his functions as judge increase. This is especially true of many of the chiefs and petty monarchs of Africa, and in general of all tribes whose social organization is high. Frequently the court consists of a council of elders; or, again, as among the Kaure, village chiefs judge lesser matters, while chiefs of clans hear appeals against their judgments and try all more serious crimes, aided by the advice of a council (Letourneau, *D'Ecol. juridique*, p. 94). But, with the decay of private revenge, the administration of justice becomes more definite and strict, especially as we advance from savage to barbarous societies. The court or chief maintains order, upholds the rights of every member of society, and punishes all crime. Generally, where a court exists, it is seen to be a guarantee, not found in the exercise of mere revenge, that all offenders shall suffer, and suffer proportionately to their offence.

Where cases are brought before a council or a chief, a palaver usually takes place, at which both parties are fully heard. Sometimes the method of the oath or ordeal is resorted to in order to discover the truth and to point out the guilty person. The oath is frequently in the form of a curse, and accompanies the drinking of a poison or of some liquid, which is supposed to act fatally upon the perjurer or the guilty. The oath is thus a species of ordeal. But the ordeal may occur by itself in various forms: the ordeal by fire, by red hot metal, or by boiling oil or water, in which cases the innocent person is not burned, or his wound heals within a certain time; the ordeal by water—remaining under water for a certain time without drowning, or passing safely through water in which crocodiles lurk; the ordeal by poison (see OATH; ORDEAL; Post, ii. 459 ff.). The person who is proved to be guilty, if he has not already succumbed to the ordeal, is then punished according to the nature of his crime. Among the most civilized societies, such as the Duk-Duk of New Britain, supplement the action of private revenge or public justice where these are imperfect, and punish any one who commits crime.

### 4. Variety of Crimes

The idea of what constitutes crime in savage society is largely akin to that entertained in civilized societies. But there are important exceptions to this, bound up with the nature of savage society and belief, e.g. breach of taboo or relating to the blood-feud; or the right of the husband to punish in cases of adultery—is still used and permitted, and often the chief's prerogative is exercised only when appeal has been made to him. But there now comes into great prominence in most higher savage tribes, a regular system of compensation or fines for various crimes, payable to the aggrieved person or his representatives, or, in some cases, to the state. We find also in many places regular codes of laws, with different laws for different offences. Sometimes the chief merely intervenes to prevent excessive revenge and to suggest compensation, as among many American Indian and African tribes; sometimes his power of intervention extends to the actual payment, generally those of a public kind; or, again, he merely acts as arbiter or adviser rather than as judge. But,
even praiseworthy. They are apt to be considered wrong, however, if they are likely to bring the vengeance of the other tribe upon the tribe of the offender. With the decline of the custom of capital punishment and a wider sense of responsibility this view tends to disappear. Again, we generally meet with the idea that the weight of the crime varies both according to the rank (and often the age and sex) of the offender and according to that of the victim. Chiefs or men of rank may commit crimes with impunity or with slight punishment, but crime committed against them is generally punished more severely than that against lesser men. This is especially the case when the system of compensation for crime prevails, the blood-price or the fine varying strictly according to the rank of the victim, and often also according to the rank of the offender. These views continue to prevail in higher societies. Approximating to the custom of more advanced civilization, there is frequently a distinction made between a first crime and its repetition. A first offence may be punished comparatively lightly; a second or third will receive the utmost penalty—death or punishment.

Thus among the Basobara, for a first theft a hand is amputated; for a second the penalty is death (Letermeau, p. 78). The first time a tribe is charged with a murder, the second with amputation of some fingers, a third with amputation of a hand and feet, a fourth with death (Petroff, "Report on the Criminal Code of the United States," Washington, 1854, p. 150). Among the Wakamba, a first murder is punished by a fine, but on a second conviction the murderer is killed at once (Decé, Three Years in Savage Africa, 1846, p. 457).

In general, those crimes which may be considered public, that is, those crimes that are punished against the community, or to the danger of the whole community, are sorcery (involving, according to current belief, all natural death), breaches of the customary marriage laws (incest), sacrilege (breaking of tabo, and many other "crimes") which are committed against private persons—include murder, adultery, usury, theft, perjury, and the like. Some of the latter may be regarded as public crimes if they are committed against the chief, because of the relation in which he stands to the community. There are, of course, many lesser crimes, while, especially where chiefs have the power of making laws, there is a tendency to multiply offences. With the greater development of savage society and the addition of a central administrative body taking the place of mere public opinion and custom, these private crimes are regarded less and less as offences against an individual, and more and more as breaches of law and order against the community. At the latter stage, in barbaric and semi-civilized societies, that a real approximation to this view is found.

5. Punishments.—Punishment administered by public justice in savage society has generally the intention of making the offender suffer pain, and is thus analogous to punishment inflicted as an act of private revenge. The lex talonis, or principle of equivalence in punishment, is perhaps originally connected with the reflex and instinctive movements of the person who is hurt, and who attempts to make the aggressor suffer a similar hurt by a natural process of imitation. There must be blow for blow. At the same time this movement is one of self-preservation, and this also is an element of all punishment. Such instinctive resentment is, however, indiscriminate in the amount of vengeance which it employs, and this primitive instinct of blow for blow, whilst suggesting the lex talonis, is in no way an explanation of it. We may, therefore, with Westermarck (1, 197), look for a further explanation of it in the feeling of self-regarding pride which desires to bring the aggressor to the same level as the sufferer, and in the social feeling that members of the same society have equal rights, and hence, if one makes another suffer, he must suffer in a similar way and to the same extent.

The simplest form of the lex talonis is found in the idea of life for life, wound for wound, eye for eye, tooth for tooth. But it also assumes some curious forms; for example, especially in the case of the blood-feud, there is often the desire that the vengeance should fall on one of the same rank, or the same sex, or the same age, as the victim—the real aggressor thus escaping. Again, the vengeance is exacted with the same kind of weapon, and in the same way. Such a development forms a series of compensations and lines exists, which are in due proportion to the amount of pain caused. Or it is seen working in still another way: the thief is deprived of sight, of an arm or hand; the perjurer loses his tongue; the adulterer or ravisher is cast out; or, again, the thief must not only restore the goods stolen, but must submit to be pillaged to the same extent (see Post, ii. 238 ff.; Hobhouse, I, 84, 91).

But, while the lex talonis is found as an underlying principle both in savage and in more advanced systems (cf. e.g. the OT and the Bab. Code of Hammurabi), there is often a disposition to exceed it, so that methods of private revenge as well as public punishment are exacted in relation to the crime committed, especially in places where the people are naturally cruel, where a despotic chief rules, or where it is held that a Divine as well as a human law is transgressed. In the last case, as well as in the case of some tribes at the present day, murder is seen as equivalent to the crime committed, especially in places where the people are naturally cruel, where a despotic chief rules, or where it is held that a Divine as well as a human law is transgressed. Hence the punishment is more severe. In the case of the blood-feud, the principle of compensation and collective responsibility—a principle lingering on in more advanced societies.

In a few cases capital punishment seldom or never occurs. But, as a rule, it is meted out in most tribes as a lesser or greater penalty. But it is not, as is commonly supposed, universally applied to murder alone, or to the blood-feud. Murder, murder, incest, treason, sacrilege, adultery, and theft. Some tribes punish capital only for murder and for murder and adultery (especially with the wives of chiefs); but not uncommonly all these offences are liable to the punishment of death. Further, in such despotic kingdoms as Ashanti or other regions of Africa, as well as sporadically elsewhere, even small offences are punishable with death, at the capricious will of the chief (Elita, Tahi-speaking Peoples, 1887, p. 166; Kolmann, Victoria Nyanza, Berlin, 1899, p. 170 ff.).

The methods of death vary; they include decapitation, strangulation, hanging, stabbing or spearing, disembowelment, decapitation, crucifixion, drowning, burning, hanging alive, burying alive, throwing from a height, burning, sending the criminal to sea in a leaky canoes, cutting in two, lopping off the limbs. In some cases, where the crime is believed to be particularly offensive to the gods, the criminal is offered in sacrifice, whilst this is not an unusual way of obtaining victims where human sacrifice prevails (McConihey, Codrington, Melanesia, 1899, p. 123, and under-mentioned elsewhere, von Kotzebue, Voy. of Discovery to the S. Sea, 1821, ii. 246; Tafelii (Eds.), Polynes. Reis., 1829, i. 524); cf. Caumer, vi. 16 [Gauls]; Grimm, Teut. Myth., ii. p. 346; Loomis, 'Travels on the Cape of Good Hope,' 46 (Pretoria). In the event of cannibalism prevailing, criminals are killed and eaten, probably as an extreme form of gratifying revenge and showing contempt.
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(For example, Travels in Brazil, 1847, I. 88).

Of all these methods the most cruel are found in Africa, where, a man must die for death, as well as for other torture, is practised (cf. Letourneau, pp. 71, 81, 82, 88; Post, ii. 274; Westermarck, I. 195).

Other punishments consist of various bodily mutilations, cutting off hands or feet (or parts of these), nose, ears, lips; castration; and plucking out the eyes. All these are found commonly in Africa, among Amer. Indian tribes, in the South Sea Islands, and occasionally elsewhere. The mutilations or parts of the body—back, hips, shoulders, legs, stomach—is also used (in S. America, among the Mongols, in Africa). Enslavement is found as an occasional punishment for crime or for debt (commonly in Africa and in the Malay Archipelago, and sporadically elsewhere); or, where the criminal has failed to pay the due compensation, he is often enslaved, or the usual punishment is inflicted upon him. He becomes the slave of his victim or of the latter's family, or of the chief, or he may be sold. Consecration of goods, in whole or in part, is a frequent punishment in cases of theft. Banishment occurs here and there (New Zealand, Mongolia, some African tribes) as a punishment, but it is often the result of general bad or unruly behaviour threatening the peace of the tribe (see Westermarck, i. 172; Steinmetz, Ethnol. Stud. zur ersten Entwick. der Strafe, vol. ii, ch. 5). Lack of a country among the Kung (African Bushmen), the Bannavas of Cambodia, are punished with banishment (Lichtenstein, Travels in S. Africa, 1812-15, i. 265; Mouhot, Trav. in Central Parts of Indo-China, 1864, ii. 27). Other punishments are various forms of discomfit—cutting off the hair, insulting exhibition or parade of the culprit, dressing in women's clothes. Imprisonment as a punishment is rarely found among savages, but instances are noted in various parts of Africa (Krapf, Travels . . . in E. Africa, 1866, p. 38; Letourneau, pp. 80, 84; Post, Afr. Jur. ii. 51).

There is also a widespread system of compensation or fine for certain offences. This method of indemnifying the victim or his relatives is itself a species of theft, though the aggressor, who is wealthy, is easy for him to pay for his crimes. The system probably originated in the custom of paying blood-money to the relatives of a murdered man. The aggressor, to avoid a blood-feud, would be held responsible to the relatives to appease their anger, while at the same time appealing to their love of gain. This, defective as it may be from the point of view of justice, was soon seen to have the good effect of staying the excesses of the blood-feud, and would be encouraged by the community or the chief. Similarly, compensation for theft may also have been suggested by the custom of subjecting the chief to pillage of his goods. The system of compensation was largely adopted, and penalized duties among the Bushmen and other aboriginal races, as a method of assessing criminal actions. But it was far from being universally accepted either in systems of private revenge or in public punishment, and, even where it prevailed, certain crimes cannot be compensated for, e.g. sorcery and deliberate murder. It has a wide-spread vogue, however, as a regular custom, or as an alternative to punishment in cases of murder, adultery, seduction, theft, etc. (cf. Post, ii. 256 ff., for a list of peoples among whom it is found). When it is provided for a regular system of payments is fixed according to the injury done, according to the rank or sex of the victim, and sometimes according to the rank of the aggressor.

In many instances—in such serious crimes as sorcery, murder, or crimes committed against a chief or his household—the wife and children of the aggressor suffer with him, or are sold as slaves. Or, where compensation has not been paid, wife and children may be taken with the defaulting criminal and enslaved; or he himself may sell them in order to obtain the wherewithal to pay the compensation. Thus the first type of the savage doctrine of human solidarity is seen at work—a principle emphasized in the blood-feud, where the murderer's family or clan is often held responsible for his act and the members are liable to be slain for it.

As a further form of indignity and punishment, the body of a criminal is often left unburied, or is thrown into the forest to be devoured by wild beasts (African tribes [Post, Afr. Jur. i. 46]; Eskimos [Kink, Tales and of the Eskim to 1875, p. 54]; Cent. America [Preuss, Die Begräbn. der Amer., Königsh. 1875, p. 311]).

6. As has already been said, a distinction is drawn even by the most backward peoples between public and private crimes. Some example of both will now be discussed, showing the attitude of the savage with regard to them and the punishments meted out to the aggressors.

1. Public Crimes.—As examples of public crimes may be taken sorcery, incest, and sacrifice.

(a) Sorcery.—As distinct from magic, which is authorized for the public good, sorcery, though its methods may often be similar, is almost universally punished by the social sanction. Its commission occurs as the direct object of the central authority acting in its name. The sorcerer is employing unlawful means for anti-social ends, especially to bring about the sickness or death of his neighbor's wife, or to cause sterility in his own; thus, inasmuch as the crime is an anti-social one, it is for that very reason a crime against the divinity of the social group, its guardian or tutelary spirit. As among the Eskimos, it is adverse to the welfare of all, as it prevails in all parts of savage religion. Thus, sorcery is condemned on religious as well as on social or moral grounds, and those who are most active in pursuing it are generally the sorrows among the sorcerers, or priestesses in their employ, the divinities of which are said to abhor witchcraft, thus to punish their actions. The Iroquois to punish it in the future life (Kink, p. 41; Parker, Esnanday Tribe, 1905, p. 79; Codrington, p. 274). As it is a widespread belief that all sickness or death is due to unnatural causes, one of which is sorcery, there is a wide field for the exercise of public justice against the sorcerer, who is generally regarded as a murderer of a particularly offensive type. Hence, not only in the lower culture, but at all higher levels, law and custom condemn him. He is a danger to society; he offends against its gods; and, because of the solidarity of the society, it may be visited by them for his offence. Therefore he is almost invariably punished with death. Sorcery is sometimes the only crime which is so punished, while the method of death is very cruel. In most cases the authorized magician, medicine-man, fetish-man, priest, or witch-doctor, takes steps to discover the sorcerer. When he is found, he is sentenced to an ordeal, e.g. by poison. If this does not kill him but proves him guilty, he is then publicly put to death. The ordeal is thus equivalent to the trial of the suspected person.

Among Australian tribes, with whom all natural death is attributed to sorcery, death is the inevitable punishment. The medicine-man identifies the guilty person, an avenging party
is arranged by the council of old men, and the culprit is fol-
lowed up and slain (Spencer-Gillies, pp. 461, 477-479, 539).
Within the last few years, executions have been ad-
ministered to sorcerers, who were much feared among the
American Indian tribes of all degrees of culture, and the lowest
tribes up to the present day use a method of detecting
such criminals as e.g. burning (Wyndcets, Guatemalans) and
culgelling (Vera Fux).
With the Aztec the victim is thrown into the sea.
(1883, p. 146; Kohler, ZVRW xil. [1887] 319-331; Walsz,
Anthropologie, Leipzig, 1858-1872, ill. 129.) Among the
Mardins the execution of the sorcerer is delayed and thrown
upon the sea (ZEIL VIII. [1888] 190), and the punishment of
death is usual in N. Guinea and among the peoples of the
Melanesian islands. (Wilkins, pp. 202, 205, 303.) In the
Hottentots the sorcerer is executed, and his body is thrown
into the bush (Johannot, UGANDA PROTECTOARTE, 1897, ii. 594 f.)
In E. Central Africa, when the victim of the witch has been
detected and the accursed community by the witch-finder,
it must drink a poisoned coup on the day that he is detected; it is caused
by death, this proves him guilty. In some cases he is burned
alive (Macdonald, AFRICANS, 1887, i. 43, 206 f.; Lettorneau,
1899, p. 35). In New Guinea, witch-doctors declare sorcerers,
who are thought to be very numerous and powerful. When discovered,
they are put to death (Casalis, Le Fantome, p. 229; Deole,
op. cit. p. 27; Macdonald, KAPERS LUXE, and Custom, 1898, p. 32. 41).
Where the punishment of death is not inflicted, the sorcerer
may be executed, or punished by burning (Post, AFR. JOUR. IV.
90-97) ; and occasionally a fine is all that is demanded, but this is,
very rare (Rendall natives (JAL xxv. 227)."
not infrequently the punishment inflicted is limited on the
relatives of the sorcerer and upon his goods. Sometimes all these are
destroyed (Deole, op. cit. p. 27; Macdonald, AFR. JOUR. iv.
90-97; Zouk, and other African tribes). In Bali, the parents,
children, and grandchildren are put to death, and the property
is confiscated (Cuauhtemoc, op. cit. p. 189). In New Guinea,
Asia, and in the Babar Archipelago, the sorcerer and all his adult
blood-relations are slain, and the children given to the relatives
of his victim to slay. (Gutzwiller, Reisen im Indischen Archipel. The
Hague, 1886, p. 349). Among many W. African tribes, where
the sorcerer is executed, his family are sold as slaves
(Post, ii. 161).
(2) Incest.—While the civilized man’s horror of incest
is usually confined to cases of marriage or
sexual relations between parents and children or
brothers and sisters, many savage peoples
marry the bars to marriage, while generally in-
cluding these, usually extend much farther.
Where the classificatory system prevails, the
society is divided into classes, from certain of
which a man must not choose his wife. If, or again,
he may not marry within his totem, his clan, his
village, or even his tribe. Again, marriage may
be prohibited within the kindred absolutely, or
within the kindred of the particular side, where
mother-right prevails (generally totemic prohibi-
tion). In the last case a man might marry his
wife’s daughter, or his brother’s daughter ; or
a brother might marry a sister by a different
mother, since there will be of disingenuous
ancestors. But, as a rule, these unions are also looked upon
with abhorrence. Thus, while in savage life consan-
guous unions are in, with certain exceptions, re-
garded as incestuous, the prohibitions have usually
a much broader basis, and all broth.
whole, because he has sinned against the gods, or has committed a breach of the taboos involving such a breach. He is put to death, for such a dangerous person is safer out of the way. Tabu need be considered here only in so far as it illustrates the savage view of public crime. Many irrational tabus have been imposed at a sacrifice of reason for some definite reason arising out of experience, real or imaginary. If something is conceived to be dangerous for any reason, e.g., on account of its connexion with spirits or gods, then it is wise to regard it as dangerous and to avoid it, and it becomes sacred to break it. Other tabus, those on food-stuffs or animals at certain seasons, have been imposed as a wise precaution, or in the interests of a class or sex. Many others are wilfully imposed by religious or priestly authorities. Generally all tabus have a supernatural sanction, and the automatic punishment is regarded as the working of the Divine anger. Tabus are sometimes of a private sort (tabus on property), but more often they have a public character. It is often a sacrilege (as in the cases of food-supply, interdiction of places, etc.), political, sexual (as in the case of incest), or more purely religious. Tabu has to some extent subserved the growth of the idea that crime is wrong because it goes against the natural law of the tribe, and the breach is regarded as an act of sacrilege and the thief is believed to suffer automatically for his theft (cf. Turner, p. 185 ff.). It is obvious that this belief would foster the idea that theft is wrong. On the other hand, many breaches of taboo, though wrong in the eyes of the savage, have nothing inherently immoral in them.

Where society imposes a punishment for breach of taboo, that punishment is generally death. In Polynesia, where the institution of taboo development, every violation of taboo, or even the merest suspicion of it, was visited with death, the victim being usually sacrificed to appease the gods, since all diseases and calamities were public manifestations of their wrath at breach of taboo (Letourneau, p. 61). But in some other cases it is regarded as sacrilege meriting death.

Thus, with most savage tribes the fruits of the harvest cannot be parceled out until the first fruits have been offered up to the gods. Individuals—chief or priest—or by all the people. In many cases to eat before the time is not only considered wrong but criminal—‘angry—madness (Tjij [JAI xiv. 27]), or death (Tihil [Ellis, op. cit. l. 350]). But, wherever death is thus held to follow a sacrilege, it is not crime in the sense of public punishment, as among the Zulus (death or confiscation of all the man’s cattle [Moerkenhout, Le peuple des Hottentots, p. 359]) and Polynesian (Moerkenhout, p. 359). An analogous crime is that of boiling milk among the pastoral Musk. This is believed to cause cows to go dry and is punished as an insult to the sacred cattle, with death or a very heavy fine (Johnston, Kilimanjaro Expedition, 1886, p. 435).

A more obvious form of sacrilege is the viewing of various sacred by those to whom they are interdicted, e.g., women and children; or the communication of initiation secrets to the unintitiated; or intrusion upon sacred mysteries—those of men by women, or those of women by men. Among the Australians no woman may look upon the sacred mysteries of the men on pain of death, and the women, or bullroarers, must never handle the sacred objects or play upon the sacred totemic drawings, or (among the Arunta) invade the place where the sacred objects are kept. Generally the danger of violating these things is told to boys at initiation (see ‘JAI ii. 271, xiii. 448, xxvii. 311; Howitt and Fison, Reminiscences and Researches in the Interior of Australia, 1894, p. 586, Spencer-Gillen, op. cit. p. 317). The same is true of the natives of the Papuan Gulf (‘JAI xxxvii. 425). Among the Isthmians of the South Sea Islands are warned against certain mysteries by the playing of the drumdrum pipes, the mere chance sight of which is punished with death (Wallace, Mamoa, 1895, p. 349).

Death is not the only punisher of the initiation rites among the Torres Strait tribes (Haddon, ‘JAI xix. 336). The initiation rites of girls and boys are regarded as in most cases, generally, death, inflicted by the women (Rende, Savage Africa, 1883, p. 240; Crawley, Mystic Race, 1905, p. 307)

a. PRIVATE CRIMES. Among private crimes, those of murder, adultery, unchastity, and theft may be examined here in detail. Some of these, e.g. adultery and unchastity, is a breach of tabus, and breaches of such tabus are sometimes believed to produce evil results upon the whole tribe or upon its land—a visitation by the offended spirits.

(1) Murder.—Tylor has pointed out that ‘no known tribe, however savage and barbarous, has ever admitted that a man may kill one another indiscriminately’ (CRE xi. 714). This statement is supported by the express ideas of the horror of murder entertained by many even of the lowest savages. In most institutions murder is to be feared as being a most rare, and are felt to be wrong. But generally the feeling of abhorrence is restricted, and it is considered a harmless or even praiseworthy action to kill outside the limits of the clan or tribe. But the limits of the restriction vary considerably among different peoples. Blood-revenge for murder is a duty or a custom insisted upon by public opinion in most savage societies, and often legally permitted, while it is probably a survival of the time when no supreme authority existed to provide the execution of justice. Though in many cases the relatives of the murderer or any members of his clan or tribe are slain in revenge, because of savage man’s idea of human solidarity and of the collective guilt of the murderer’s tribe, true blood-revenge is more rarely found; in many cases the avenger may mix his blood with that of the murderer, and then a kind of mutual punishment is inflicted upon both sides (Wolff, ‘JAI xxiv. 301; Howitt, op. cit. p. 266), and, though often the custom does rise to tribal wars, yet the evidence shows that the revenge is directed in the first place against frequently only the murderer himself. Often his death satisfies the desire for vengeance, and it is only where it has been found impossible to lay hands on him that the vengeance falls on another. In the insistence upon blood-revenge, therefore, it is disgraceful and irrecoverable to avoid (sometimes because the dead man’s ghost finds no rest till the vengeance falls), and in its falling first upon the murderer, we see exemplified the general savage view of justice. Where a local tribunal exists, it may arrange the blood-feud and set the machinery in motion, or it may go further and, after hearing the respective sides, give judgment in favour of the avenger, and appoint execution to be done, sometimes by him; sometimes by the relatives of the avenger, i.e., by the clan. But nowhere is it strong enough will its decisions be enforced or its suggestions be heeded. This action of the local tribunal may be regarded in the light of a compromise, where the custom of

Other occasional causes of blood-feud are wounds, adultery, seduction, rape, and kidnapping (cf. Post, 129).
blood-feud continues after the rise of such tribunals. It is thus a step towards justice being done in the case of private wrongs. The progress to true justice is further seen where the central authority does not surround a punishment, but occludes the right to inflict, and the court for murder. Frequently the practice of compensation, the wound, takes the place of the blood-feud; or even that voluntary, the relations being satisfied with the payment of a heavy fine, fixed according to sex, age, etc. (cf. Post, i. 249 ff.). Where the acceptance of compensation was seen to lessen the protracted hostilities in the case of the blood-feud, it would be fostered by custom and authority; and in many cases, though not all, it is expected to the municipalisation of the central authority, the elders of the tribe, or the chief (see BLOOD-FEUD).

It should be noted that, though there are marked exceptions to this, the blood-feud has spread, and meets with little or no disapproval, while the killing of the sick and aged, not out of wantonness but for certain definite reasons, is not uncommon in many parts of the world. Similarly, though by no means generally, there is usually a right to the killing of a murderer, though it is not customary, perhaps, when it occurs, to be regarded as proper, and is at once punished (cf. Westermarck, i, 402 ff., 386; Steinmetz, op. cit. ii. 153 ff.).

Warriors do not exist, as well as in many cases where it does, the murderer is punished by the community, or by some special authority, though it is not always easy to distinguish, from the statements made, between true blood-feud and the ordinary retaliation of the community. In most cases the punishment is death.

Among the Fugias, the murderer is placed under a ban, and perishes of hunger, or death is inflicted by his fellows (Quiote-breaker, Mission scient. Amer., xxxii, p. 392). Among some Australian tribes, as has been seen, the council of elders arranges the avenging party in cases of murder by sorcery. But, as among the tribes of S. W. Central Queensland, the camp or a council of the camp punishes the murderer (Rothe, Ethnol. Studies among the S. W. C. Queensland Abor., 1897, pp. 139, 141). With some tribes a council of some tribe is an unsolved matter of common causes against a murderer and put him to death (Nansen, op. cit. p. 165; cf. Petroro, op. cit. p. 152). With many N. American Indians, the murderer is even hunted down by the chief of the tribe that he has killed, or even to the point of being killed. The author of the book, Morgan, League of the Iroquois, Rochester, 1851, p. 330; Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, Philadelphia, 1831-60, i. 377; Adair, Hist. of Amer. Ind., 1775, p. 142. Many African tribes also inflict capital punishment on the murderer, the chief frequently deciding his guilt and entering the sentence (Westermarck, i. 189; Lebourne, pp. 83, 83-4; Johnston, op. cit. ii. 336 [murderer executed by warriors among the Mutuell], or, as among the Spongias, the community burn him to death (Burton, Two Trips to Gorilla Land, i. 105). Capital punishment for murder is also found in Polynesia and New Guinea (Turner, Sermom, pp. 375, 384; Thomson, JAI xxxxi, 146; Chalmers, Pioneering in N. C., 1875, p. 178). In other cases, banishment, usually following the murderer, death of the murderer, or the murderer, is inflicted on him (see the punishment of the murderer, who has been found, in South America, in several cases, to have committed the crime, and has been punished accordingly, by the community. It is often so severe that the murderer is put to death (cf. Lebourne, pp. 72, 93, 95: Elphinston, Kingdom of Cuauhtl, 1832, i. 340; Von Martius, Best. zur Ethnol. Amer., Leipzig, 1867, i. 119). The vengeance of the society upon the murderer is in part due to the belief that he is a source of danger to the group. He is infected with the uncleaness of death, or is surrounded by spirits, especially that of his victim, who will afflict not only him but others. Hence he is tabu, and, if he is not put to death, he must undergo ceremonies of purification from the murder performed in the case of the Onalwas (see above, and cf. Kohler, Ziewe, xii. 1857 408; Frazer, G. B. i. 331 ff.). These ceremonies, or the period of isolation, are then a species of punishment.

In some cases it is expressly said that murder is punished because it is hated by a Divine being, or is a breach of his law. This is the case among the Onalwas (Dorsey, loc. cit.), while in other instances murderers are believed to be punished after death (Australians, Dakkar, and Andaman Islanders [Man, JAI xii. 169 ff.]). Melanesians [Codrington, p. 278 ff.], New Hebrides [Turner, Stuato, p. 326]; Aweuba [Sheane, JAI, xxxvi. 1850 ff.], American Ind. [above, vol. ii. p. 685].

(2) Adultery. Among savage societies the wife is regarded as the property of her husband, adultery is generally a serious crime. Before betrothal or marriage the woman may dispose of herself as she chooses, though here the father or guardian has sometimes the right, but often the woman, after marriage her husband has entire right over her. Adultery is therefore regarded as an infringement of the husband's proprietary right, and is frequently a serious form of theft. To add to this the working in of jealousy, it is to understand why the savage mind adultery is so serious an offence and often a capital crime. In many instances, even where there is a regular tribunal, the husband and those whose duty it is to help him have the right of dealing with the culprits, especially if he catches them in flagrando delicto. The local tribunal and, in any case, custom and opinion justify his action, and often, indeed, expect him to avenge himself. He may, however, in such a case be lifted to the capital punishment. Or he may appeal to the tribunal, with confidence that such punishment will be visited upon the offenders, the execution of this punishment being occasionally allotted to him.

The punishment is a fine, or perhaps imprisonment, but, in some cases, for slight indiscretions or even for touching a wife, especially the wife of a chief (Bastian, op. cit. i. 314; Post, ii. 388; MacLennan, Studies on the Iroquois, pp. 178, 228); or they may be visited upon the offending wife or the paramour or both, either separately or jointly. Even in the husband's system, it is seen, there are many cases where the wife or her lover is punished (cf. Adultery [Primitive and Savage]; Westermarck, i. 360; Post, ii. 362, 372); and in some cases adultery is the only crime which is capital punishment (Mishim [JRSAE, 1887]). Occasionally the punishment is meted out to the wife only after repeated offences (Macdonald, Africans, i. 146). In other cases the husband has to suffer adultery, mutilation, mummification, beating, or some other bodily indignity; he must submit to his wife's being outraged; or he must pay compensation, usually equal to the value of the woman, to the injured husband, who is put to death (Post, ii. 269-9, 378; Lebourne, pp. 29, 43, 63, 78, 93, 99). Similarly, where the unhappy wife is not put to death, she is mutilated, disfigured, beaten and ill-treated, enslaved, apostatized, divorced, or driven away, or is put to death (see M'Clen- near, pp. 37, 45, 60). In a few exceptional cases the wife is not punished (Westermarck, Murr. p. 122; Post, ii. 370). These various punishments are usually inflicted by the husband, but occasionally by a tribunal or by the chief. Adultery is occasionally a cause of the blood-feud or of a species of blood-revenge which is called in Canada, Expostulatio delicti (see Goebel). The punishment of adultery is sometimes in proportion to the rank of the offended or of the husband; or, where a system of fines is in use, the fine is similarly proportioned (Post, Afr. Jur. ii. 62-82; Lebourne, pp. 63-68; Johnston, op. cit. ii. 560, 690, 839; 1235; 1250). In many other instances, too, adultery with a chief wife is more severely punished than with a lesser wife or concubine (see Concubines).

As a general rule, in savage societies the wife can obtain no redress for the husband's adultery; but there are occasionally exceptions to this even at low levels (e.g. with some Australian tribes), and the husband is punished more or less severely, or
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his adultery (or even bringing a second wife to concubine to the house) is a ground for the wife's divorcing him (see ADULTERY [Primitive and Savage]; Mason, ii. 352; Post, Afr. Jur. i. 465, ii. 72).

There is a certain amount of evidence that among savage tribes adultery is regarded as a grave moral offence, which may bring general censure, or must be expiated, or which is offensive to the gods, or will be punished in the next world (see art. ADULTERY, § 8; Crawley, op. cit. p. 143 ff.; Mason, JRS BE XXXVI. [1886] p. 2, 147 ff. [Karens]; Westernmarck, ii. 675; Perham, JRS NIGERIA (West. Afr.), p. 150 [Dayaks]; Mason, JALI XXI. 157 [Andaman Islanders]; Snouck, JALI XXXVIII. 150 ff. [Ambewla]; Codrington, Melanesians, p. 275 ff.; Bose, Ojehow Inds., 1801, p. 104).

(3) Unchastity.—Unchastity before marriage is variously regarded among savage peoples. In some instances a girl is allowed the utmost licence, but in many quarters unchastity is reprobated more or less severely. The difference in attitude doubtless involves differing moral conceptions, but there can be little doubt that much is due to the question of the girl's position. If she has been betrothed but early years to a prospective husband, she is expected to remain chaste, or she may be repudiated. Or, again, unchastity is held to lower her value in that husband's opinion, because a smaller bride-price will be obtainable for her. But, as the severity of the punishments shows, unchastity is frequently regarded as a moral offence even among some very low tribes (see Westernmarck, Marr. p. 61, and it is supposed to be offensive to the higher powers, or to bring misfortune on the tribe or the crops. Hence it must be expiated in one way or another, as well as punished (St. John, Forests of Far East, 1865, i. 63, 69 [Dayaks]; Mason, JRS B E XXXVI. [1886] p. 144 [Karens]; Frazer, G.P., ii. 212 [Battas]; Bastian, Indognezer, Berlin, 1884-99, i. 144 [Ceram]; Reclus, Prim Folk, London, 1891, p. 92; Post, Afr. Jur. i. 460; Westernmarck, Marr. p. 61 [Loango]; Casalis, Basutos, p. 207).

The punishments are various, and may be inflicted by the home-father, the tribal, or the chief. Sometimes both seducer and seduced are put to death (Post, Afr. Jur. i. 70 [Mariners of the North, 396; Ussher, 1865, p. 270 [Bazila]; Johnston, op. cit. ii. 747 [Kivirondo]; Dawson, Aust. Jur., 1886, p. 875 [Tartars]). In other cases the girl is put to death (Post, ii. 375 [some Igorrote tribes], or she is banished or enslaved (Westernmarck, Marr. p. 61; Johnston, op. cit. ii. 747 [Kivirondo]; Cunninghame, op. cit. ii. 380). In some instances the chief or another person has to pay compensation for the injury to the girl (Post, ii. 375 [some Igorrote tribes]; Mason, JRS B E XXXVI. [1886] p. 102 [Bakoki]; Chanler, Through Jungle and Desert, 1896, p. 317 [Kendle of E. Africa]; Post, ii. 380 [some Malay tribes]; Mason, JRS B E XXXVI. [1886] p. 380), or has to pay compensation to the chief (Post, ii. 380). In some of these cases the seducer is punished, but generally he is to pay compensation or a fine, usually equivalent to the value of the girl (her bride-price or blood-price), and sometimes much heavier (Post, ii. 375-6; Westernmarck, ii. 425-6, 490). In some instances he must also marry the girl, and often, if the fine is not forthcoming, he is enslaved. Seduction may at one time have been a common cause of a blood feud, later compensated for by blood-feud, but occasionally it still leads to a feud (Post, Afr. Jur. i. 81).

(4) Theft.—Proprietary rights are recognized by all savage tribes, most of whom condemn or abhor theft. Theft is punished in one way or another. The thief is frequently punished by the owner of the stolen property (more especially when he is taken red-handed); and in such cases the latter may even have the right to kill him or enslave him. Or he may force him to restore the stolen goods or their value, and sometimes two, three, or more times their value, or may subject his belongings to pillage. Here, generally, custom has arranged a system of regulated composition. In some cases the chief is punished by the tribe, or the chief, with death, enslavement, mutilation, mutilation, or beating; or he is forced to pay a fine, or to restore the goods or their value. In general, the higher the value of the goods stolen, the heavier the punishment. Stealing such things as any tribe sets much store by—cattle, products of the field, weapons, and the like—is usually severely punished. Sometimes the punishment depends on the place from which the thief is made (field, garden, or house), the time at which it occurs (night or day), or whether the thief is taken in the act, and also upon the social position of the person robbed or of the thief. Usually, too, the punishment for theft is increased if the theft is repeated, or if the thief is charged or punished for another theft. Such a thief is frequently considered as a single combatant, and his theft is challenged to single combat by his victim.
7. At those festivals which mark the beginning of a new year or the offering of firstfruits among savages, and which are usually accompanied by ceremonial confession of wrongdoing and by ritual purifications and riddance of the contagion of wrong, very frequently there is considerable licence, and such crimes as may be then committed are not afterwards punished. At such festivals there is great recklessness with regard to crime, and to the ceremonial purifications usual at such periods.

Among most savage tribes the right of asylum or sanctuary for the criminal is clearly recognized, the sanctuary being generally a place sacred to gods or spirits, or the abode of sacred persons (priest or chief), in which it would be dangerous for the avenger or the executioner of justice to shed the blood even of a criminal (see art. ASYLUM; Post, ii. 225ff.)

The language in which they are written (Sumerian) shows that they were drawn up during the Sumorian period, and they may, therefore, date from 2590 B.C., or even earlier. The crimes or public offences referred to therein are not serious, and belong rather to the class of offences against morals than to really criminal acts. Nevertheless, they are exceedingly interesting, and are of considerable importance to us as indicating early ordinances in existence concerning punishment for wrongdoing:

If a son say to his father, "Thou art not my mother," they may shave him, put him in fetters, and send him forth from the house forever.

If a husband say to his wife, "Thou art not my wife," they may throw him into the river.

If a husband say to his wife, "Thou art not my wife," he shall pay her half a mana of silver.

If a man has a slave, and he dies, let the slave, get up, run away, get locked up, falls ill, he shall pay as his hire every day half a measure of grain.

Though the above laws refer only to adopted sons, the respect for foster-parents which the punishment for dereliction of them implies reveals how strongly the feeling of the Sumerians was in this matter. The adopted son might be sold as a slave, and it may be supposed that a real son would have been treated with severity. The denial of a foster-mother brought upon the culprit all the disadvantages of slavery, as is implied by the shaving of his forehead. His being taken round in the city was probably for the purpose of making him his misdeed known, and driving him forth from the house implied his being either left in utter deslegation, or relegated to the position of a slave.

Inequality of the status of the husband and the wife is implied in the punishments for the same or similar offences. Divorcing a husband was punishable with death, but the divorcing of a wife only incurred the fine of half a mana of silver. There is no doubt that women had fewer rights than men, even in Babylonia, but it must be admitted that they are not altogether their equals even now.

The last law of the five shows the respect paid to property. The penalties inflicted are rather hard upon the hirer, who is responsible for whatever sum he has hired, even if a misfortune befailing him is not due in any way to the fault of the hirer. Perhaps it was necessary—the Sumerians may have been (criminally) careless of other people's property, for they did deliver into their hands, "la hirer, la hirer, it is him who, and the origines du droit penal", RHR, vol. XXX, XXX, Paris, 1890-7; A. H. Post, Grundriss der altur. Jurisprudenz, Odem. (Von, Jurisprudence, 1892), 1-Afr. Europ. Jurisprudence, 1897; S. R. Steinmetz, Ethnik. Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Straf, Leyden and Leipzig, 1894; E. Westermarck, Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas, London, 1896-7; EVW, Stuttgart, 1578ff. See also the other authorities cited in the article.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Assyro-Babylonian).—These are revealed to us mainly by the Bab. codes of laws, of which three have been found—the first and the last, fragment only; the second—that of Hammurabi—nearly complete.

1. The first (the earliest known) are the Sumerian laws, of which examples occur in the 7th tablet of the Ululatini-6u ('punctually') series. This work contains specimen-phrases for students of Sumero-Akkadian, the laws being among the legal and other phrases which the student had to learn. Though the tablet dates from the time of Ashurbanipal (c. 650 B.C.), there is no doubnt as to the period to which these laws and their penalties were in force; their reproduction in the contract-tablets of the time of the dynasty to which Hammurabi belonged indicates that the code of which they formed part originated previously to c. 2000 B.C.
In considering such a matter as that of crimes and punishments, it will probably be admitted that the Babylonian mind was not trained in so severe a school as that of the Roman or the modern logist. Moreover, the 다르ners and criminals of the East and the West, to say nothing of the question of period, must be taken into consideration. Thus, many offences against morality and decency were probably not thought worthy of punishment by the Babylonians, notwithstanding that they may have been regarded as most reprehensible. Bigamy was not a punishable offence, and the crime—laws were probably merely rudimentary. Bribery was not punishable, except when it was intended thereby to pervert the ends of justice.

Nothing is said, moreover, concerning bestiality, blasphemy, breach of ritual, drunkenness (except, perhaps, in the case of prostitutes and devotees), or, in the case of priests and devotees, for which the see CONSCIENCE (Bab.), above, p. 33—that this was a thing unpleasing to the deity, malice, prophesying falsely, the desecration of holy days, speaking evil of rulers (šeše moṣeṣet), uncleanness, usury, and many other things which are not only regarded as crimes or misdemeanours among the European nations, but also appear as such with the ancient Hebrews. Idolatry, magic, sorcery, intercourse with a dead person, theft, and adulterous intercourse, if naturally not counted as crimes; though blasphemy, sacrilege, and similar offences against the gods were probably severely punished—certainly the latter (sacrilege). Whether blasphemy was a crime or not probably depended upon the place and the deity, for none would speak slightly of a deity in the place where he was worshipped, except a fanatic. It is to be noted, however, that nothing certain can be stated with regard to many acts which in modern England would consider as crimes in law, for the simple reason that we have only one code in any sense complete, namely, that of Hammurabi (c. 2000 B.C.), and even that has gaps.

The death penalty.—In the Code of Hammurabi, as is fitting, regard is paid to the life of the first place, and the penalty for false accusation of killing is death (§ 1). In the case of a (false) accusation of sorcery, the accused person had to dive into the river, and, if the river refused to drown him, the accusation of sorcery was confirmed, and the man accused took the house of his dead defamer. Death, in fact, was the penalty of any false accusation in which a life was involved. In other cases, a false witness bore the cost of the action (§ 2).

Next to the safety and integrity of the person, that of the property of a man was held to be the most sacred. Theft was not generally punished with death, unless the property stolen belonged to a temple or to the palace (in the king), in which case the receiver suffered the same punishment (§ 6). In later times, the penalty for sacrilegious theft (with the damage inflicted upon the images of deities by stripping them) seems to have been death by fire (Punches, The OT in the Light, etc., p. 551).

Strange, however, is the severity of the law (§ 7) ordaining death for buying the property of a man, either from his own hands or from those of his slave, without witnesses or contracts; or for receiving such property on deposit. Probably possession of a man's property without justifying documents suggested receiving it on false pretences, which the laws of the Babylonians evidently wished to discourage, the more especially as it presupposed the neglect of those legal forms to which the people seem to have paid special attention.

Though theft did not entail the death penalty, the neglect or failure to pay fines and make restitution transformed it into a capital offence (§ 8). There were probably two reasons for this—the respect given to property, and respect for the law. Theft, with the sale of the stolen object, was even more severely punished, as the penalty was not only death, but the restitution of the property, in addition, to both parties (the owner, and the thief, to whom the property had been sold), the purchase-money being returned in full (§ 9). It seems not improbable that a purchaser of property sometimes found himself in serious difficulty, for, if he could not produce the seller or witnesses, he was regarded as a thief and dealt with as such.
CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS
The real nature of these wine-houses, which were
kept by the wine-women, has yet to he discovered.
That they were places of evil repute seems certain,
and a devotee not dwelling in a cloister who opened
a wine-house, or who entered a wine-house for
drink, was burned to death (§ 110). It seems to
have been the duty of wine-women to accept payment for their drink in kind and any such woman

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(§§ 196, 197, 200).

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refusing to do this, or accepting a low tariff, might
be thrown into the river (§ 108), she having thereby
contravened the law.
Infidelity and incest were also under the pain of
An adulterous woman and
capital punishment.

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'After the father," apparently
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lex talionis also existed for injuries inunintentionally in the course of professional
For death or loss of sight
(surgical) attendance.
after an operation for a grave injury or for a
cataract (?), the penalty was loss of the hands— the
same as for a son striking his father, the object in
both cases being the same, namely, to prevent a
serf's slave
repetition of the misfortune (§ 218).
having been treated for a grave injury, and dying
under the operation, the penalty was restitution
If the slave lost an eye
slave like slave ') (§ 219).
(
flicted

to imply that un-

'after the father's death.'
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But perhaps step-mother is meant, in which case after the
consummation of the marriage may be intended.
3 According to the tablets (Ungnad, op. cit. iv. nos. 14, 19), an
adopted child who was rebellious was sent away, or, as in the
Sumerian laws (see p. 257 b ), sold into slavery. Ill-treatment
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an adopted child entailed loss of property to his benefit (£6.
nos. 14, 16).
4 A slave-wife
denying her husband's mother was marked (by
of

a tonsure) and sold.*

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The severity of the penalty would seem
chastity was presumed in such a case.

etc.).

not stated. In each case, however, they refer to a
freeman injuring a person of his own rank but
a freeman committing the same oti'ence against a
man of inferior rank got off by paying a fine (1
mana for the limb or the eye of a serf and i mana
for the teeth, with lesser indemnities in the case of
a slave). For striking a man of equal rank on the
head, also, the lex talionis did not apply, but a fine
If the man
of 1 mana of silver was inflicted.
struck was of superior rank, the striker received
60 lashes in the assembly with .an ox-hide whip
serf striking a serf paid 10 shekels of
(§ 202).
silver (§ 204), but a slave striking the head of a
freeman lost his ear (§ 205). Thus were intentional
injuries atoned for.
For unintentional injury, even in a quarrel,
things were different. In such a case, a freeman
hurting another had only to swear that he had not
struck him knowingly, and was then responsible
only for the physician's fees (§ 206) and, if death
ensued, he made amends by paying 4 mana of
silver, and for the son of a serf J only (§§ 207, 208).
Striking a freeman's daughter, so that she lost her
expected offspring, entailed a fine of only 10 shekels
of silver (§ 209), and, if the woman died, they
killed the smiter's daughter.
The punishment of
the culprit was in such a case a sore affliction,
calculated to sadden him for the rest of his days,
but here, as in other cases, the innocent suffered
for the guilty simply because the Babylonians
would not admit that a woman was the equal of a
man, and said that, whatever the sex, the penalty
must be ' a life for a life.' Striking a slave- woman
with the same serious result entailed a fine of 2
shekels of silver, and, if she died, J mana (§§213, 214).
In this case it was not slave for slave,' probably
because the expected offspring had to be allowed
for, the fine, it appears, being more than the value
of a slave.
Among the worst examples of the mutilationpenalty, however, are those quoted by Ungnad
{op. cit. iv. 63, no. 1049), where, if certain people
bring action against each other, their noses are
to be pierced and their hands dislocated, and in
this condition they are to go to the market-place
at Sippar. In another case {ib. no. 1051) the hair
of the forehead was to be shaved on account of
bringing an action, the alternative being a fine (no.
An attempt to rescind, by legal action, the
1050).
gift of the king, entailed a fine of 10 shekels of
and
silver,
covering the claimant's head with hot (?)
bitumen {ib. vol. iii. no. 458). This last text comes
from the independent State of liana (ThureauDangin, RA iv. 17). The punishment for false
witness was a fine of 2 shekels of silver (Ungnad,
ib. 707).
iii. no. 699), and shaving of the forehead

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with alternatives (mutilations,

Fines,

Whether these punishments could be compensated
by a money-payment, or in any other way, is

for

her paramour were to be tied together and thrown
into the water, unless pardoned (apparently), the
former by her husband, and the latter by the king
Violation of a virgin-wife dwelling with
(§ 129).
her father entailed death to the man, but exile (?)
thriftless woman making
to the woman (§ 130).
her poverty an excuse for marrying again during
her husband's absence, was condemned to be thrown
into the water (§ 133) the punishment meted out
to a disreputable woman who repudiated her husIn the law reports (see Ungnad,
band (§ 143).
Hammurabi's Gesctz, iii. nos. 1,8; iv. 776), a rebellious or faithless wife was thrown down from the
tower, or sold into slavery (no. 7) ; and slavery (as
a milk-maid ?) in the palace was the punishment
meted out in such a case, in a text from the
Khabur (Johns, in PSBA xxix. 177; Ungnad,
For incest with a son's bride the
op. cit. no. 5).
penalty was drowning (§ 155) and for incest with
a mother, 2 death by lire for both (§ 157).
Mutilation. This penalty was not uncommon,
and in some cases roughly indicated the crime by
destroying that which was regarded as the oil'ending member. Thus, if the son of a chamberlain
(palace-favourite) or of a public woman denied his
foster-parents, his tongue, the organ with which
the denial was made, was cut out (§ 192). In the
case of an adopted son learning who his real father
was, despising in consequence his foster-parents,
who had brought him up, and returning to his
father's house, the punishment was loss of an eye
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nurse substituting, without the know(§ 193).
ledge of the father and mother, another child for
one who had died whilst in her care, was punished
by the cutting off of her breasts, thus ensuring, as
in most punishments of this nature, that the
son
offence should not occur again (§ 194).
striking his father was punished by the loss of a
hand the limb with which the offence had been
slave striking a freeman's
committed (§ 195).
son received the same punishment as a slave deny4
ing his master, namely, the loss of an ear probably as a mark that he was a criminal, and a
warning that he was untrustworthy (§§ 205, 282).
As we have seen above (p. 258 a ), defamation, when it
was a question of a life, was a capital offence, but in
other cases a less severe punishment was decreed
thus, if a man raised the finger against (accused
of unchastity) a priestess or a married woman, the
punishment was the shaving of the forehead a
proclamation to the world that a misdemeanour
had been committed. Priests alone, in all probability, shaved the whole of the head, so that
there was no danger of the obliteration of the
distinguishing mark, whilst it lasted.
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(Assyro-Babylonian)

Exceedingly interesting, a»d among the laws
which have attracted the most attention, are those
ordaining retaliation. Injury involving the loss of
an eye entailed the loss of an eye to the person
who had inflicted the injury, and it was the same
for the other members of the body
bone for bone
{i.e. broken limb for broken limb), teeth for teeth

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after an operation, the physician had to pay the owner half his value in silver. A veterinary surgeon who had operated upon an ox or an ass, which had died thereafter, paid to the owner a quarter of its value (§ 225). The 'crime,' in these cases, was that of performing a useless operation; and the penalties were probably as near as the framers of the Code could get to the 'just mean' in each case, for the slave or the animal might have been of greater or less value, taking the injury into consideration, but the penalty was the same. He in the case of a man injuring an ox, and causing its death by negligence or through而导致，the penalty was ox for ox (§ 245), and the same penalty was imposed if he had broken its foot or cut its nose, thus rendering the animal useless. He was accounted guilty of wetting the eyes of a hired ox entailed an indemnity of half its value in silver (§ 247); and breaking off its horn, cutting off its tail, or piercing its nostril was made good only by paying a quarter of the animal's value (§ 248).

4. 'God' left the hirer free from obligation (§ 249).

Though not a crime, an accident which brought an owner within the purview of the law arose from injury to a bull. Upon one occasion, the bull's viciousness could not be known; there was no penalty (§ 250); but the death of a man by a known vicious bull, horned and at large, entailed a penalty of 1/4 man of silver (§ 251), and § 252 states that killing was also a penalty.

In certain cases (see above, p. 238) the punishment for theft or dishonest dealing was death, but the case of an employé differed. Thus, if a man hired to do the work of a farm stole the wheat and the vegetables, and these things were found in his hands, his hands were cut off (§ 253). Here again, we seem to have an instance of vengeance against the offending members; for he who, instead of working for the benefit of his employer, used his hand to steal him, was accounted guilty of this mutilation. In one case not very clear in the Code, the person who took away necessary things and weakened the oxen had to make up the damage he had caused (§ 254); and in another, if he went out the oxen or stole the grain, so that he was unable to cultivate it, he had to pay 60 shekels for every head of ground left uncultivated (§ 255). It seems strange that a thief, in such a case as this, should be let off so easily, but it was the same for other things. Thus a maiming, the cutting off 5 shekels of silver, and the theft of a shadow or a plunder entailed an indemnity of 3 shekels (§§ 259, 260). The question naturally arises whether, in this inscription, the verb šurqu always has the meaning of 'to steal.' A brand was under the same liability as the farmer—if a man, duly in receipt of a salary, reduced the oxen or the sheep, or their natural increase, he had to make up the amount (§ 261); and, if he changed their natural increase, he sold it, the penalty was that he made up the amount to the owner tenfold (§ 265).

Deprivation of office. Apparently only one kind of misuse entailing this is referred to in Hammurabi's Code, and, as is fitting, it bears upon the administration of justice. If a judge changed a sentence, thus making it to be of no effect, he was punished with twelvefold restitution of the sum involved in the lawsuit. In addition to this, he was dismissed from the justice-seat, never to return; nor was he to sit with other judges when trying a case (§ 5).

Imprisonment. It is noteworthy that, in all the engravings of the Code of Hammurabi, there is no mention of imprisonment. The Babylonians, however, certainly had prisons, as the expressions bit šibitti and bit kēli, and the fact that arrests were ordered by the king, show. In all probability, however, they were not houses of detention as a punishment, but simply places where an accused person or a criminal was confined, until tried or punished. An interesting text referring to this is printed in Cuneiform Texts, vi. pl. 8 (Ungnad, op. cit., iii. no. 743), in which a man speaks of being placed in bit šarrūti by his judges, whereas he gives himself to work. He states that he was not to be released until he had fulfilled a certain order—probably the delivery of a document, but the details are not clear.

Possibly imprisonment was more common in later times than at the early period of Hammurabi's dynasty. A letter published in Recueil des Travaux, xix. 107–108 (82–3–28, 845), asks: 'Why take thou my child and placeth him in the prison-house (bit kēli)? None shall take him forth, and thou must bring him forth (again). Send me my son quickly.' Confinement was also effected in a man's own house: 'Shut up Arad-Bau (who sits in the city-gate of Hadad) in his own house with the bolts (Cf. Sayce, Melek, pl. iv. p. 11). The reason of this order is not stated, but something of the nature of a revolt or conspiracy may be suggested.

Resistance to Assyrian dominion entailed all kinds of horrors, and Assyrian kings may have regarded such resistance as among the worst of misdeeds, and worthy of all the pains and tortures which he inflicted, it hardly comes within the scope of the present article. Nevertheless, there is one noteworthy instance of punishment for what might be described as a crime, though those who suffered for it were only obeying their king's orders. Certain Elamite magnates had been sent by Teummān, the king to Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, asking for the delivery of certain fugitives. The message was an insolent one (dīpir nērīt), and the Assyrian king had the ambassadors detained. It seems not improbable that Teummān made preparations to invade Assyria before the return of his ambassadors on the occasion of their final visit to Assyria; so, after the defeat and decapitation of Teummān, they were shown his cut-off head, the sight of which is said to have driven them mad. The success of the Assyrian armies had been so great that even the present ambassadors to Arbelā to greet Ashurbanipal, who showed them the bodies of the Elamite ambassadors with the 'insolent message' which they had brought.


T. G. Pinches.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Buddhist).—Crimes are for the most part committed by irreligious people; and the punishments are determined upon and carried out (even under hierarchies like Rome and Tibet) from political considerations, not from a revival of ancient legislation. If a judge changed a sentence, thus making it to be of no effect, he was punished with twelvefold restitution of the sum involved in the lawsuit. In addition to this, he was dismissed from the justice-seat, never to return; nor was he to sit with other judges when trying a case (§ 5).

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T. G. Pinches.
or legal, rather than from religious, motives. It is, therefore, a complicated problem to decide how far a religion, dominant in a country, is or is not an important factor either in deciding what acts shall be called crimes, or in determining the punishments for them. This is so even when the facts are known and classified; and no attempt has yet been made to write the history either of crime or of its punishment in any Buddhist country. The following remarks must, therefore, be tentative and imperfect. It will be convenient to discuss the subject (1) as regards the Order, and (2) as regards the laity.

1. The Order. — The standard textbook of Canon Law consists of the ancient Rules of the Order, as current in the time of the Buddha (see 'Pâtimokkha,' in art. LITERATURE [Buddh.], edited, about fifty years after his death by his parajika and accompanied by twenty supplementary chapters. These additions by the editors show the development that had taken place, during that interval, in the interpretation of the Rules then as well as in the method of enforcing them. Of the 227 Rules, more than 200 relate to matters of deportment, to the common property of the Order and the proportion allowed to each member, to the time and manner of taking food, etc. The destruction of any infringement of these minor regulations was repentance; that is, the offender had to confess his fault to a brother bhikkhu, and promise not to repeat it. This penalty involved forfeiture of any property held contrary to that point.

The major offenses were divided into two classes —pārājikakas and saṅghadīsās. The former class comprised four crimes —the sexual act, theft, murder, and putting forward a false claim to relics or a repentant murderer. A suspended member of the Order, therefore, could not be expelled from the Order, or, to use the words of the Rules, 'he has fallen into defeat, he is no longer in communion.' The notes and supplements discuss cases raising the point whether some act does or does not amount to an infringement of one or other of these four Rules. The cases put are ingenious, and the decisions harmonize in a remarkable way with the equitable views of modern writers on criminal law.

The second of the above two classes comprises five offenses depending on or inciting to sensual impurity; two connected with building a residence without obtaining the approval of the Order; two connected with slander; two with stirring up dissidence in the Order. The penalty is the inadmissibility, and one with general evil life (being a disorderly person). The penalty for these offenses was suspension for as many days as had elapsed between the offense and its confession. A suspended member of the Order is under disability in regard to 94 privileges of an ordinary member—he is to take the worst seat or sleeping-place, cannot sit on a Chapter, cannot travel without restriction, and so on. When the fixed number of days has passed, he may be rehabilitated. Both suspension and rehabilitation can be carried out only at a formal Chapter, where no fewer than twenty regular bhikkhus must be present. There are some, who, for the sake of regularity in the proceedings, the equity of the decision, and opportunity for the putting forward of the defense, these are too long even to summarize. We must be content to note that, for instance, the rules as to the constiction of the court are given in Vinaya Texts, ii. 263 ff., iii. 46; those as to the accusation being invalid, unless brought forward under the right heading, in ii. 276 ff.; those as to both parties being present, in iii. 47.

2. The above are rules and practices evolved by the early Buddhists, living themselves only; they do not give, or pretend to give, any adequate treatment of the question of crimes, or of that of punishments, but they show that the early Buddhists had a very fair grasp of the general principles underlying the equitable administration of criminal law, and that in the matter of punishment they took, as might be expected, a lenient view. They show also that, at the time when Buddhism arose, such crimes as murder and theft were no longer looked upon as offenses against individuals only, but had already come to be considered as offenses against the community, as moral offenses in themselves—in other words, that this step forward in the treatment of crime was not in any way due to Buddhism, but was the outcome of Indian civilization.

2. Laiety. — The Buddhist scriptures frequently refer to their ideal of a perfect king, a righteous king who rules in righteousness, without punishment, and who is merciful. In the Kālacakratantra, King Wide-realm's country is harassed by dacoits, who pillage the villages and towns and make the roads unsafe. He thinks to suppress the evil by degrading the dacoits, but he is failed. Religious, therefore, the king's revenue will go up; the country will be quiet and at peace; and the people, pleased with one another and happy, dancing their children in their arms, will dwell with open doors. In the legends the king succeeds; and it represents, no doubt, fairly accurately, the Buddhist vague ideal of the right theory of crime and punishment. In the Buddhist historical chronicles we have no instance of its having been realized. Crime and its punishment have been dealt with according to the views current at each time and place, and it would be impossible, with our present evidence, to attempt any statement as to whether, and in what degree, those views have been modified by the Buddhist ideal.


T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Celtic).—

i. The treatment of crime and of criminals among the ancient Celts is wrapped in great obscurity. Cæsar (de Bell. Gall. vi. 13) informs us that the Druids of Gaul were judges in both public and private disputes, and that they awarded damages and penalties; and we are told (ib. vi. 16) that, when human sacrifices were offered, criminals were sacrificed in the first instance, before recourse was had to innocent victims. It is not improbable, therefore, that among the Celts, as among the Greeks, Romans, and other races, the idea prevailed that certain forms of conduct were displeasing to the gods, and that, in consequence, communion with deity could not be re-established without the expiation of sacrifice. This would appear to have been an empty and false theory, particularly in its consequences, for it is not to be supposed that the persons who were guilty of such conduct (see COMMUNION WITH DEITY [Celtic], vol. iii. p. 749). In this treatment of its un

1 Vinaya Texts, i. 41.
2 The whole of the 94 are given in Vinaya Texts, ii. 388 ff.
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desirable members by the community it is probable that attention was paid to a general type of character no less than to specific acts of wrongdoing, just as, in the process of compurgation by oath in Welsh law (see below), the witnesses who were called to testify on oath gave evidence quite as much of the character of the accused as to his non-performance of a particular act. The types of character which are always appraised by communities where custom rules, as it did among the Celts, are those which are in danger to the observance of many prohibitions (in Homeric language those of men lacking in óthos), such being conspicuous by their want of scruple and by the quality of óbōs. One of the Celtic roots for 'good' (Ir. déch, Welsh de [now obsolete], cognate with Gr. ἰθός,) meant 'acceptable'; and the other Celtic terms relating to character show the prevalence among the Celts of the same moral conceptions as among other men of Indo-European speech. The idea of a defilement attaching to crime is found in a statement made in the Ancient Laws of Ireland (iii. 97), that body and soul are both defiled by committing crimes.

2. Side by side with the penalty of sacrifice, and parallel with it, was that of exclusion from participation in religious rites. Caesar (vi. 13) tells us that any contumacy with respect to the judgments of the Druids was punished by exclusion from the ritual of sacrifice; and this sentence, he says, was the general practice of the Gauls, since the men so punished were treated as outlaws, and were cut off from all the rights and privileges of human society. In Gaul there appears to have been a measure of centralization in the administration of justice, since the general assembly of the Druids, according to Caesar, in the territory of the Carnutes, held a court for the trial of cases brought from every district around. In the case of the Druids it is clear that the decision was in the hands of the religious learned men. Here, as in Ireland, and this suggests that among the Celts, as in other early communities, the ethical and the religious aspects of crimes and their punishments were not very clearly distinguished. The conception of offenses is given in the Gauls as a sort of caretaker of the Celtic treatment of wrongdoers in the historical period, but this form of punishment was resorted to only in extreme cases. In Irish law, and to a somewhat less extent in Welsh law, recourse appears to have been had with extreme reluctance to the punishments of death and outlawry.

3. In Irish law, also, it is remarkable that imprisonment and all forms of corporal punishment, whether by mutilation, beheading, or torture, are conspicuous by their absence, and mutilation and imprisonment are rarely alluded to in the Welsh laws. It is not impossible that ordinary crime was almost as rare in Ireland and Wales in ancient times as it is to-day, and that the community in question seldom found it necessary to have recourse to very extreme punishments.

4. Another feature of Celtic law, which links it to certain ancient forms of social organization, is the emphasis laid by it upon the responsibility of the family group for the conduct of its members, as is seen especially in the case of the crime of homicide (see, further, art. BLOOD-FEUD [Celtic]). Both in Ireland and in Wales the family group of the slain tended to pay every ransom at the familiar group of the slain for the loss of one of their number. This collective aspect of criminal jurisprudence is one of the chief differences between the older Celtic point of view and that of the more individualistic jurisprudence of the present day; but even in Ireland (Anc. Laws of Ireland, iii. 245) the penalties for all crimes except killing fell on the offender, provided he had the means of paying.

5. Sources of information.—In the case of Ireland there is a body of knowledge relating to crimes and punishments, as well as to other branches of law, contained in the Ancient Laws of Ireland (Rolls Series, 1869-73). This work comprises various legal treatises, such as the Stenchas Meir, the Gorgias Déasc, the Book of Acre, etc. These treatises are the work of the Brehons (the hereditary lawyers of Ireland), who decided the cases that were brought to them. The body of law in question retained its authority among the Irish until the beginning of the 17th cent. The law of England, which was introduced into Ireland by Henry II., was for a long time hardly followed except within the English pale, which consisted of Louth, Meath, Westmeath, Kildare, Dublin, and Wexford. A statute of Henry VIII. (Stat. 13, c. 3), promulgated in 1532, mentions that English law was not observed beyond the counties named. The main body of Irish law is called the Cúlin; local modifications of general laws were called arrandhu, and inter-territorial regulations curride.

6. In the case of Wales there is abundant information concerning criminal procedure in the Ancient Laws of Wales, published under the editorship of the Rev. G. Evans, in the Rolls Series (London, 1841). There is also a very convenient edition of the so-called Guwentian Code, published by A. W. Wade-Evans, under the title Welsh Medieval Law, from Insular MS. (Brit. Mus. 4353) of the 15th cent. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1900), to which references will be made in this article. The Welsh laws consist partly of a Code, issued under the royal sanction and authority of Hywel Dda, and partly of a number of legal maxims arranged in groups of three, or triads. The Welsh laws are based on a recension of existing customs by the prince Hywel Dda ('Howel the Good') (c. 960), and vary somewhat for the different regions of the Principality. The oldest of the Code is known as the Dineion, or the Code of Dyfed (S.W. Wales), perhaps better regarded as that of the larger area known as Deheubarth (the Southern region), while another form is usually known as the Gewynedd, from its supposed association with the district of Gwent (S.E. Wales). It is probable, however, that this Code, as Wade-Evans has shown, was that of Powys (Mid-Wales). The Code of Hywel is found in a Latin as well as a Welsh form, but the precise relation of these two forms is uncertain.

7. Attitude of the community to crime.—Among the Celts the community recognized the right of vengeance (Ir. digat, Welsh disw), whereby the individual or his family might themselves obtain satisfaction or compensation for a wrong done to them. This right, however, was one that was greatly restricted in practice, and was not to be put into operation except when other remedies failed. Ancient Irish law, and probably at one time Welsh law, drew a distinction between crimes and torts (though originally some offences may have been viewed as offences against religion), and dealt with them alike as cases for compensation through payment. Where the community's crime is regarded mainly as an offence against the State, though individuals may be
wroth thereby, Irish legal practice, which was in the hands of a hereditary caste of arbitrators called Brehons, developed to an unusual degree the remedial aspect of compensation for wrong to the sufferers—an aspect which in the English law of crime has sunk largely into the background. In Wales there are also signs of the growth of a point of view resembling that of modern States of things resembling that of Ireland, but there are also signs of the growth of a point of view resembling that of modern States.

8. In Ireland, if the guilty party did not pay the amount which the Brehons awarded, the party that was aggrieved was allowed to exercise his right of vengeance by means of reprisals or private war. In Wales, the latter process was called myned ar here ("to go on a plundering expedition"), and the regular term in Welsh for plunder was anrhaith ("absence of law"). The aggressor, if his family cared to support him, might offer resistance, or might become an outlaw, and, in that case, the avengers, if they chose, might put him to death. There are indications, however, that this power was restricted in Irish law by making the right purely personal, to be exercised only by the person who had been specially wronged. The Welsh legal treatise states (Wade-Evans, Welsh Medicine, Book of Life, 234) that there are three legal periods for avenging a dead body:

"between two kindreds who do not originate from the same great house (the parents being one rule), commencing a claim on the first day of the week following that wherein the dead was murdered; if there comes no answer by the end of a fortnight, the law makes vengeance free. The second is, if the two kindreds are in the same great house ("communal"), commencing a claim on the third day after the dead is murdered; if there comes no answer by the end of the sixth day, the law makes vengeance free. The third is, if the two kindreds are in the same great house ("communal"), commencing a claim on the third day after the dead is murdered; if there comes no answer by the end of the sixth day, the law makes vengeance free."

The variations which might arise under this head are then considered, and it is said (op. cit. p. 306) that where a man is killed in his own house (the thief's guise), "there is no exemption for killing a person in the guise of the thief, when he is seen stealing the sidis ("chattels"), or when the track of any particular thing stolen, was found after it. If he was not seen stealing the sidis, or if the track of the particular thing stolen was not found after it, there shall be paid full body-line for killing him, without a manor and without a court, and where there was no power to arrest him at the time of committing the trespass, and there is exemption for every one of them in his guise."

12. Administration of justice.—In Ireland the picture presented by the Brehon legal treatises is that of a community without an official magistracy or police, where the remedy in the case of any wrong done by either a crime or by civil wrong form of damages assessed by an arbitrator possessing hereditary expert knowledge of Irish custom, the main problem for the arbitrator being in each case the accurate assessment of damages, which varied with the status of the person wronged, with the act committed, and with other circum stances. Allusions to the king's power or laws are very rare in these legal treatises. In Anc. Laws of Ireland (iii. 406) we are told that the crimes of the man who violated the king's laws were adjudged on the seven houses in which he got bed, that the penalty for violating the king's laws varied according to the nature of the tenancy and local laws, and that there was a penalty for supplying a vengeful motive to the king's laws, and similarly for the violation of a king's inter-territorial law; but it is clear that the idea of a crime in its relation to the community as a whole was in Ireland more important than in Wales, the Welsh law of the "brawdwy" ("judges"), who had a recognized status in the community, but whose payment appears to have come mainly from the parties to the action.
13. Effect of intention.—The distinction between criminal and non-criminal injuries was recognized in Irish law, although altering the type of compensation required. Whenever a wrong action was shown to be due to malefic aetiological, the fine was determined. Intention had always been considered in the case of theft, wounding, and homicide. In op. cit. iii. 139 there is a minute discussion of the fine due for the intention of theft and, when the theft was not successful. The Welsh process of gaelancus ("recovery of compensation for murder") was always combined with the recovery of the fine for sarhad ("mistain")—a combination which shows that, in historic times at any rate, intention was clearly recognized. It is said, for example (Wade-Evans, op. cit. p. 255), that an unintentional blow is not sarhad.

14. Responsibility.—In Irish law (Anc. Laws of Ireland, ii. 45) it is recognized that certain persons could not be considered responsible for their actions, and the rule is laid down that "a fool, a madman, a male idiot, a female idiot, and a dumb person shall not be eminently the persons who bear their crimes and get their wages shall be distanced." In op. cit. iii. 157, it is said:

"A man who is a fool is he who pays for his crime, in which case the man who commits the crime, i.e., the fool, is exempt; for this is the instance in which fines of design are paid, and no man said had design.

In some cases (see op. cit. iii. 159) there was a difference of opinion, and we read:

"A man who committed a fire under a home, above of his own accord, without cause, without insanity, it is then lawful to give every fool up for his crime; or, according to others, compensation must be paid on his account by his family or the person with whom he is. If it be eminently, each of them pays compensation." In op. cit. iii. 501 it is stated that neglect on the part of the man in not looking after the insane would have to be compensated for; and, according to op. cit. iii. 507, damages would have to be paid for leaving an epileptic lunatic unguarded. The same conception underlies op. cit. i. 157, 161, where it is stated that a person is liable to distress for the crimes of his messenger and of his hired woman, and a man is also liable to a fine for the crime of his jester.

In Welsh law (Wade-Evans, op. cit. p. 255) it is stated that "a free man is to answer for his alldad ("foreign servant") in every case, but a man who is a fire under a home, above of his own accord, without cause, without insanity, it is then lawful to give every fool up for his crime; or, according to others, compensation must be paid on his account by his family or the person with whom he is. If it be eminently, each of them pays compensation." In op. cit. iii. 501 it is stated that neglect on the part of the man in not looking after the insane would have to be compensated for; and, according to op. cit. iii. 507, damages would have to be paid for leaving an epileptic lunatic unguarded. The same conception underlies op. cit. i. 157, 161, where it is stated that a person is liable to distress for the crimes of his messenger and of his hired woman, and a man is also liable to a fine for the crime of his jester.

15. Advocacy. —The Irish treatises make no mention of advocacy, but the Welsh legal triads contain the following statement:

"Three persons are entitled to an advocate for them in court: a woman, and one with a natural impediment in speech, and an alien of foreign speech."

16. Crimes in Irish law.—The forms of what would now be called crimes, or serious wrongs, with which Irish law deals, are homicide, wounding and mutilation, criminal assault, theft, assault, perjury, insult, libel, slander, using charms, false judgings, false aetiology, false witness, false information, false character-giving and bad word, and false oaths, and lying into the Church or the laity—every one of these deprives the man who is guilty of such of half his honour-price up to the third time, but it does not deprive him with regard to every one of them until the third time.

The Irish law-treatise referred to enters minutely into the question of the loss of full and half honour-price in the case of kings, bishops, chieftains, poets, and others; and it is of interest to note the importance attached in Irish law to character and right conduct.

It was not character alone, however, that determined honour-price, and Irish law reflects differences of opinion as to the extent to which it depended upon a man's profession, his separable property, or the rank of the chief under whom he served.

Apart from the cases already mentioned, where it is stated that under certain circumstances a wrongdoer might be put to death (see above), there is no reference to the death-penalty in Irish law, nor is there any reference to imprisonment. The king appears to have had power to assign a wrongdoer to the service of a particular person, but no mention is made of imprisonment as a form of punishment. The only reference to castigation as a form of punishment is in the case of a child under seven, who could be classified only by its parent. In certain cases other fines called ainer ("redemption") and smacht ("discipline") were ex-
19. Penalties in Welsh law.—While, like Irish law, was based upon a consideration of the status of the individual, and upon the determination of the legal worth of every person and object (living or inanimate) it was only for the most serious of crimes that the laws were rigidly defined. The questions of sarcad and galatans, the former being compensation for insult, and the latter compensation for homicide. Thus the same dominant conceptions governed Welsh and Irish law, and they clearly arose from a similar system of ideas. In Welsh law, however, the central power of the king in each territory had attained greater prominence than in Ireland, with the result that the fines called dirrey and camber were payable to persons other than the king, and in the case of a religious community the whole of the camber appears to have been paid over to the abbot and the lay impropriators. The dirrey was a larger fine, paid directly to the king (according to a Latin text, 'a scellum') and the camber was for fighting a duel, theft, and criminal assault. The penalty of emancipation was imposed upon a rasher who could not pay the fine, and a bondman striking a freeman was liable to have his right hand cut off.

Though there is no allusion in any Welsh law to imprisonment as a penalty for any specific offence, yet the fact of imprisonment is implied in more than one passage. For example, in Wade-Evans (op. cit. p. 177) we read that the smith of the house was to receive from every prisoner on whom he should remove irons. Again, of the court-porter it is said that he is to get four pence from every prisoner who shall be lawfully imprisoned in the court. One MS (U455a) gives imprisonment as one of the forms of punishment for neglecting a summons. The Welsh word cearcar ('prison') is derived from the Latin carcer, and is a term used in Welsh for the fetter placed on an animal to prevent it from straying. It is therefore probable that liberty was impeded, whenever necessary, more by the use of chains and fetters than by confinement in a building.

Though Irish law contains no reference to a death penalty, Welsh law alludes to the penalty of hanging. This was in Wales the recognized punishment for theft (as is stated in the Mabinogi of Manawyddan fab Llyr). In Wade-Evans (op. cit. p. 213) we read:

"One person escapes from an admitted theft with flesh and skin on his back (see a necessities attuned ('alien') who shall have been three nights and three days without sile, without relief, and who shall have traversed three towns ('township') daily, with nine houses in every tree; and thus, owing to hunger, shall commit theft, and then shall be caught with flesh and skin on his back. He is to be let free without gallows and without payment.'

Similarly, if a thief was found burning a house stealthily, and was caught, his life would be forfeited. In the case of a thief the Welsh laws recognize the penalty of sale.

Among the fines mentioned in the Welsh laws is that of dylded ("acquittance"), which was enforced as a payment to a woman by her rasher. This was probably meant as a payment to guarantee her status as a virgin in the eyes of the law. The similar payment called gwaddol, payable by a man who failed to rebut a charge of criminal assault upon a woman walking alone.

20. Medium of payment of fines.—In Irish law the items used in estimating fines are the cumhaf and std. By a cumhaf was originally meant 'a female bond-sell', but, in course of time, the word came to mean the equivalent in value of three cows. The method of payment in a fine was as a fixed proportion of certain goods. When half a cumhaf had to be paid, it had to be in one species of goods; when one cumhaf was required, it had to be in two species; and, when three or upwards of three cumhaf were to be paid, it had to be in different species. In that case one-third would have to be in cows, one-third in horses, and one-third in silver. Of the cattle one-third had to be male, one-third of the horses had to be mares, and one-third of the silver by weight might be copper alloy. A std was defined as follows (Anc. Laws of Ireland, iii. 465):

'A common easily divisible std means two live chattle or dead chattel, or one dead chattel the value of which is not lessened by its being divided.'

Of stda the most prized was a milch cow. In Welsh law the fine called camber consisted of three kine, paid as a rule directly to the king, and sometimes doubled. The fine called dirrey consisted of twelve long-imprisoned, for fighting a duel, theft, and criminal assault. The penalty of emancipation was imposed upon a rasher who could not pay the fine, and a bondman striking a freeman was liable to have his right hand cut off.

Thus, in the Welsh law, the aggrieved party compelled the aggressor to submit to three separate writs, by leaving heryth (a'r thogobddail) upon the latter. In its most solemn form the levying of distress required that the person aggrieved should 'fast against' the aggressor (see Asceticism [Oelc], vol. ii. p. 72), that is, call Heaven to witness that his death shall not be averted if his opponent did not submit the case to a Brichon. The consideration of questions connected with distress is one of the most elaborate sections of Irish law. In Wales, in keeping with the greater development of the central power, a man could be called to appear in answer to a gwyd ('summons'). The legal method of accusing for theft is described in Wade-Evans (op. cit. p. 245). As given in the Laws of Ireland, (1) 105, 107 might be arrested for their liabilities, instead of being drained upon, and the circumstances under which this process might take place are fully considered.

In Irish law there is an allusion to be given (op. cit. i. 277) to stop the process of fasting, especially in judgments of theft, robbery, and violation; and the contingencies arising from the giving of the pledge and its possible loss form an important section of the Law of Distress. In Wales, the term mact ('pledge') was used in the Laws only in connexion with civil matters. In criminal procedure the accused person had to obtain a gweregog, i.e. a personal surety, for one who was charged with crime (see Wade-Evans, op. cit. pp. 238, 312). In the Irish legal treatises the question of evidence is not discussed to the same extent as it is in the Welsh laws, and it is noticeable that the latter assign considerable prominence to the oath, both of the accused and of his consorts, as a means of clearing his character. The Welsh term for this process was to put a person upon his rhaith (a word cognate in formation with Lat. rectus), and, in this process, he had to bring forward a certain number of persons to swear on his behalf as to the justice of his claim or defence as a whole.

21. Initiation of legal process.—In Ireland the aggrieved party compelled the aggressor to submit to three separate writs, by leaving heryth (a'r thogobddail) upon the latter. In its most solemn form the levying of distress required that the person aggrieved should 'fast against' the aggressor (see Asceticism [Oelc], vol. ii. p. 72), that is, call Heaven to witness that his death shall not be averted if his opponent did not submit the case to a Brichon. The consideration of questions connected with distress is one of the most elaborate sections of Irish law. In Wales, in keeping with the greater development of the central power, a man could be called to appear in answer to a gwyd ('summons'). The legal method of accusing for theft is described in Wade-Evans (op. cit. p. 245). As given in the Laws of Ireland, (1) 105, 107 might be arrested for their liabilities, instead of being drained upon, and the circumstances under which this process might take place are fully considered.

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22. Penalties for particular crimes.—(1) Homicide.—(a) In Ireland homicide was divided into intentional and unintentional. The fine for the former was double that of the latter. The account given in the Senchas Mor suggests that there was some difference of opinion as to whether homicide
should in all cases be treated as a matter for compensation through payment, but the customary law with its eric (‘body-fine’) appears to have prevailed. In the case of secret homicide the concealment was regarded as a separate act, and compensation had to be paid for it accordingly. When a man by a fraint, the slayer had to pay the amount of his own honour-price, together with a fine of seven cumhóls, as compensation for the death. For concealment the slayer paid honour-price, together with seven cumhóls. The body was found, and the fine for concealment was remitted. Looking on at a murder was a wrong which was liable to a fine. Whenever a person found a dead body, he had to give information at once; otherwise, he might be liable to the penalty of a looker-on, or, according to others, of an accomplice. The Anc. Laws of Ireland (iii. 101, etc.) consider with great fullness the various cases that might arise in connexion with homicide.

As illustrating the growth of a different mental attitude from the preceding, it may be stated that the commentator to the Osraí Beanna treats homicide, and all other wrongs done with passion, as being in that case a violation of the ordinary law, and holds that the slayer should be given up, not by his kindred, to the family of the slain man.

(b) In Wales the term for a ‘murder-fine’ was galanos, and, along with the murder-fine, in every case of homicide seirach (‘compensation for insult’) had to be paid. The amount of the murder-fine varied with the status of the person murdered. The murderer was helped to pay by his kinsmen, to the fifth cousin, and the liabilities of these were fixed by law. According to the Welsh law (Wade-Evans, op. cit. p. 193), a third of every galanos was paid to the king, and also whatever of the murderer’s seirach was from time to time obtainable. The reason given is that it is for the king to enforce where it is not possible for a kindred to do so. The murder-fine of a king was three times the amount of his seirach with three augmentations; the amount of his seirach being as follows:

- A hundred kine for every cattle (‘hundred’) in his kingdom, and a silver rod which shall reach from the ground to the king’s pate, when he shall sit in his chair, as thick as his ring finger, with three knobs at the top and three at the bottom as thick as the rod; and a golden cup which shall hold the king’s full draught, as thick as the nail of a ploughman who shall have been 20 years, and is to be covered thereon as thick as the cup, as broad as the king’s face.

There was a similar murder-fine for the heir-apparent. The galanas of a chief of the household was a third of the king’s, ‘without slavery or guilt, and a fee from the court, a falconer, a chief hunt-man, a chief groom, and a page of the chamber all had the same galanas, consisting of nine kine and nine score kine with three augmentations.’ For the galanas of the other officers, except the chief of the household and the priest of the household, six kine and six score kine ‘with three augmentations’ had to be paid. In the case of the priest of the household the murder-fine had to be paid from the estate of the physician. The law fixed the galanas of various other persons, but it is sufficient to mention that the galanas of a free Welshman of pure descent consisted of three kine and three score kine with three augmentations. This was with the amount of the galanas of a king’s seirach, while the galanas of a nobleman’s seirach was half of this amount. For a thief there was no galanas. (For various questions connected with homicide, see Wade-Evans, op. cit. pp. 298, 299.) In those of three or more the kindred were not to pay galanas with the murderer.

(2) Wounding and mutilating.—(a) In the Anc. Laws of Ireland (iii. 349, etc.) there is a very full discussion of the penalties due for wounding and mutilating, and the various wounds and losses that might be inflicted are considered in great detail. For a foot, a hand, an eye, or a tongue, half the eric-fine of every person was to be paid, and in the opinion of some the full eric-fine should be paid for the mouth, the nose, and the tongue. According to op. cit. iii. 472, the sick maintenance of a woman whose person had to be paid for, or a substitute had also to be provided. Among the wrongs requiring compensation was that of shaving bare the beard or the whiskers.

(b) In Welsh law there is an assessment of the worth of each wound or mutilation. (Wade-Evans, op. cit. p. 199 f.) The following quotation will suffice to illustrate the list of values:

- All a person’s members when reckoned together are eight and four score points in value. A person is valued at a score of silver in value. The worth of the thumb is two kine and two score of silver. A person’s nail is thirty peace in value.

With reference to a serf’s limbs there is a passage in MS U27a which reads as follows:

‘The worth of the serf’s limbs by law is as much as the worth of the king’s limbs according to worth. The galanas and the seirach, however, of every one are paid according to his status when a limb shall be broken.’

(3) Arson.—The Welsh laws alone deal with this offence, and refer to the necessity of compurgation to mete it:

‘If an accusation of the crime of burning stealthily he brought against a person, the oaths of fifty men will be necessary for him. If he obtain his schith (‘acquittance’), it will be sufficient for him; if he obtain his chith, he becomes a saileable thief. A saileable thief is worth seven pounds.’

The case of attempted arson by a thief has been mentioned above.

(4) Waylaying.—This crime is also specifically mentioned only in Welsh law, as follows:

‘Whoever shall waylay pays twofold, because it is a violence against a person, the king’s peace, and the commonwealth; and that is the one place in law where violence and theft become connected. And it is to be thus denied, the oaths of fifty men to deny wood and his dwelling and three of them under vow to abstain from flesh and woman and horse-riding.’

This offence was punished by hanging and confiscation.

(5) Criminal assault.—(a) Irish law required the payment of a heavy fine for attempting to violate a person’s wife, and a still heavier fine for actual violation (see Anc. Laws of Ireland, i. 165, 167, 177, 181.) In op. cit. ii. 405, we read as follows:

‘If the girl has been defiled within the age of seven years, full body-fine shall be paid for her, and honour-price in right of God; full body-fine, for him till she comes of age ten, and half the honour-price of her father; two-thirds of body-fine for her from the age of ten forth until she reaches fourteen, and half the honour-price of her husband; and there is no division of the body-fine from that forth.’

(b) Welsh law punished criminal assault, according to one account, as follows:

‘Whoever shall commit a rape on a woman, let him pay her gobr (‘maiden fee’) to her lord; and her ddiry (‘fine’) and her dippled (‘acquittance’) and her agredd (‘down’) and her seirach (‘fine for insult’) he pays to the woman; and, if she be a maid, let him pay her cywys (a gift payable by the husband to the wife on the morning after the marriage).

Some texts add: ‘a silver rod to the king in the manner he is entitled; and, if the man cannot pay, his testicles shall be taken. (For the oath of the woman and the execution of fifty men required for compurgation, see Wade-Evans, op. cit. p. 297.)’

In Wade-Evans, op. cit. p. 294, the case of assault by two men upon two women is considered as follows:

‘If two women shall be journeying through any place and there be no one with them, and two men meet them and violate them, they are not to be compensated. If, however, there be one person with them, although every servant, unless he be a carried child, they lose none of their right.’

In MS U42a the following is added:

‘A woman who shall be violated, if she know not who has violated her, is not to pay amro (‘maiden fee’); since the king preserved her not from violation, he loses her amro; and, if the woman be violated in that respect, they shall give her oath that she knows not who violated her, and that she was violated as aforesaid.

One legal triad speaks of the violation of a woman as ‘one of the three disgraces of a kindred.’

(6) Indecent assault.—In the Welsh laws (Wade-Evans, op. cit.
CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Celtic)

Evans, op. cit. p. 270) the following statement occurs:

"The sarhad of a woman there are, one of which is augmented, and one diminished, and one is a complete sarhad. When a king is given her against her will, that is a complete sarhad. The second is feeling her with the hand, and that is a full sarhad to her. The third is being connected with her against her will, and that is augmented by the third."

(7) Theft.—(a) Irish law deals very fully with the various fines which have to be paid in the cases of death. The amount of compensation varying chiefly with the nature of the object stolen. Among such objects are land, grass, rushes, turf, fruit, fish, boards, firewood, waggles, etc.; and among the special cases considered are that of stealing from a house and from a hunter's cooking-tent, and that of stealing a smith's tools. According to the Anc. Laws of Ireland (ii. 463), it was lawful to kill the unknown or nameless thief, but this right was personal only (op. cit. iii. 409). There was a further rule that no one was to trade with a thief.

(b) Welsh law dealt severely with thieves, and punished it (probably when habitual) with execution by hanging: In Wade-Evans (op. cit. p. 272) it is said: "The Book of Cymlog (a text of the Laws) says it is easier to believe him if there be a chattle which the thief has together with the other chattles which were taken by stealth from him. He is, however, to swear conjointly with all the persons in the house. ..." If the souls are, however, excavated under the house, after he has carried out the law that he is clear, the king owns the soil, and there is to be no guardian assertions for it. The chattle which guardian asserts to have been brought to him to be kept, let him make good, except the chattels conveyed through the soul.

The case of theft by a necessitous alien has been already mentioned. The theft of a king's cat had to be made good as follows:

"Whoever shall kill a cat which guards a barn of a king, or shall take it stealthily, its head is to be held upwards on a clean level floor, and its tail is to be held upwards; and after that wheat is to be heaped about it until the tip of the tail is hidden, and that is its worth. Another cat is four legal pence in value." A dog, on the other hand, might, according to some MSS, be stolen with impunity:

"There is no dreyf for a dog, although it be taken stealthily, nor one man is to consent to deyve a dog, for it is a back-burden of an unclean animal."

The triads in the Diction Code, however, say that a dog-stalker should pay a cambere. Regulation of the amount of charge is left to the discretion of the thief legally and of compurgation in the face of a charge are given in Wade-Evans, op. cit. p. 244 f.

A thief might be punished by being sold, and the value assigned to 'a salable thief' is seven pence. (op. cit. iii. 409) are found the following further provisions as to theft:

"A thief who shall be placed upon sarteties is not to be destroyed. No one is to make satisfaction or answer for an act of his bondman saving for theft."

(8) Assault.—Irish law dealt with assault under the same section as wounding and mutilating, and drew a distinction between a 'red wound' (with bloodshed) and a 'white wound' (without bloodshed). In the Anc. Laws of Ireland (ii. 322 n.) a 'lump blow' is defined as an explanation of lump blow two cows were an adequate compensation, while for the foul lump blow atrer-fine (one of the lesser fines of Irish law) was exacted.

(b) Welsh law (Wade-Evans, op. cit. p. 193) punishes assault as follows:

"Whoever shall strike a person, let him pay his sarhad, first because attack and onset constitutes a sarhad to every person; and a penny for every hair pulled out from his head by hand; and a penny for every finger which shall touch the head; and twenty-four pence for the front hair."

Again, if a person strike a bondman, let him pay him twelve pence; if a bondman strike a free man, it is just to cut off his right hand, or let him be the bondman's lord pay the person's sarhad' (ib. p. 194).

It is clearly stated (ib. p. 239) that a blow received unintentionally is not sarhad, and the following three ‘blows’ are defined as follows: 'one by the lord on his man in ordering him in the day of battle and judging; and one by a father on his son to punish him; and one by a chief of kindred on his relative in order to counsel him.'

(9) Treason.—Irish law, though severe upon lying, treachery, and all forms of deceit, does not deal specially with treason, but in Welsh law the following passage occurs (ib. p. 292):

"Whoever shall commit treason against a lord or waylay, is to forfeit his father’s free; and, if he be caught, he is liable to be executed. If he be not caught and will he be reconciled to his lord and kindred, a twofold payment of dirick and punishment is to be levied on him; and, if he repair to the court of the Pope and return with the Pope’s letter with him, and show that he is absolved by the Pope, he has his father’s free (‘homestead’).

In Ireland, treachery deprived a person of his full honour-price.

(10) Perjury.—(a) Irish law dealt with false swearing, more especially in the case of contracts, and visited it with a fine (Anc. Laws of Ireland, iii. 397). False witness also lowered a man’s honour-price.

(b) Welsh law deals chiefly with perjury (anmod) in relation to suspected testimony (see Wade-Evans, op. cit. p. 269 f.), but denial of suretyship and contract is also discussed (ib. p. 230).

(11) Insult.—(a) In Irish law the maintenance of a man’s honour was a primary consideration, and certain actions were no guards against it (‘honour-price’) appear to have been specially instituted for the defence of personal honour. Among these are the eoch-grise (‘blush-price’), the eoch-ruis (‘defamation’), and the eoch-bawn (‘reparation of honour’). To ask a question with a view to exposing a blemish (Anc. Laws of Ireland, iii. 347), and to give a person a nickname, rendered the offender liable to a fine (op. cit. iii. 93), while one form of insult specifically mentioned (op. cit. iii. 409) was that of opposing a bishop on a ‘hill of meeting.’

(b) Welsh law attached the utmost importance to the maintenance of a person’s dignity, and compensation for sarhad (‘insult’) plays a part therein. The violation of a person’s protection constituted one specific form of insult.

(12) Libel.—(a) In Ireland the fort of a man who tolerated satiric or satires (Anc. Laws of Ireland, v. 169) lost its dirick or honour-price, but in another passage (op. cit. i. 59) it is stated that satirizing, though done intentionally, did not cause loss of the full honour-price until a person evaded the law with respect to it. Satirizing a dead person was also liable to fine (op. cit. i. 185, 189).

(b) There is no specific mention of libel or satire
in Welsh law, and, in view of the practice of the Welsh poets, at any rate after 1300, it would appear that satirizing on their part was tolerated. At an earlier date, libel was probably counted under sarhad.

13. Slander.—(a) In Ireland the Ancient Laws (i. 175, 177) specifically mention a fine for slander. A fine was also obtainable for circulating a calumnyous story (op. cit. i. 195, 199), or for wrongfully questioning a person's legitimacy (i. 183, 193).

(b) The Welsh laws make no specific mention of slander (enillith) other than slander against women (Wade-Evans, op. cit. p. 228), or against an innocent man for murder, and probably included other slander, along with libel, under sarhad.

14. Using charms.—There is no reference to this offence in the Welsh laws, but in Ireland the person committing it was liable to a fine, whether it was committed against a human being or against a dog (see Anc. Laws of Ireland, i. 177, 181).

15. Trespass.—(a) Irish law in several passages defines the compensation required for various forms of trespass, such as 'diptyng a road' (op. cit. iii. 76 n.), bringing a horse into the narrow paths, in a field (ib.), the roof of a churchyard, and the removal of bones from a churchyard. The type of fine called the snachtfine was levied chiefly in the case of trespass by men or animals (see Anc. Laws of Ireland, iv. 53, 87, 89, 93, 95, 107, 109, 111, 115, 117, 119, 121, 123, 131, 144, 155).

(b) The forms of trespass which are specifically mentioned in the Welsh laws are: excavating the land of another to hide anything therein, making a snare, digging a kiln-pit, or building a house on another person's land. The fine inflicted was four legal pence, with certain additions in particular cases.

16. Damage to property.—(a) Irish law had much to say regarding offences arising under this head (Anc. Laws of Ireland, i. 167, 169, 171, 175, 185, 189, 233, 235, 237). The Book of Aecill (op. cit. iii. 357, 385) deals very fully and humanely with the malming, mutilation, and over-working of animals.

(b) In Wales all damage to property, whether living or dead, had to be compensated for in accordance with a scale of legal worth laid down in the laws.

17. Negligence.—(a) In Irish law cases of the kind are, for the most part, dealt with under other heads, such as trespass and damage to property; but the expression 'trespass of viciousness with neglect' is used for the offence of bringing a horse into the narrow part of a street. A fine was also inflicted for neglect of fencing. Attendants, too, were punishable for not guarding the houses of persons of dignity (op. cit. iii. 511), and a similar penalty was inflicted for neglect in not guarding a captive (ib. 499 f.). A judge who was negligent was liable to a fine (iii. 336), and so were sane judges for not guarding the insane. The Irish believed that blotches arose on the cheeks of judges who pronounced false judgment.

(b) The two instances of punishable neglect mentioned in Welsh law are the following (Wade-Evans, op. cit. 268, 268):

(1) If two persons shall be walking through a wood, and the one be in a treath (i.e. the sun shine on) so that he loses an eye, he is to pay the worth of an eye to the other.

(2) If a spear were not so placed as to prevent its point from accosting, its owner, if guilty of such a death, had to pay a third of the slain person's ganatas.

18. Absconding and harboring a fugitive.—(a) It was an offence in Irish law to entertain a fugitive who was also punishable for supporting and advising the women and children of foreigners, as well as for feeding or sheltering a stranger generally (Anc. Laws of Ireland, iii. 385, 387, 389). In the same manner a person feeding a houseless person was liable to a fine, the intention in all these cases doubtless being to make it difficult for persons to escape from justice.

(b) In Wales the law (see above, p. 265) appears to have been a little more sympathetic towards necessitous aliens, and Welsh law also provided that an alien of foreign speech should have an advocate.

19. Abduction.—(a) Irish law (op. cit. iii. 403, 541, 543, 545) deals very fully with the question of abduction in its effects upon family life. The children of the abducted woman belonged to her mother's family, and might be sold by them, but the father was bound to buy them if they were sold, and if he got them gratis he was bound to educate them.

(b) Abduction was a punishable offence in Welsh law, and the various contingencies which arose in connexion therewith are fully dealt with in the Laws (see Anc. Laws of Wales, pp. 86, 88, 92, 204; and Wade-Evans, op. cit. pp. 257, 258, 239).

20. Stripping of the dead.—In Ireland there was a fine for stripping the dead, and burning the remains and the slain in battle in particular (see Anc. Laws of Ireland, i. 175, 177); and a Welsh legal triad speaks of the 'three disgraces of a dead body'—when it is slain, when it is stripped, and when it is left lying.

21. Breach of the peace.—The Welsh laws contain no explicit references to offences under this head; but Irish law (op. cit. i. 231, 235) required a fine for quarrelling in an ale-house, and also for disturbing a fair.

22. Adultery.—It is probable that in Irish law adultery should be counted with the above offences, but the absence of a clear distinction in Irish law between crimes and torts makes it difficult to class adultery with crimes, as was done in some countries. In its effect upon the honour-price of a person, adultery, according to the Anc. Laws of Ireland (i. 57-61), was more disastrous for ecclesiastics than for laymen; but, in the case of all alike, adultery and cohabiting with a kinswoman had the same effect upon the honour-price as unfaithfulness in word (op. cit. i. 59). In the case of adultery by a married man the Welsh laws require (Wade-Evans, op. cit. p. 239) that he should pay some more pence to his lawful wife as a wynnwyorth ('compensation for insult'). When a wife committed adultery, her husband was entitled to thrice the sum of his sarhad (ib. p. 242), and it is further stated (ib. p. 244) that she loses her agweddi ('dowry'), while her chattels are brought by her kindred to her husband. One of the three disgraces of a kindred, according to a Welsh legal triad, is to bring another woman to the house, supplanting the wife and driving her forth.

In the present article Celtic crimes and punishments have been considered chiefly with reference to Ireland and Wales, owing to the fact that it is only for these countries that legal treatises of this type here considered are obtainable. In Celtic Scotland the law was based upon a development of the same ideas as those which are embodied in the law of Ireland. The legal practice of Brittany and Cornwall, too, doubtless was that of Wales, but it would be highly interesting, if it were possible, to know what modifications of the Irish system were developed in Scotland, and, similarly, what local variations of the British system arose in Cornwall and Brittany. In the absence of legal treatises such an inquiry would have to be based mainly on historical and linguistic evidence.
CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Chinese).

The Chinese character for 'crime' is significant of the attitude of the nation towards the infrac-
tion of law, being composed of the radical for 'failure,' under that for 'not,' representing the not-
of the law descending upon the offender; in other
words, 'crime' or 'sin' (for the terms are used interchangeably) is regarded as consisting not so
much in the commission of a punishable act as in
the disregard of the fact that the action has occasioned con-
sequences. For this reason the term is an un-
fortunate one when applied by Christian mission-
aries to a Chinese audience, for the majority of
these thus addressed would strongly object to be
depicted as sinners, although the intention in the
mind of the speaker is merely to bring home to
them a sense of sin.

1. Early enactments.—The Chinese penal code
is based upon enactments for which a remote
ultramundane antiquity is claimed, and the system of
punishments is ascribed to the 'Emperor' Shun
(2255 B.C.), who is said to have established the
'Seven Punishments' which were in vogue at the
end of the Chou dynasty (255 B.C.), viz. (1) brand-
ing, (2) cutting off the nose, (3) maiming, (4) castration, and (5) death.

The founder of the Han dynasty (202 B.C.)
enacted the 'Three Penal Sentences,' viz. (1) life
shall be given for life, (2) compensation for wounds, and (3) imprisonment.

The first regular code of penal laws is repre-
sented as being brought into operation in the 5th
(249 B.C.), comprehended under six heads, the
tenth of which, represented by 11 vols., is occu-
pied with criminal laws concerning treason, robbery,
theft, homicide, criminal intercourse, disturbing
graves, quarrelling and fighting, and incendiari-
ism; and, though each succeeding dynasty has con-
tributed some modification or addition to the original
enactments, the ultimate source of inspiration may
still be traced even in the existing legislation.

The laws of the present Manchu dynasty, which
in China bears the name of the Ta Ts'ing, or
Great Qing, as the Manchus consider themselves
as follows:

(1) The Ta Ts'ing Lu Li, or 'Penal Code of the
Ta Ts'ing dynasty,' which is subject to revision
every 5 years. The sections included under the
first term, Lu, may be described as the original
laws, and the second term, Li, as the supplementary clauses, or common law,
established by precedent or usage. (2) The Ta
Ts'ing Hui Tien, or 'Regulations of the Ta Ts'ing
dynasty.' (3) The edicts and decrees issued by
Emperors and high provincial officials. (4) Cus-
tomary law.

The first of these, the Lu Li, is comprehended in
2906 octavo pages, the criminal laws being
emphasized to the 6th division, arranged under the
following heads: (1) robbery and theft, (2) homicide,
(3) quarrelling and fighting, (4) abusive language,
(5) indictments and informations, (6) bribery and corruption, (7) forgeries and frauds,
(8) incest and adultery, (9) miscellaneous offences,
(10) arrests and escapes, and (11) imprisonment,
judgment, and execution.

2. Punishments.—The modes of punishment
which are recognized by the code are five:

(1) Flogging with a heavier cane of bamboo,
about 3 ft. 6 in. long, 1½ in. thick, and 4½ in.
thick at the end. The punishment admits of 5
degrees of severity, nominally from 10 to 50 blows;
but in actual practice only 4, 5, 10, 15, and 20
blows respectively are administered.

(2) Flogging with a heavier cane of bamboo,
about 3 ft. 6 in. by 1½ in. by ½ in., in cases
of greater gravity, the number of blows ranging
from 60 to 109 nominally, but reduced in unusual
practice to 35, 50, 35, and 10 respectively.

(3) Manchu subjects, or 'Bannermen,' are punished
with a whip instead of the bamboo.

In administering the punishment the factors are
so expert that they can apply 1000 sounding blows
on the bare flesh without raising a blister, or draw
blood if required with three strokes, and actually
make the flesh fly if they set themselves seriously
to work. (This is done by the 'dragging' stroke,
which is different from the usual up-and-down
method; the direction of it is such that the skin is
drawn back along the surface, and in a short time
the skin is literally torn off in strips.) This skill
in applying the bamboo is said to be attained by
long practice on a block of bean-curd, a substance
resembling a stiff custard, the batters kneading
face to face, and striking alternately on the bean-
curd which is placed on the ground between them.

When they have learned to strike the substance a
great many times, producing an appreciable 'note'
standing up, each time, within the time of execution,
corresponding to the time required for each hour
of the 'custard,' they are supposed to be proficient,
and are allowed to exercise their art on the un-
fortunate human beings who may be surrendered
to them. Another power which they must culti-
ivate is that of counting aloud at a great rate whilst administering the strokes; the
man kneeling on one knee at one side of the victim
calls out the odd numbers, whilst the other counts
the even numbers, and this requires long and fre-
quent rehearsal. If it also succeeds in acquiring the
art for 'sharp practice,' for the number called does not
necessarily correspond with the blows struck; and it is very easy for skilful perform-
ers to run up a very large total of figures without applying an equal number of strokes. Thus a man condemned
to receive 1000 strokes may be let off with 700 or
so if he has a proper understanding with the lieters,
though the full number is reported by them even
once at the time of imposition. The rod is steeped
for some months in a saline bath before it is con-
sidered fit for use, as this is said to ensure that
mortification will not set in when the flesh is lacerated; it no doubt also increases the sufferings of the victim.

(3) Banishment, for a limited period, to a dis-
tance not exceeding 500 li (= 170 miles). Here
again 5 degrees are admitted, viz. 1 year and 60
blows, 1½ years and 70 blows, 2 years and 80 blows,
2½ years and 90 blows, and 3 years and 100 blows.

(4) Transportation, for life, to any distance vary-
ing from 2000 to 3000 li (= 1000 miles), with 100
blows; in extraordinary cases the distance is in-
creased to 4000 li, or the criminals are condemned
to reside in muriatic or savage districts. The
exiles are nominally required to render military
service, but are usually permitted to engage in
humble occupations, such as the managing of in-
ferior pawn-shops, etc. The wives of criminals are
expected to appear on the next trial with their husbands in exile, and their children and other relatives may do so if
willing. Bannermen are subjected to the 'cangue'
(see below) in lieu of banishment.

(5) Death by strangulation, decapitation, or the
so-called 'lifting-up process,' which is usually
confirmed by the Emperor; but in cases of murder, piracy or highway robbery, rebellion,
uttering false coin, forging official seals, arson,
robbery with violence, criminal assault on girls
under 12 years, and, frequently, for forgery, murder, or supineness at public examinations, or smuggling salt, the local
authority is empowered to put the sentence into
execution at once, unless extenuating circum-
stances can be urged for delay. In cases of piracy,
highway robbery, etc., the criminals are decapitated, and their heads exposed over the city gates as a warning to all.

(a) Strangulation.—The penalty of strangulation is inflicted on the cases of murder of a stepchild by a stepmother, abuse of parents or paternal grandparents, abuse of husbands' parents or grandparents; also in certain cases of homicide where premeditation is not alleged, or where death is brought about by indirect means; also in cases of opening coffins and rifling the dead, refusing to pay tribute, or inciting to riot. In extreme cases the process is aggravated by the method known as 'three strangulations and three recoveries,' which means that the victim is strangled into unconsciousness three times, and restored to animation before the final garroting takes place. In some instances high officials who have offended are presented by the Emperor with a silken scarf, with which they are expected to strangle themselves in lieu of the heavier and more disgraceful punishment of decollation.

(b) Decapitation.—Decapitation is the penalty inflicted in the case of a large number of offences, especially in a treaty between China and a foreign power, which includes: (1) rebellion, (2) disloyalty (as, e.g., destroying or attacking the Imperial tombs, palaces, etc.), (3) desertion, (4) parricide, (5) massacre (i.e. where three or more persons are killed), (6) sacrilege, (7) insolvency, (8) discord, and (9) insubordination. The treasonable character of these offences consists in their being hurtful to the Sovereign either in his person, his property, or his honour, or the persons and property of his subjects. The principal offenders are sometimes sentenced to the ling chi.

(c) The ling chi.—The third form of capital punishment, i.e. the ling chi, or 'lingerling process,' which is popularly supposed to consist in an indefinite number of cuts inflicted on the victim's body, before the administration of the coup de grâce, does not amount, in ordinary cases, to more than a few slashes on the face and body before the final blow is struck. It is intended to make the death process more lingering and shamefaced, as the word ling chi mean; but the degree of aggravation of the penalty is left very much in the hands of the executioner. The lingering process is ordered in the case of treason against the Imperial person, perpetration of a murder of which no distinction is made between principal and accessory; also in the case of parricide, murder of a husband, etc.

(d) The death cage.—Another form of capital punishment is the standing cage, which consists of a tall frame of wood enclosing the victim in the cage, the floor being a foot or so from the ground. His neck is enclosed by the bars which form the top or lid of the cage. In this position he is unable to touch the floor with his feet or hands, a number of bricks are inserted upon which he is permitted to stand, and these are gradually removed until at last he is practically suspended by the neck, unless death intervenes, as generally happens. The cage being hinged, the administration of an opiate supplied by a relative or friend. Victims of this form of punishment have been known to survive four days of torture, even when exposed to the burning rays of the summer sun.

(6) The cangue. A minor form of punishment which is recognized by the Li, or 'supplementary laws,' is that of the 'great collar,' or 'wooden neck-tie,' as it is nicknamed, generally known amongst Europeans as a substitute for the real cangue (from the Portuguese canga = yoke). It consists of a heavy wooden framework in two parts, through which the head of the victim is introduced by means of a scallop on the inner edges of each; the two parts are then brought together and fastened in position upon the wearer's shoulders, and an inscription is added stating the nature of the crime committed, etc. The weight of the cangue is generally from 20 to 30 lbs., but it is sometimes heavy enough to make it impracticable for the recipient (from the Portuguese -" to "yoke.")

7. The conduct of law.—The almost total absence
of legal machinery is another feature which is worthy of notice. There is no such thing as the empanelling of a jury; no assistance of counsel for the prosecution or the defence; no association of judges on the bench; no oath upon oath. The magistrate sits alone to try the case, unless he decides upon inviting another magistrate to assist him. The cases for and against are prepared by self-constituted lawyers, a somewhat degraded class of literati men, who do not appear in person before the court. The magistrate is furnished by his secretaries with whatever information he may require as to law or precedent, and decision is given, ordinarily, without long debate. But if he is perplexed until he confesses his crime; and, should he hesitate to do so, the means are available by which such confession may be elicited. Some of these methods have the sanction of law, while others are enforced without such authority. The legal instruments of torture consist of wooden presses for squeezing the ankles or fingers, and the bastinado; in addition to these, however, there are many others which have been in use until quite recently, but which have now been nominally abolished—such as forcing the victim to kneel upon hot bricks, iron chains, powdered glass, sand, or salt; twisting the ears; suspending the body by the thumbs or fingers; tying the legs to a pole placed under the knees, so as to bend the body forward in a kneeling posture, etc.

8. Popular courts.—So great is the terror inspired by the law-courts and the ‘pens’ which do duty for prisons (the Chinese word means originally a ‘corral,’ or stable for cattle), that many people prefer to settle their cases out of court, by resorting to the ‘tea-houses,’ which are the equivalents of our public-houses, and submitting the question to the oracle of the moment present—the nearest approach to trial by jury; and the practice has become so well established that these tea-houses are often called ‘Little Halls of Justice.’

Law of guilt.—An interesting feature of the Chinese enactments is that the standard of punishment, in many cases, is not measured by the character of the offence, but by the amount of profit secured by the offender; the penalty, for instance, in cases of robbery, is fixed at ten fold of all proportion to that which is incurred by stealing 1 oz.; it is assessed on a scale indeed which would seem to place the act in an entirely different category of crime, for the latter is punished by 60 blows by stranguilation, whereas robbery is only punishable by 50 blows, the breaking of one tooth by 100 blows, of two teeth by 60 blows and a year’s imprisonment. Causing a person to be incapable of becoming a parent is punished by 100 blows and banishment to a distance of 3000 li, and, in the case of male offenders, with forfeiture of estates.

10. Treason.—The punishment of treason is particularly severe, and the list of crimes which are classified as treasonable is very comprehensive. The penalty of making even an attempt against the persons, palaces, or tombs of the Imperial house is execution by the lingering process, and no distinction is made between principals and accessories (though in ordinary cases of crime a careful discrimination is made, and accessories before the fact are punished one degree less severely than the principals). All male relatives of the condemned, in the first degree, i.e. father, grandfather, sons, grandsons, paternal uncles and their sons of the age of 15 or older, are sentenced to decapitation, together with all other male relatives, within the same limit of age, who may be living with the offender at the time. Male relatives of the first degree under the age of 15, and all females similarly related, are distributed as slaves amongst the relatives of the condemned. The great majority of the condemned is confiscated by the State. All who renounce country and allegiance are liable to decapitation.

11. Homicide.—The definition of homicide is also very comprehensive, no fewer than 10 possible cases being included under the term, viz. (1) killing with deliberate intent, the penalty of which is decapitation; (2) killing in an affray, where perhaps no special individual is attacked; (3) killing in self-defence, where the act is sanctioned by the law; (4) killing with a deadly weapon, the act constituting duels, duels being called by the Chinese sham-fights; (5) killing due to fear; (6) killing due to anger; (7) killing due to rage; (8) driving of a person into danger by false representations, e.g. leading a man to walk into deep water, assuring him that it is shallow and fordable (strangulation is the penalty in these cases also); (9) killing a person by mistake when intending to kill some one else (the penalty for this offence is beheading); (10) killing accidentally when using legitimate instruments or weapons (punishment is deemed sufficient in such cases); (11) killing through carelessness (punished by beheading); (12) killing by the administration of improper medicines (punishable by beheading, but, if inadvertence can be urged in defence, compensation and retirement from medical pursuits are ordered); (13) killing by means of traps and snares (punishable by blows and banishment); (14) killing by the utterance of threats which lead to suicide on the part of the threatened person (punished by strangulation).

12. Privileged classes.—There are no fewer than ten instances where privilege is claimed, as in the case of those enjoying hereditary rank, or high judicial office, or being connected with the imperial line. These classes are excepted from the ordinary processes of law, and the Imperial sanction must be obtained before the law can be put into operation against them. No privilege, however, of whatever kind can avail in the case of the following instances of the accused, in ordinary cases, are taken into account: as, e.g., extreme youth, i.e. under the age of 15 years; or extreme age, i.e. 70 years and upwards; infirmity, too, is recognized as an occasion for the exercise of lenity and the relaxation of the heavier penalties, with exemption from torture. The condition of the parents of the accused is also taken into account, and an erring son is mercifully dealt with if it be shown that his parents depend upon him for support; even the death penalty may be remitted in the case of an only son, lest his parents should be deprived of the worship which is expected from him after their decease.

13. Favourable treatment of women.—Women are seldom imprisoned, except on capital charges, or for adultery, but are placed in the custody of their nearest relatives; and, if they are arrested when in a pregnant condition, the full penalty of the law is not inflicted till 100 days have passed after parturition. Injured husbands are permitted to kill, out of hand, the guilty wife and her paramour, if discovered in flagrante delicto; but, if the parties have already left the apartment where the
act was committed, or surrender themselves to the hurt of little time elapsed since the event, the husband is not justified by law in exacting the extreme penalty. A master who is accused of killing a slave is not regarded as guilty of a capital offence, but a slave who murders his master is, or some of those petty treasons.

14. Patria potestas. — The patria potestas is still in force in China, and the slaughter of one's offspring is dealt with as a minor offence, or indeed as no offence at all, if, for instance, a parent has been struck by a son, to daughter of damage. The law decrees that the penalty for striking or cursing a parent is death, as was the case with the Hebrews.

15. Professional bullies. — The killing of a professional pugilist, or 'strong man,' is not regarded as murder, on the ground that such persons voluntarily subject themselves to danger and death, and must be prepared to take the consequences of their rashness.

16. The law of debt. — In cases of debt a stated period is allowed by law for repayment, viz.: three months after the expiry of the time stipulated in the original arrangement between the parties. In the event of this period of grace being allowed to expire, the debtor is liable to the bastinado. In some cases the creditor will take up his quarters in the house of the debtor, and continue to live at his expense until the debt is discharged. The fear of being unable to meet one's obligations before the Chinese New Year causes many suicides to take place at that season.

17. Bad company. — Amongst miscellaneous enactments it is worthy of notice that the sons of families enjoying hereditary rank, and officers of government, are prohibited from associating with provincials, under penalty of 60 blows.

18. Treatment of domestic animals. — Special laws are enacted with a view to the proper treatment of domestic animals; e.g., when draught animals are improperly harnessed, and sores are thus produced on the back or withers, the penalty of such carelessness is 20 to 50 blows. Similar penalties are imposed in cases of insufficient feeding, etc.

19. Care of the young. — Amongst the laws relating to the care of the young, it may be noted that the 'age of consent' in China is 12 years in the case of both boys and girls, and that a recent edict decreed that smoking on the part of boys under 18 was a punishable offence.

20. Abhorrence of conduct. — The comprehensiveness of the Chinese penal code is remarkable; there is hardly a circumstance connected with law and its infraction for which provision is not made; and a large liberty is extended to judges in the treatment of what is described as 'improper conduct' — an expression which is interpreted to mean offences against the spirit of the laws, though not necessarily involving an actual breach of the letter thereof.

21. Lynch law. — In addition to the ordinary legislation there are many morbothod methods in practice amongst the people in country districts. Lynch law is very common, and the treatment of crimes in such places often induces cruelties which fully deserve the designation of 'savage.' Theft is severely punished, as are also fraudulent practices in connexion with marriage negotiations. A favourite method is the suspension of the culprit by his thumbs and great toes to a horizontal branch, so that the body is raised while a bow; sometimes a large stone is placed in the middle of his back to increase his sufferings. In extreme cases, where death is decreed by the village tribunal, a bloody iniquity is exhibited in the invention of new methods of torture. In the case of village feuds 'a life for a life' is the universal standard of justice; annual outbreaks of a kind of outcast gangsters, in various districts, and continue until the blood-feud is settled by the slaughter of an equal number of persons on both sides.

22. Reform. — The revision of the penal code, so as to bring it into harmony with the principles of justice, is at present under consideration; and a number of Chinese commissioners visited Europe last year (1910) for the purpose of studying Western prison methods, with a view to a reform of the Chinese houses of correction.


CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Egyptian). — There is no reliable record of the principles which guided the Egyptian judge in the punishment of crime. There may have been much that was arbitrary in the administration of justice, even in the best bureaucratic period of the New Empire, but that rules dating from a remote age, and attributed to the god Thoth, were appealed to is certain. A charge given by the king to his newly appointed judge is preserved, but scarcely touches this question.

The Negative Confession in the Book of the Dead (see CONFESSION [Egyptian]) contains a long list of moral and religious obliquities, including adultery, falsification of measures, theft and forgery, and cursing the king. More to our purpose is a list of charges brought against a shipmaster at Elephantine, preserved in a papyrus at Turin; amongst his offences are breaking into stores and stealing the grain, embezzeing corn put in his charge, extorting corn from the people, burning a boat and concealing the fact, also adultery, and apparently the misuse of cattle bred by the sacred Mnevis sires. There is no record whether the charges were proved, or of the punishment. A decree of King Horemheb to repress military exactions and oppression in Egypt imposes a severe penalty on the unauthorized commandeering of boats; the offender loses his nose and ears, and is transported to the frontier city of Zaru (agreeing with Diodoros' account of the city of Rhinocolura); and soldiers who stole hides were to be beaten with 100 lashes so as to open five wounds, and to restore the property to its owners. Other documents indicate how a conviction of embezzelement was punished, where perhaps convicts were forced to toil in the gold mines. The condition of suspected persons after examination 'by beating on their hands and feet' must have been miserable in the extreme, but probably the law contrived to make it still worse for the convicted criminal in the end. Accounts of several criminal trials are preserved — of robbers of the royal tombs (in Breasted, Anc. Records, London, 1906–1907, iv. 499–556); and of a conspiracy in the baram against the life of the king (ib. pp. 416–456). The punishment of the men and women condemned for participation in, or guilty knowledge of, the conspiracy is not specified, but it was evidently death in some form, and many seem to have been permitted to commit suicide. Two of the judges and two custodians who had misconducted themselves with female criminals during the time of the trial were condemned to lose their noses and ears; one of these committed suicide a week after atoning for the crime, and the other was allowed to escape with a severe reprimand.

From the end of the Middle Kingdom there is a decree of a King Antef deposing a monarch (7) and high official of the temple of Coptos for harbouring the king's enemies. He and all his descendants were deprived for ever of the power
to hold the office. The consequences of desertion to another country are hinted at in the story of the fugitive Simihe, who was plainly in peril of death (M.L. Chro., 38, 1906, p. 62). In the treaty between the Hittite king and Ramses II. restoration of deserters and free pardon for them are stipulated for on both sides.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Greek).—1. A crime may be considered as an act of disobedience to a Divine command, and, as such, punishable, if at all, by Divine retribution; or else, in its stricter sense, as an offence against the Divine community, for which a definite punishment is prescribed by law. But it is only gradually that the latter notion has been evolved. In the Greek States, none of which succeeded in working out a scientific system of jurisprudence comparable with that of Rome, many crimes continued to be treated, as in primitive communities, as wrongful acts done to an individual, for which he was entitled to claim compensation from the offender (see Minute, Ancient Law, ed. Pollock, London, 1897, p. 379). Although the familiar distinction between a crime and a tort was increasingly recognized with the progress of time, acts definitely criminal in character were recognized by the law. Such, e.g., as homicide and theft under certain conditions, were technically made the subject of a civil action (diex') rather than of an indictment (taphph). Even in the latter the State was only indirectly concerned; for a fine would be levied on the wrongdoer in a private, and a public prosecution, and in private prosecutions, which formed by far the more numerous class, the prosecutor was regarded as acting for his own satisfaction rather than as fulfilling a public duty.

It would be impossible, within the limits of an article like the present, even if the material existed, to describe in detail, or even satisfactorily to summarize, the progressive development in the establishment of legal penalties for crime by the various divisions of the Hellenic race, from the dawn of history down to the time when their independence was finally lost. All that we shall attempt is a short survey of the general ideas relating to the subject of crimes and punishments which prevailed from time to time according to the most important literary records together with some account of the particular remedies provided by the Athenian courts in the period at which our information is most abundant, namely, the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. For States other than Athens the necessary evidence is almost entirely wanting; there is not much authentic record. Such scraps as have come down to us, when it is impossible to present them in their proper setting, or to make a trustworthy estimate of their worth, are not sufficiently authoritative to make us think that the Athenians invented the regular administration of justice (Xen., Var. Hist. iii. 38). Still, it would be a mistake to suppose that the Athenian courts were a unique product of Hellenic civilization. Of the better-known Greek States it seems probable that Sparta was the most backward; and the existence of an elaborate judicial organization in remote and semi-barbarous communities such as Cyrene and Western Locris leads to the conclusion that great commercial cities like Athens, Megara, and Corinth had a legal system as highly developed, if not so famous, as that of Athens herself (L. Whibley, Greek Observations, London, 1860, p. 177).

2. With crime in the wider sense, as a breach of religious obligation, and the Divine punishment which it thereby merits, we do not propose here to deal, since they will be sufficiently discussed elsewhere (Chap. xix., Chre. xvi. 4, 135). Nevertheless, the gradual growth of a system of jurisprudence was so largely conditioned by religious belief that we cannot entirely put out of view the religious as distinct from the legal aspect (Plato, Crat. 416 c, Euthyphraeon, 147 a). This is most strongly marked in the case of the most important of all crimes, that of homicide. In the primitive age, for which our authority is to be found not only in the Homeric poems, but also in the works of the tragedians, so far as they reproduce the old legends, beliefs, and customs prevalent in the Epics now lost, it was universally believed that the shedding of blood was pursued and punished by the avengers (Erinyes) of the slain man (Esch. Cho. 408; Soph. El. 115). These superior natural visitants may be regarded as the embodiment of the curse pronounced by the injured victim against the wrongdoer (Esch. Thrb. 70), or even as the punishment itself (Hesiod). In Homer, however, they never appear as murdering agents, but rather as protectors of parents against wrongs done to them by their children, and as guardians of the sanctity of family life. The mother of Meleager cursed her son by playing her son, and prayed for his death; her prayer was heard by the Erinyes that walk in darkness (II. ix. 571). Similarly, we find GEdipus visited by the curse of Jocasta (Oed. xl. 250); the Erinyes were summoned to thevenge the crime committed by Phoenix to his father Ambyrion (II. iii. 454); and, so far as can be seen, they were ready to visit every crime committed against the ties of family or society (Aeneid-Hort. on Od. ii. 135). There is nothing more to the fact that Homer says the Erinyes were the avengers of homicide in a private case; and, inasmuch as they avenged wrongs done to kindred, they might well have been found harassing Orsteus for the murder of his mother, if Homer had narrated this version of the story (see Soph. El. 135; Arist. Pol. 1463b; Age, New York and London, 1907, p. 89). The subjects handled by the Tragic poets, being more nearly concerned with the ideas of crime and punishment, regularly present the Erinyes as the avengers of homicide, and so the Erinyes are the murderers of kinfolks. Their victim, driven from place to place, in his vain effort to escape (Esch. Eum. 210), was attacked by madness (Eur. Iph. Taur. 1481) or wasting sickness (Or. 358 ff.); and, until he either was released or reconciled to the Erinyes as his wife (Ag. 1160; Soph. Oed. frag. 4, 57 b; Robbe, Psychagogia, 228). Until a comparatively late date this was one of the excuses alleged by the Stoics, who were hard put to it to reconcile the existence of moral evil with the doctrine of Providence (Cic. Nat. Dcur, iii. 90). But these crude notions failed to satisfy the curious inquirer or the ardent champion of Divine justice. Aschylus, a profound religious thinker, attempted to justify the gods by the assertion that the punishment of a crime is to be ascribed to the sinner in his descendants (Ag. 755-760), so that the actual sufferer is punished, not directly for his ancestor's guilt, but because he himself has yielded to temptation. But popular superstition required a less subtle solution. Even if the innocent must suffer for the guilty, it could not be supposed that the guilty themselves escape altogether. Hence came the belief in punishment after death, which may properly be called post-Homeric, though it appears in an isolated passage of the Iliad (Od. xi. 576-600; see Seymour, p. 468). It was a leading tenet in the creed of the devotees of Orphism (Plat. Rep. 364 E; Rohde, Psyche, ii. 125). The same doctrine took firm root in the consciences of the initiated, who had availed themselves of the reward offered to the partici-
In the Eleusinian mysteries, that they, and they alone, could look forward to a blessed existence after death (Soph. frag. 763); though how far it is correct to speak of the 'symbolism' of the mysteries themselves is a difficult and doubtful question (Rohde, i. 294). From such sources the doctrine spread even to philosophic circles, where it provided the material for several of the myths in the writings of Plato (Phaedo, 110 B, Resp. 357 C; Gorg. 526 A), as well as for those of his imitator Plutarch (Socr. Num. Vind. p. 583 ff.; Gen. Socr. p. 590), and was countenanced by the Stoics in their efforts to make common cause with the nephelophors of the popular religion (A. C. Pearson, Res Gestae of Zeno and Cleombrotus, Cambridge, 1891, p. 146).

4. The belief in the power of the spirit of the murdered man to exact vengeance persisted throughout the historical age, but the practical consequences of this permission were of widely different character in those which prevailed at a later time. The homicide in Homer was under no disability, so long as he kept outside the range of the influence exercised by the claim of blood-avenger or in the murder of a kinsman within those limits his life was forfeit to the kinsmen of the murdered man (Od. xv. 271 ff.). So long as the murderer remained at home, the kinship of blood survived, even if the victims himself wished to avoid the wrath of the dead man's ghost; only by permanent exile, by renouncing for ever the ties of home and country, could even one who had accidentally caused the death of another escape from the vengeance of the blood-feud. Such is the inference to be drawn from the fate of Patroclus (I. i. 769 ff., xxiii. 85 ff.). But once he reached a new country, no moral disgrace and no religious taboo attached to the person of the fictive murderer, although his action was deliberate. Even assassination seems to excite no moral disapprobation (Od. xiii. 267). Exile, however, was not always inevitable. If the relatives were willing to accept a fine, the murderer might by a payment acceptable to them compound for his life, and remain at home (I. i. 628-632). There is nothing here of ceremonial uncleanness, or of the propitiation of an offended deity (Rohde, i. 271); a murder is a wrong done to the family which is vengeable by a money payment, and such an act, if exact a suitable expiation. The only reference to judicial proceedings in connexion with homicide is in the description of the shield of Achilles (II. xviii. 497-508). Unfortunately, however, critics are not agreed upon the nature of the trial scene, and the question is still open whether the issue to be tried before the elders was one of fact—had the blood-price been paid or not?—or whether the community had undertaken to decide the question of right, when a blood-price had been offered and refused. (See, on the one hand, Seymour, p. 89, and Lipsius, Das attische Recht, p. 4; and, on the other, Leaf, in loc., and Maine, p. 406.)

5. When we pass to historical times, we find an entirely different state of affairs. The only adequate explanation of the change seems to be that in the interval a new religious influence had grown up, strong enough to modify completely the Greek conception of murder. This was the Delphic cult of Apollo, which at one and the same time emphasized the moral guilt of the shedder of blood, and by its ceremonies of purification opened the means of escape from the need for a blood-requital. But it is not easy to understand whether this new attitude of the community was due to the influence of the Homer poems, and if so, ways given to a stricter estimate of guilt (Rohde, i. 257; Demosthenes, xxiii. 28, 33), which appears to be a reversion to the primitive rule that every murder must be expiated by blood (Eisch. Cho. 311). It has usually been inferred that the practice of Homeric society was a temporary deviation due to special conditions, which suspended the fundamental principle of its later development (T. Gomperz, Greek Thinkers, Eng. tr., 1901, ii. 4).

6. The Athenian criminal code.—However this may be, when we at length reach the system administered by the Athenian courts, we find that the punishment no longer depends upon the choice of the individual avenger, but is prescribed by the State (Demosoth. xxiii. 69), although the kinsman is still required to appear as the instrument which sets the law in motion, unless the murder has been forgiven his death (ib. xxxvii. 59). The circumstances and motive of the homicide are no longer regarded as indifferent, but the various grades of guilt are distinguished with precision. Thus (1) the trials of the Aryan homicide, instituted according to the legend, on the occasion of the trial of Orestes, had jurisdiction in cases of wilful homicide (φόνον εκδοσία). The judges were the Council of the Areopagus, a body constituted from those who had held the office of archon and had passed a subsequent scrutiny, under the presidency of the 'king' archon, who, as exercising the priestly functions of the old kings, testified by his presence on the scene of the murder that there was a trial for blood-guiltiness. The penalties of death and confiscation of goods followed a conviction (Demosoth. xxi. 43). The Areopagus also had jurisdiction over cases of wounding with malicious intent (νυκτίαν τι νυκτίαν), of arson (φωνος), and of poisoning (φονεύσας τιν αιτιολογίαν δοτι). The penalty for wounding and for poisoning, if death did not result, was banishment and confiscation of property; if the poisoning was followed by death, it was punished in the same manner as murder committed by violent methods.

(2) The second of the courts dealing with homicide sat at the Palladion, a sanctuary of Pallas, outside the walls, on the east side of Athens. Here were tried cases of involuntary homicide, compounded by a conspiracy against the life of another (συνάρνατος: Arist. Resp. Ath. 57, 3), as well as those relating to the killing of a slave, a resident alien, or a foreigner. The sentence on a person found guilty of involuntary homicide is for them to stand as avengers of the deceased. Here the word 'king' archon was used, that is, he had assembled the relatives of the deceased, or, if he failed to do so, for a definite (but not ascertained) period. The death of a non-citizen seems also to have been punishable with banishment.

(3) Not far from the Palladion was the Delphinion, or Temple of Apollo Delphinios, where all were tried who alleged that the homicide committed was justifiable or excusable. The examples given are the slaying of an adulterer taken in the act, death on the battlefield in consequence of mistaken identity, and the fatal result of an athletic contest.

(4) Of minor importance was the court in the precinct of the hero Phreates (Lipsius, p. 130), on the Piraeus promontory. Here any person was tried who, while in exile for involuntary homicide, was accused of murder or malicious wounding committed before he went into exile. In such circumstances the accused pleaded his case from a boat moored off the coast. The judges in the three courts last-mentioned were a body known as the ἐγκαίνας, 51 in number, about whose qualifications and mode of appointment there is no information except the vague statement that they were chosen by a majority vote, not always by the well-born citizens. Their number may be explained by the 'king' archon being counted as one of them, or may be due to the same principle as prevailed in the jury-courts—the necessity of an odd number in
order to secure the decision of a majority (Lipsius, p. 18; otherwise Gilbert, Handbuch d. gr. Staats-
alterthümer, p. 136). This system seems to have lasted from the time of Draco until about the year
400 B.C., when, in place of it, a panel of ordinary jurors (σωφροῦσαι) was substituted (Lipsius,
p. 41). The president in these courts was always the 'king' archon.

(5) Lastly, there is the court of the Pythianum, composed of four trial 'kings' (πολεμαρχικοὶ)
together with the 'king' archon, who, when the actual criminal could not be discovered, conducted
a ceremonial trial of the weapon or of any other inanimate object, such as a stone or a piece of
the ground, to decide whether it had been committed.

At the conclusion of the trial the inanimate instru-
ment of death was cast beyond the boundaries of
the State. A similar proceeding took place if the
death was due to an animal (Arist. Resp. 
Gilbert, p. 90). The death penalty was the ear-
vival of a custom which went back to a remote
antiquity.

In regard to trials for homicide, the following
points of interest may be noted: (a) The connexion of
the primitive blood-feud is pre-
served in the requirement that the prosecution
must be undertaken by the nearest relatives of the
deceased. (b) The trial always took place in the
open air, on order avoide pollution to those present from being under the same roof with the
accused. (c) The fact that the place of
trial was always a temple is derived from the time
when the slayer was protected by the right of
asylum, until he had accorded with his adversaries on
the amount of the blood-price. (d) The accused
could withdraw himself from the trial not later
than the conclusion of his opening speech (Demosth.
xvii. 69), and, so long as he remained abroad, his
life was protected; but, if he put himself at
Athenian mercy, he could be put to death with impunity. (e) Cer-
emonial purification was required before even an
involuntary homicide could be restored to his full
rights. (f) The court of the Areopagus was closely
associated with the cult of the Erinyes, who appear
as the accusers of Orestes not only in Eschylus,
but in the account preserved in Demosth. xvii. 56
(Robeo, p. 269).

At Sparta, cases of homicide were tried before the
council of elders (τυποὶ), where other public proceedings also took place (Arist. Pol. iii. 1, 1275b, 
10). From a case in which permanent exile was the
penalty for an act of involuntary homicide committed in committee (Xen. Anab. iv. viii. 25), it
has been inferred that the punishment had been put
away. (g) Our information is so meagre that we can seldom
distinguish the various crimes to which they were
assigned; it appears, however, that cowardice in
battle was punishable with exile (Thuc. i. 72), and
παρὰδοσία with permanent disfranchisement (Plut.
Mor. p. 237 C). In Boeotia murder trials took
place before the council (Xen. Hell. vii. iii. 5).

To return to Athens: it is desirable, before pro-
cceeding further, to mention ed. ity. The administra-
tion of the Athenian criminal law which distinguish it from the system
established in Great Britain. Every criminal pro-
cressing was assigned to the office of a magistrate or
board, who took charge of the necessary docu-
ments, heard all the preliminary applications, and
presided at the actual trial. But these officials
were very far from exercising the functions of a
modern judge. They had no legal training or
experience, but were simply holders of office for a year, a few being chosen by election, but the
majority owing their position to the chance of the
lot. Their duties were for the most part minis-
terial, and at the trial they exercised no control
over the jury, who were expected as representing
the sovereign people. These latter—in criminal
trials a panel, generally 501 in number and often
far larger, chosen by an elaborate system from a
body of 6000 citizens annually liable to be
apt to stop at an irrelevant argument, if it appealed
to their fancy, or to require every statement of an
advocate to be proved by strict evidence (Mahaffy,
Social Life in Greece, London, 1877, p. 387 ff.).

Their freedom from responsibility tempted them to
debate according to the caprice of the moment, and
their ignorance enabled advocates to misrepresent
the law without any check but the speech of the
other side. Moreover, they were often swayed by
political prejudice. From the connexion of
the trial with the political questions of the
day, it is nocredible, informed, were prepared to swell the State
revenues by confiscation of the goods of the accused
in order to improve the security for the jurymen's
pay (Aristoph. Eq. 1391 f.; Lysias, xxvii. 1). They
voted by ballot and their decisions were
final. In many cases the sentence was fixed by law (Δράκο
διὰ τοῦ δικαίου,
but, where it was left to the discretion of the
court (Δράκο διὰ τοῦ δικαίου), the jurors had only a choice between two alternatives, as presented to
them by the criminal in question. It is obvious that
any wider liberty would have been attended with seri-
ous practical difficulties.

If the crime of treason (τροστροστήρεια) was not pre-
cisely defined in their code, it was not because
the Athenians did not cherish, as the constitutions
of their constitutional liberty. On the contrary,
the names of Harmodius and Aristogiton were always
cherished, and special privileges granted to their
descendants, in order that the Athenians might
never forget the dangers from which their ancestors
had been liberated. Charges against the oligarchi-
cal party of conspiring against the democracy
(Aristoph. Eq. 236), or against some popular leader
as aiming at a tyranny, were freely brought to and
probed during the memorable times. Parry says:
War: 'Aye! "conspiracy" and "tyrant," these
with you are all in all, [Whatsoever is brought
before you, be the matter great or small" (Aristoph.
Vesp. 458 f., tr. Rogers). The importance attached
to the safety of democracy is attested by the
provision of a special process (εὐλογία) for the
impeachment of traitors. Historically, indeed, it
may be regarded as a survival of the only form of
criminal procedure known to the primitive State,
in which there is no distinction between a criminal
trial and an act of legislation (Maine, pp. 383, 393).
But in practice this solemn proceeding was reserved
for the trial and punishment of serious public
offences which did not admit of delay (Harper, a.v.
eὐλογία). A law of Solon entrusted the Areo-
pagus with the trial of those who conspired to
overthrow the democracy (Arist. Resp. Ath. 8. 4); but it was at a later date—which has been fixed as
either about the year 629 or the year 529 B.C.
(Thaulhofer, in Hermes, xxxvii. [1902] 342 ff.)—that
a comprehensive enactment enumerating and de-
fining various treasonable acts (ταύμενοι εὐλογίαν) was
was passed, as the offences comprised in
it may be divided roughly into four classes: (1)
Attempts to overthrow the constitution, either
actual or constructive; (2) the treasonous surrender
of a fortified place or of a military or naval force;
(3) desertion to the enemy, or assistance given to,
or bribes received from them; 1 (4) corrupt advice given by a speech in the assembly (Hyperid. iii. 29). Either as included in the scope of this enactment or as authorized by earlier or separate legislation, with judicial proceedings by impeachment against those who made deceitful promises to the people, and against ambassadors who were false to their duty (Demosth. xix. 277, xx. 135). The procedure, as might have been expected, was entirely different from that of an ordinary criminal indictment. An impeachment might be either instituted before the Council of the Five Hundred or brought direct to the Assembly. In the former event, if the Council approved the prosecution, the accused was held to be a traitor (Hyperid. ii. 20). In early times, in order to encourage prosecutors to undertake proceedings, it was provided that any one who failed to obtain a fifth part of the votes should not be liable to the usual fine of 1000 drachmae; but in the year 330, when the facilities thus given were abused, the privilege had been withdrawn (Demosth. xviii. 250).

The remedy of κρασοείδη was also prescribed for certain offences of a less serious character, such as official maladministration, particularly in the office of an arbitrator or in the dockyards; and also to rectify wrongs committed against those who were in a dependent position, or had special claims to protection. The chief characteristic of these cases was the attempt to prevent or abate a wrong by means of a writ (κρασοείδη) or writ of amnis (αμνιστία), when laying his plaint (Wyse on Isæus. iii. 40). But, instead of going to the Council or to the Assembly, the prosecutor made his ‘denunciation’ to the chief archon (εργασιόν), who, exercised a criminal jurisdiction in this matter under his official superintendence in inheritance cases. The chief archon was, in fact, in a position similar to that of an English Lord Chancellor, who, as represented nowadays by the judges of the Chancery Court, has the power to control his cases, and to determine his official superintendence in inheritance cases. The chief archon was, in fact, in a position similar to that of an English Lord Chancellor, who, as represented nowadays by the judges of the Chancery Court, has the power to control his cases, and to determine his

1 A famous instance of a trial of this kind was the prosecution instituted by Lycurgus against Leocrates, who was alleged to have absconded with the money left by the late battle of Chaeronea. This is recorded by Themistocles (Pol. ii. 37).

2 It is interesting to find that the last-named provision was a traitor who he was liable to an offence of immemorial antipathy, since it is implied in the story of the burial of Polycydes by Aristophanes (Acharn. i. 499).

3 The best-known instance is that of Sophocles, against whom proceedings of this kind are said to have been taken by his son. This is recorded by Euripides (Iphigenia Taurica, i. 902). This is recorded by the Sophocles, against whom proceedings of this kind are said to have been taken by his son. This is recorded by Euripides (Iphigenia Taurica, i. 902).
tagoras for opening his treatise on the gods with a profession of inability to say whether they existed or not, or what they were (Diels, ii. 2 [1907] 553); and against Socrates, whose indictment charged him with corrupting the youth, and with introducing the worship of deities other than those recognized by the State (Plut. Apec. 24 B). On the other hand, Alecradbes was impeached (σφηκτὴν) on the delation (μεταταξις) of an informer for holding a mock celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries in his own house (Plut. Alcib. 22); and an information (προσαύξεις) was laid against Andocides for taking part in a sacrificial act, while under a disability previously imposed (Andoc. i. 71). The sacriligious adulterer, he alleged, distrusted from a temple, was treated as a distinct crime, and was punishable with death, deprivation of the right of burial, and confiscation of goods, on an indictment preferred before the themisteuta (γραφὴ ιστρικίας). Thus arises the accuser, as Demosthenes (xxii. 27) takes occasion to remark; but, so far as our information goes, the trial always took place before a helastic court. A single exception, known to us from the 7th book of Polybius, relates to the charge of uttering the stumps (σείδας) of a sacred olive-tree. Here the cause was pleaded before the Council of the Areopagus, under whose supervision these olive-trees stood. In this case the punishment was fixed by law—death for destroying a tree, and banishment for removing a stump. For impiety in general, however, the penalty—death, banishment, confiscation of goods, or money fines—was left to the assessment of the jury, as is known from the celebrated trial of Socrates.

Adultery (μυκηθα) was treated at Athens as a criminal offence, and was punished with severity, as was natural in a society which tolerated concubinage. The adulterer might be executed on an indictment laid before the themisteuta (Arist. Resp. Ath. 59. 3), and the sentence was probably left to the decision of the court (Lipsius, p. 432). But the injured husband could also take the law into his own hands. He might either kill the adulterer, and plead justifiable homicide in answer to any proceedings taken against him; or he might exact or secure retribution from him, until he was satisfied by a money payment. In the latter case, he might have added additional punishment—action for false imprisonment (δίκεσιν εργαθήματι ἄν μυκηθα) against the husband, and, if successful, was released from any undertaking he had given under duress. If the husband continued to live with a deceiving adulteress, the temple of Apollo at Delphi was closed to him, and the adulteress herself was forbidden to enter the temples or to wear the customary ornaments of free women. If she infringed these restrictions, she might be subjected with impunity to any injury short of death (Dem. i. 87). Stinging repetitions were in force against those who procured youths or girls for immoral purposes (πορευέσσας), and a total disability was imposed automatically upon those who had prostituted themselves, so that, if they excused the adulterer of the civil right, they became liable to an indictment (γραφὴ οἰκονομίας), and, if convicted, to be sentenced to death. Cf. also art. ADULTERY (Greek).

In dealing with other crimes of violence against persons or property, we have to take into account a large variety of procedure. Thus Demosthenes (xxii. 25 ff.), having occasion to point out that Solon, in providing different remedies for single crimes, intended to ensure that no law-breaker should escape under a civil right, they became liable to a trial for a sacrilege (σφηκτὴν), or a sacrilege against a temple, or to a trial for sacrilege (σφηκτὴν), or a sacrilege against a temple, and, if convicted, to be sentenced to death. Cf. also art. ADULTERY (Greek).

where the culprit was to be found and requiring them to seize him (ἐσβασθῆναι), by an ordinary indictment (γραφή), or, lastly, by a civil action (δίκη). Similarly, he thinks it difficult to imagine that any one could be proved to have committed an assault and battery could escape punishment at Athens (liv. 17). For, in the first place, an action for slander (κακογραφίας δίκη) had been devised to prevent the commission of the offence at all, or at least to minimize its occurrence; and, if it was committed, in addition to the ordinary indictment for assault (γραφή ἱδρυμα), there was an action for battery (δίκη αἰδρυμα), or, if the offence was so grave as to require it, a prosecution for wilful killing (προσαυξαμα) against the Areopagus (see above). In certain circumstances there was still another remedy. When Demosthenes, acting as choragus at the Dionysia, was grossly assaulted by Midias, instead of contenting himself with a personal suit, he made a complaint (προσελθῇ) before the Assembly in order to obtain the authorization of the people for the institution of proceedings. The object, of course, was to make full use of the prejura which was against the defendant by a decree of the people; and, perhaps, in the case of an aspiring politician, it might be more advantageous to obtain the advertisement of a public debate on his wrongs than to rest content with the less publicized decision of a helastic court alone. But the προσβολή had only a limited range, being confined, according to our authorities, as now interpreted (Lipsius, p. 214 f.), to charges against sycophants, i.e. false accusers, or those who had made improper proceedings in order to extort money, or for some fraudulent purpose, but only when their false professions had misled the people; and against those who committed an outrage during the progress of certain proceedings. Thus, in the case of Dionysia or Eleusina. If a vote was given against the accused (κακογραφομολύτη), the prosecutor proceeded to lay his complaint before the themisteuta (Arist. Resp. Ath. 59. 2), and the trial proceeded in the ordinary way. There was, however, one peculiarity which, according to a recent view, attached to the trial of a προσβολή as distinguished from all other prosecutions in which the punishment was assessable by the court. In the former, the people voted merely whether they approved of the conviction; and if so, the judges were compelled to select one of two alternatives; but, in the speech against Midias, Demosthenes invites the jury to assess any penalty which they think adequate, and implies that this may range from death or confiscation of goods to a penalty fine (§§ 21, 151, 152). (See Goodwin's Demosthenes against Midias, Cambridge, 1906, p. 161; otherwise, Lipsius, p. 218.)

Of the other processes mentioned above, the most important was the arrest, which was applicable to certain classes of offenders, when openly detected in crime. These were known comprehensively as malefactors (κακογραφομολύτη), and specifically as thieves (κλέαρχοι), a term not including every offender of this kind, but only such as stole by night or in a gymnasium, or, if the thief took place by day and under other conditions,所得税 the value of more than fifty drachmas, or, if the crime was committed in the harbours, one more than ten drachmas (Demest. xxiv. 113), kidnappers (ἀδημοστοστάτη), highwaymen (ήομοστάτη), burglars (τοιχοκρότομη), and pickpockets (βαλλαντοστάτη). Such cases came under the jurisdiction of the police magistrates known as the Eleves and the punish ment was imposed by them. If the crime was admitted, punishment followed at once; but, if it was denied, the culprit was kept in durance until trial (Arist. Resp. Ath. 52. 1), unless he was bailed out by three citizens (Antiph. v. 17). The process of arrest
seems gradually to have been extended, so that it was sometimes employed against murderers, as in the speech of Antiphon, de cæde Herodis, and in that of Lysias against Agoranus. An entirely distinct application of the term must be recognized when it was directed against those who, while under disability (άρσα, not usurped the privileges which they had forfeited, and against exiles who had returned home. In the last mentioned cases penalty was assessable, except for those who were already under ban of death. If the intending prosecutor had not sufficient strength or courage to arrest the felon himself, he could fetch a magistrate to the spot and get him to act (παραθετον τελευταίον), as the complement of arrest, and applicable to the same crimes; but the evidence is scanty, and touches only the cases of theft (Demosth. xxii, 26), the harbours of fugitives, and the secret retribution of State property (Suid. s.v.). There is often mentioned, in conjunction with arrest, the process of information (τρεβάζειν). This answers to the second kind of arrest mentioned above and was employed against State-debtors, returned exiles, murderers, and generally all who, being under disability, frequented places or performed acts from which they were excluded by law. In the case of State-debtors the presiding official was the ρεθεδακτης, in other cases the Eleven (Arist. Resp. Ath. 52. 1). The penalty naturally varied according to the gravity of the offence, and was often assessable, as in the case of a disqualified disin making a move to act as such (Arist. Resp. Ath. 52), and if a State-debtor usurped the functions of a public official, he was liable to the death-penalty (Demosth. xx. 156). If a man whose goods had been stolen was either unable or unwilling to use the process of arrest, he might proceed by way of indictment for theft (γραφή κολονίζει, before the themostheütas, as an alternative to the civil action for the same delict. Draco's code had made death the sole penalty for theft (Plut. Sol. 17), but later legislation allowed the court to fix the penalty. Imprisonment might be inflicted in addition to the main penalty, and disfranchisement followed a conviction. For personal injury resulting from an assault, or found dead and incapable of suit to the person of child, woman, a freeborn man, or slave, the appropriate remedy was an indictment for wanton assault (ὑπέργιον γραφήθη, before the themostheütas. The essence of the offence, as distinguished from the latter, which might be made the foundation of a civil action (αἰτία δίκαιος), lay in the motive which prompted the outward act. A mere blow, according to Aristotle (Ethik. I. 13. 1574a, 13), is not necessarily a sign of wantonness, but only when the object to be attained is the disgrace of the sufferer or the pleasure of the striker. The penalty was assessable, and might amount to death in serious cases; but it was subject to the peculiar provision that the vote was taken immediately after the verdict. It was a main issue, without the usual opportunity being given to the parties to recommend their respective assessments (Lipsius, p. 429 f.).

We must next consider offences connected with the unlawful assumption or fraudulent exercise of civil privileges. Pericles had carried a law that an Athenian citizen must be the offspring of a father and mother who were both Athenians (Arist. Resp. Ath. 29. 4); and it was re-enacted in the archonship of Eucleidas with a minor clause to guard against. Any one who exercised the rights of a citizen without being entitled to them was liable to indictment by a common informer as an alien (κρίτης γραφήθη), and, if convicted, sentenced to be sold as a slave. Further, if such a person procured his acquittal by bribery or collusion, he was amenable to the same penalty (διεργασία γραφήθη). Similarly, a resident alien (περιεράω), who neglected to enroll himself under a penalty that could be inflicted, was deprived of the third archon, known as the "polemarch," who exercised over περιεράω the same jurisdiction which belonged to the chief archon in regard to full citizens. It is obvious that the entrance at Athens opened a favourable field for the crime of malicious prosecution, and helped to swell the class of persons who made their living by pursuing the delinquent. Pollux's definitions of the topophanes are full of references to the contemptible class of scyphists which flourished during the latter part of the 5th century, and, in order to protect society from the fullest opportunity was given to proceed against them by indictment or otherwise (Isocr. xx. 22). If the assessment of the penalty was in the discretion of the court.

It is remarkable that the offence of perjury—the only crime which Homer (II. iii. 275) mentions as visited with punishment after death—was considered, if committed by a witness in the course of a trial, to demand nothing more than a civil remedy (προσκαλεσθή το δίκαιον, although disfranchisement was one of the consequences which might result if the witness was convicted, such an action (Isocr. v. 17); and it followed automatically if he was convicted three times. On the other hand, falsely to swear to the service of a summons rendered the perjurer liable to criminal proceedings (προσκαλεσθή αὐτός, in Isocr. xxiv. 23, 24 in other cases the Eleven). The penalty naturally varied according to the gravity of the offence, and was often assessable, as in the case of a disqualified disin making a move to act as such (Arist. Resp. Ath. 52), and if a State-debtor usurped the functions of a public official, he was liable to the death-penalty (Demosth. xx. 156). If a man whose goods had been stolen was either unable or unwilling to use the process of arrest, he might proceed by way of indictment for theft (γραφή κολονίζει, before the themostheütas, as an alternative to the civil action for the same delict. Draco's code had made death the sole penalty for theft (Plut. Sol. 17), but later legislation allowed the court to fix the penalty. Imprisonment might be inflicted in addition to the main penalty, and disfranchisement followed a conviction. For personal injury resulting from an assault, or found dead and incapable of suit to the person of child, woman, a freeborn man, or slave, the appropriate remedy was an indictment for wanton assault (ὑπέργιον γραφήθη, before the themostheütas. The essence of the offence, as distinguished from the latter, which might be made the foundation of a civil action (αἰτία δίκαιος), lay in the motive which prompted the outward act. A mere blow, according to Aristotle (Ethik. I. 13. 1574a, 13), is not necessarily a sign of wantonness, but only when the object to be attained is the disgrace of the sufferer or the pleasure of the striker. The penalty was assessable, and might amount to death in serious cases; but it was subject to the peculiar provision that the vote was taken immediately after the verdict. It was a main issue, without the usual opportunity being given to the parties to recommend their respective assessments (Lipsius, p. 429 f.).

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indictment before the *thesmothetar* (τησμοθεταρ*); and any one whose name was wrongly inserted could take similar proceedings against the wrongdoer (φανεγραφον, or if the proper officer did not erase his name after he had paid (βολεβαλον). The general formula defining grades of punishment closely resembled that above quoted, and money payment (δανεια τασαρι Αντωνιαν). Death, as we have seen, was not infrequently imposed by law; but, on the whole, the temper of the administration was lenient, and a death sentence was less frequent in practice than might have been expected from the place which it occupies in the code. A striking testimony to the humanity of the Athenians is the abhorrence excited by any punishment involving torture or mutilation; and the market-place for a time was defaced by the mention in literature except as characterizing the excesses of tyrants or the savagery of barbarians (see esp. *Aisch. Enm. 156 A*). Imprisonment is rarely mentioned as a penalty (Lys. vi. 22; Plat. *Apol. 37*). If we would imagine the criminal for the benefit of society, the Athenian code secured the same end by disfranchisement (φυσαλ) which is the obvious formula for the society. It requires a few words of explanation. For 10 years a manless citizen who had not committed a crime burdens attaching to citizenship than of its privileges, an effort of imagination is needed in order to realize what complete disfranchisement meant to an Athenian. Athens was a comparatively small city, as measured by the standards of to-day, with a proletariat slave-class, and a considerable number of resident aliens; and yet at the same time an imperial city, proud of its past and with a world-wide reputation. An Athenian citizen valued his civic privileges as highly as his life. To be excluded from holding any office or exercising any public function in a community where all citizens aspired to share in the government, and to be forbidden to appear in the court or to take part in any public festival where one lived in the open air, and where the frequently recurring festivals were the chief enjoyments of life, placed a ban upon the convicted man which made him an outcast from all his fellow-citizens. Thus we see that disfranchisement, with or without confiscation of goods, as a normal punishment for all kinds of serious offences, such as sacrilege, treason, bribery, embezzlement, and theft of public property, was the penalty which Athens inflicted on every Athenian, who was sentenced for a breach of any part of the law. It was also adopted against State-debtors as a means of enforcing payment, and was removed as soon as the liability was discharged. There were also cases of partial disability, as when a man was forbidden to speak in the Assembly, or to become a member of the Council (Andoc. i. 75). So, if the prosecutor in a public indictment threw up his case, or failed to obtain a fifth part of the votes, he lost the right of again instituting another proceeding of the same kind (Demosth. xxx. 103). Cf. also art. ATIMIA.

Lastly, it remains to notice the formalities attending the execution of the sentence. If the sentence was one of death, or if imprisonment was involved in it, the convicted person passed under the charge of the Eleven, who had control over the State prisons. Common criminals, known as malefactors (ακασματος), were fastened in a frame and cudgelled to death (αθρωμασαραμα) by the executioners, who were instructed to do the duty of 'throwing into the pit' (εις τη βασανη τημακαι) — a form of execution which was at one time employed for traitors (Plut. *Aristid. 3*; Xen. *Hell. vii. 20*). The more familiar penalty, however, which is mentioned for the first time during the domination of the Thirty (Lipsius, *p. 77*), was to give to the condemned criminal a cup of hemlock-juice (εφασμον), which was administered by an official acting under the orders of the Eleven. If the accused was condemned to be sold as a slave, he was handed over to the *παλαγος* who sold him to the highest bidder. Confiscated goods were sold by the same officer. In order to prevent any concealment, a common informer was permitted to make a schedule (ἄπειραγον) of any property which he alleged to be liable to confiscation, and, if he succeeded on the trial of the issue, he was entitled to retain for himself three-quarters of the value (Demosth. liti. 2). Sometimes, in important cases, a special body of commissioners (γραμματα) was appointed to make an investigation of the property liable to seizure. Fines imposed by the court were collected by the *παλαγος* who handed the money over to the treasury officials (ἄρωκτημα). The enforcement of the negative penalty of disfranchisement was secured by the severe punishment provided for those who ventured to infringe the limitations imposed upon them by their sentence.

7. Such, in rough outline, was the criminal code which was administered in the Athenian law-courts at the height of their power. That a legal system should exist is no peculiarly Greek institution, but its existence within so comparatively short a time is remarkable enough; but the spirit of humanity and enlightenment which it displays, the variety of procedure, the minuteness of subdivision, the multiplicity of punishment, the minuteness of division of crime, and the securities taken against every form of personal violence, alike show that, in the province of law, Greek civilization did not fail so far short of the eminence which it attained in art and literature. The defects of the system as has already been indicated, were due to its faulty administration by the juries, to the absence of a trained legal profession, and to the non-existence of records to secure continuity of decision.

8. Views of Plato and Aristotle. — The laws of Athens were the expression of the best opinion of an unusually intelligent community, and even the most advanced thinkers, who were ready enough to criticize defects in the constitution, found but little to improve upon in the criminal code. When Plato set out, in the 9th book of the Laws, to provide the citizens of his pattern State with a revised series of statutes, the amendments which he advocated were made, not so much from dissatisfaction with a system, that was already reformed, as from desire to preserve intact the essential features of his reformed community. Thus, he objected to the punishment of disfranchisement, and to that of perpetual banishment, because they would interfere with the permanent occupation of the lots which were assigned to the citizens (855 B, C). For similar reasons, fines were to be inflicted more sparingly than was usual at Athens; and a more frequent resort to blotting and the pillory — thus of punishment — was connected with the Athenian mind, however familiar to Sparta (Grote, *Plato, London, 1863, iii. 433*) — was recommended. The motive which prompted these changes, and which informs the whole body of his legislation, is derived from his conception of the real nature of crime and the object which punishment should seek. It should, however, be remembered that, as his citizens were a carefully selected and highly educated body, he anticipated that crime would be less common, and that legislation was needed only by way of precaution against the perversity of human nature (853 C–E). Now, Socrates had taught that virtue was fundamentally a matter of knowledge, and that

1 There are occasional references in Greek literature to stoning as a traditional mode of execution for heinous offences; but it was rather a survival of the custom of human sacrifice than the enforcement of a legal code. See J. Jowett, *Pausanias*, London, 1898, iii. 417; Verrall on *Aisch. Ap. 1107.*
wrongful action necessarily proceeds from ignorance. Hence the paradox that no one is willingly unjust; for, if a man knew the good, he would follow it. To this doctrine Plato consistently adhered in his latest work (589 D, E), and it is obvious that it cuts at the root of the common distinction of juridical crimes and natural evils and wrongs. But Plato did not deny the existence of injustice or of voluntary wrong (εἰσόδων ἀκατάνομα); only he gave a new connotation to these terms, based upon the principles of his own psychology. Thus, injustice is due to the dual nature of the soul of unequal parts—either anger or desire, the stimulus of pain or of pleasure; but if, on the other hand, the emotions are controlled by the reason, it is no longer possible for a man to commit an unjust act, although his action be considered and harmful to others. For, though the reason may be strong to master the lower impulses, yet its successful operation may be impeded by ignorance or prejudice; and in this manner voluntary error is possible (Grote, iii. 399). It follows that the chief aims of the law-giver will be at once by education to subdue the passions, by compensation to make amends to the sufferer, by prescribed penalties to deter, and by the provisions to classify and reform. Above all, the spirit of his laws must be such as to strengthen and guide the rational faculty by prescribing such beliefs as are agreeable to absolute reason. It is only when the evil is recognized as incurable that death is a suitable penalty, because, for the criminal himself, and useful as an example to others.

Plato recognized two aspects of punishment, the corrective (Adam on Rep. 389 B) and the preventive, both of which are to be distinguished from a purely vindictive exercise of authority (Gorg. 525 A; Prot. 324 A; Legg. 854 B, 834 A). In the same way Aristotle distinguished vengeance, the object of which is the satisfaction of the injurious, from chastisement directed to the good of the criminal (Rhet. i. 10, 1369b, 13; Eth. Nic. ii. 3, 1104b, 16); and, in entire agreement with Plato, he held that, whereas good men may be admonished, others, whose vice is incurable, must be put to death. (815a). The spirit of corrective justice (δικαστήριον δικαίου) as proceeding by arithmetical proportion, indemnifying the injured party by subtracting from the gain of the wrongdoer an amount equivalent to the loss of his victim, was distinguished from the distributive justice, which seeks to establish a geometrical proportion according to the respective merits of the individuals concerned; but in the Polities, where we might have looked for a reasoned treatment of punishments, nothing of the kind is to be found.

It is unnecessary to detail the provisions which Plato recommended for the punishment of sacrilege, homicide, and wounding; but it deserves to be remarked, as showing that he was alive to the defects of the Athenian jury-courts, that he refrained from drawing up precise enactments to fit every possible contingency, because he trusted largely to the discretion of his select and well-trained court, which was established to take the place of the Council of the Areopagus (676 B-E). It should further be noticed that, while generally adopting, with slight alterations, the provisions of the Athenian code, in dealing with the offense of blasphemy (923a), he modified the Athenian forms so as to render himself as best he might, unless he happened to be twenty years older than his assailant (879 C). In thus training the young to endure blows, and in inculcating reverence for age, Plato was showing his preference for the methods of Spartan discipline. But the most extraordinary of all Plato's legislative experiments was the intolerant enactment against religious heresy. He distinguished three classes of heresy: (1) those who believe that gods exist, but do not concern themselves with human affairs; (2) those who believe that the gods may be propitiated by prayers or sacrifice (589 B). Of these classes the third is the most perturbing, but no one who was found guilty of impiety as falling under any of the three classes, even if his conduct was otherwise free from blame, was to be imprisoned for five years; and, if at the end of that time he was still uncertain, a man was sent to death (589 A). Further, if the offense of heresy was found aggravated by bad conduct, the offender must be kept in solitary confinement until he died, and, after death, refused the rites of burial.

Inerrancy. — The chief authority on Inerrancy is J. H. Lipsius, Das atthische Recht und Rechtsverfolgender, pt. 1, Leipzig, 1865, pt. ii., 1868; but, as the work is not yet complete, it is still necessary to refer to the chief authorities for those later decisions mentioned in the former edition of Meier-Schömann, Der atthische Proses, Berlin, 1883-1887. See also C. F. Harnack, Die alte Religionslehre, ed. Thalheim, Freiburg, 1884; G. F. Schömann, Lehrbuch der griech. Alterthümer, ed. Lipsius, Berlin, 1917, esp. vol. i. pp. 325-327; G. Gilbert, Die Staatsalterthümer, Leipzig, 1885, esp. vol. i. pp. 423-497. There are also numerous articles by A. Thalheim, in Paulus-Wissowa. For the primitive beliefs connected with the blood-feud, see E. Rohde, Psyche, Tübingen, 1897, i. 239-277. A. C. Pearson.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Hebrew). —Crime, strictly speaking, is an offence against the laws of a State, which the State punishes, as an act against God, and other wrongdoing of which the State takes no cognizance. This idea had not been formulated by the Israelites, and there is no Heb. word exactly equivalent to our 'crime.' A crime was a failure to comply with 'the law' (Deut. 21). In the same way there was no one general term for 'punishment'; it might be denoted by מָאָס (mēās) and other words for 'recompense'; or by פָּרָא (parēa) and other words for 'sin,' 'guilt,' or 'malignity.' (punishment being regarded as an act of God, pāh, visit'). The crimes and punishments recognized by the Israelites may be classified thus (only the more common Heb. words are given).

1. CRIMES: 1. Religious offences: blasphemy (derivative of בֹּל, 'betray') or 'sin,' Lv 20:26-33; breaches of ritual, as to food (Lv 7), uncleanness (7), sacrifice and offerings (19 etc.); idolatry, or the worship of false gods (Dt 13); illegitimate assumption of the priestly or prophetical office (Nu 11).—2. Offences against the State: treason (1 K 21), 2 K 14; bribery and oppression (Ex 23:19).—3. Sexual offences: bestiality (Ex 22:21, Lv 18:22); prostitution (Lv 19:29); incest (Lv 18:22); sodomy (Lv 18:23).—4. Offences against property: adultery (derivative of תנש, nēsh, Ex 20:10); kidnapping (Ex 21:16); leaving pit uncovered, or otherwise causing damage through carelessness (Ex 21:18-19); theft (Ex 21:18); usury (Ex 22:25); seduction or rape of daughter (Dt 22:26);—5. Offences against the person: murder (Ex 20:13); injuries (Ex 21:18).—6. Offences against the family: cursing parents (Ex 21:17).

II. PUNISHMENTS: 1. Religious penalties. — Many ritual offences might be atoned for by sacrifices, seclusion, washings, and other rites: e.g. touching an unclean thing was atoned for by
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sacrifice (Lv 5:13); eating flesh of an animal not properly killed was atoned for by washing one's clothes, and remaining unclean until the evening (Lv 17:9). Sacrifices seem to be required in connection with all sins which could be forgiven. A person in a state of uncleanness could not be present at the Temple services, or partake of the Passover.

Excommunication was practised in later Judaism, but it is doubtful how far it had any equivalent in ancient Israel. The Priestly Code regards the penalty of 'cutting off from the people' for numerous offences, mostly against the ritual laws, but sometimes for gross forms of immorality. It is evident, from the comparison of parallel passages, that in some cases two offences punished in one chapter by 'cutting off' are punished in another by 'death' (cf. Dt 21:21). In other cases, some offences punished by 'cutting off' seem to us trivial, e.g., omitting, without valid excuse, to observe the Passover (Nu 5:9), but such matters might not seem trivial to the Israelites. It is practically certain that death was never regularly inflicted for the various offences which were to be punished by 'cutting off.'

The difficulty is explained by the history of the Priestly Code; it was compiled by babylonian Jews; its authors had no experience in inflicting death penalties, and no immediate prospect of such experience. They indulged in a theoretical severity, untempered by practical necessities; they used the term 'cutting off,' because it would also serve to describe the excommunication from social fellowship and religious privilege—a penalty within the power of the exiles in Babylon.

Heathen nations stubbornly fighting against Israel were to be subjected to the ban (Lv 26, šerem), i.e., to be massacred in battle, and the land leading to the sea (cf. Dt 7). The leading instance is Jericho (Jos 6:18). In later Judaism, excommunication of varying degrees of severity was inflicted for religious offences; and the ancient name šerem was used for the severest form.

Some laws and historical records show that God Himself was held to inflict punishment on certain occasions by direct intervention—Divine visitation. Thus (Lv 10:6) Nadab and Abihu are struck dead by Jehovah for offering the wrong sort of incense; and the adulteress who has denied her guilt and submitted herself to the trial by ordeal by drinking 'the bitter water' (cf. Nu 5:11). This was done by God with disease—'her belly shall swell, and her thigh shall rot' (Nu 5:7). No instance is recorded.

2. Secular penalties.—(a) Death. This penalty is prescribed without specifying how it is to be inflicted. In many instances the culprit was slain with sword, spear, or dagger, according to the convenience or choice of the executioner (e.g. Elijah and the prophets of Baal, I K 18). There is no lack of clear indications in OT, though the head was often severed from a dead body (e.g. Golith, I S 17:50). In the NT, John the Baptist (Mk 6:26) was beheaded, and James (Ac 12:2) 'slain with the sword.' Hanging is referred to in I Kg 21:25, but in this instance the culprit was publicly exposed after execution (cf. Gn 40:19, Pharaoh's chief baker; Jos 8, the king of Ai). Stoning seems to have been the most usual mode of capital punishment, and burning to death was inflicted for some offences (see below).

The Bible and the Apocrypha refer to other forms of execution practised by heathen nations. Thus 2 Mac, in describing the Syrian persecution, mentions throwing down from the wall of a city (6:5), and being delivered by order of the king (v. 80), and torturing to death with fire (76). Crucifixion, a common Roman punishment, was used in the case of our Lord; and He 11:38 speaks of martyrs being slain as lions (Dn 6). The severity of the death penalty was sometimes enhanced by refusing to allow the relatives of the culprit to bury the corpse (2 S 2:20).

The following is a list of the crimes for which death was to be inflicted; the mode of execution is given in square brackets; where nothing is stated on this point, we have no information:

Various forms of homicide: murder (Ex 21:15, 21); child-stoning (Lv 24:17); execution by burning, and the average blood caught the slayer outside the city of refuge (Nu 35:7). keeping an ox known to be dangerous, if the ox killed a person (Ex 21:29).

Bearing false witness on a capital charge (Dt 19:12).

Insult or injury to parents (Lv 20:9, Ex 21:17, Dt 21:15) [stoning].

Various forms of sexual immorality: incest (Lv 20:14) (burning); unhappiness (Lv 22:20-24) (stoning); adultery or unnatural vices (Lv 20:13) (burning); fornication on the part of a betrothed woman (Dt 22:22) (stoning), Gn 38:24 (burning).

Various religious and ritual offences: witchcraft, magic, etc. (Ex 22:19, 20, 30) (stoning); idolatry (Ex 22:18, Dn 13:19) (stoning); fornication with the priestess of a heathen god (Ex 22:20) (stoning); intrusion of alien into sacred place or office (Nu 15:25, 30) (stoning). Sabbath-breaking (Ex 21:14).

According to Lv 27:25, human beings may be made heretick (Heb. ἁρμονία) and killed to Jehovah; and, if so devoted, must be put to death. Probably only criminals or heathen enemies (cf. above) were subject to such treatment.

(b) Matutilation is involved in the principle 'an eye for an eye,' etc. (Ex 21:21). No instance is mentioned of the application of this law, but we may compare the cutting off of the thumbs and great toes of Adonibezek (Jg 19:7). Matutilation is mentioned in 2 Mac 7, and blinding in the cases of Samson (Jg 16:21) and Zedekiah (2 K 25:7).

(c) Flogging, limited to a maximum of forty stripes (Dt 25:3), was inflicted on a betrothed slave—girl guilty of fornication, and on her partner in the offence (Lv 18:20), and for other minor offences. The penalties in Lev. are generally inapplicable to the punishment, especially for children; and in the NT it is spoken of as used in the synagogues for religious offences (2 Co 11:23). The actual practice in ancient Israel was much more severe than the prescription of the Deuteronomic and Priestly laws. Ex 21:22 deals with cases in which a master flogs a male or female slave to death, and decides that he is not to be punished unless the victim actually dies under his hand (cf. Jg 9, 1 K 12). The Roman system, as described in Josephus, and the various forms of flogging amongst heathen peoples, were much more severe than the Jewish 'forty stripes save one.'

(d) Exposure of the person. The figurative description of the punishment of Jerusalem in Ezk 18 may imply that this punishment was inflicted on adulteresses in Israel; but, as these chapters were written in Babylon, the imagery may have been suggested by heathen practices.

(e) Stocks (e.g. Jer 37:20, manacleth); Ac 16:36, ἔθηκαν.

(f) Slavery, for theft (Ex 22:22), or as a result of debt (2 K 4, Neh 3).

(g) Imprisonment was not appointed in the Law as a punishment. It was used for the detention of offenders before trial, or pending execution, as well as in cases where it was desired to keep a dangerous or obnoxious person under restraint, or to secure the persons of slaves and captives. There is no evidence that terms of imprisonment were appointed expressly as a punishment, except in Ezr 7:24.

(h) Exile was not appointed in the Law; the fugitive from justice might exile himself (Abatlon, 2 S 13:39). Exile was mentioned as a penalty inflicted by the Persians (Ezr 7:3).

(i) Childlessness for immorality is probably a Divine visitation (Lv 20:20).

(j) Penalties in money and goods. — Compensation is required for theft, and in cases where person or property has been injured through carelessness or malice. In cases of mere carelessness an equivalent

1. The Hebrew בְּיִצְרָה (beyc'rah) means literally 'there shall be an examination' (RV 'they shall be punished'). The interpretation given in the text is commonly adopted; but it is probably correct to take the term 'examine' for 'torture.'

2. The Aram. שֹׁרִית (š̄̂ rdîth) or שֹׁרָית (š̄̂ rdîth), interpreted in this sense by RV, etc.
compensation was required (Ex 22:23) but, where there was moral guilt, the compensation was heavier, e.g., for theft the thief must restore fourfold, fivelok (Ex 22:6), or sevenfold (Pr 6:19). Compensation for the killing of a servant, of ox or oxen, is fixed at thirty shekels (Ex 21:29); for the seduction of a daughter at fifty shekels, the seducer to marry her (Dt 22:29); for a false accusation of unchastity against a newly married wife, one hundred shekels, to be paid to her father (Dt 22:19). In some cases fines might be accepted in place of capital punishment (cf. below, III. 5). See also Ex 19:19.

(b) Unspecified penalties.—Numerous acts are each punished without penalty being attached to the breach of the law; e.g., hybrids must not be bred (Lv 19:4).

III. Moral and religious significance.

1. Progress.—We may distinguish, on the one hand, the practice of the Israelite monarchy, and, on the other, the system of law embodied in the Deuteronomic and Priestly Codes. The practice of the monarchy is shown in the Book of the Covenant (Ex 20—25; Deu) and in the references in the narratives concerning the development from earlier times; changes may have come about as the Israelites passed from the nomad period to that of the Judges, and again to the monarchy; but our information is not sufficiently full to enable us to trace the development. Wherever the unanomalous data are meagre; our extant narratives were intended to edify later generations, and references to objectionable features in early practice have probably been largely omitted, especially when they corresponded with later developments that were regarded as representatives of true piety. Moreover, the Deuteronomic and Priestly Codes never had a fair trial as the working laws of an independent State; they always remained more or less religious ideals. Such theoretical codes may be both higher in some respects and lower in others than the actual practice of their own time. For instance, provisions that call for large sacrifices on the part of the powerful and wealthy in the interests of the poor are easy to prescribe on the quibble, but difficult to enforce in real life. On the other hand, the cruel penalties by which enthusiasts seek to promote and safeguard religion are mitigated in their practical application by considerations of human weakness and humanism; e.g., in the quasi-seclusion of his study, or whatever corresponded to a study in those days, might enjoin wholesale massacres without compunction; but he might have shrank from putting into force his own laws on matters of human life, men, and women.

At the same time, the available evidence makes it probable that, if Judah had continued an independent State, the development of its legal system would have been in the direction of humanity and righteousness under the influence of the prophets of the school of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, and of the priests who shared their views. For instance, according to ancient law, if a man were guilty of a heinous offence, his family might share his punishment (e.g., Achan, Jos 7:24—25, and the kinsfolk of Saul, 2 S 21:9). But Dt 24:6 forbids the practice. Again, marriage with a half-sister was regarded as lawful for Abraham (Gn 20:12 [E]) and for Amnon (2S 13:15 [E]); but Dt 22:29; cf. also Jos 7:25.) On the other hand, the later legislation shows a tendency to religious fanaticism, and towards the subordination of public welfare to the material interests of the priesthood; and probably this tendency would not have been so far defeated if Judah had remained an independent State.

The final redactors of the Torah combined the various earlier and later codes, without attempting to reconcile or co-ordinate them; equal sanction was given to inconsistent laws; crude, primitive customs were placed on the same level as the more humane enactments of later times. Obviously this happened because these Babylonian Jews were preparing a record, and not providing for practical needs.

2. Classification.—There is no formal classification, but certain principles are implied. The inclusion of secular laws in the Torah indicates that all crime was regarded as sin against God, and that the administration of justice rested on Divine authority. This is an axiom of all religions as to the ideal State; but it was more emphasized in ancient times than it is now, because religion and the State were not (literally) as one, but the religious law, recently codified, for instance, receives his laws from the sun-god, Shamash. Ezk 22:30 is a striking illustration of the way in which the actual legal system of Israel was regarded as a Divine institution; even iniquitous laws are imposed by God as a punishment: "Moreover also I gave them statutes that were not good, and judgments wherein they should not live." On the other hand, the protests of the pre-exilic prophets against the corruptions of their times involve the distinction between secular and Divine law; the two might clash.

The modern recognition of purely religious offences, with which the State does not deal, is not found in the OT. As in medieval Christendom, there were prohibitions of such offences that were regarded as religious; the idolater was to be put to death. Again, the Law does not clearly distinguish between human punishment and Divine visitation; the penalties of similar offences may include both; e.g., in Lv 20:1—3 and others where sexual immorality are to be punished with death; in other cases it is said that the culprits will die childless. The prominence given to Divine visitation suggests a distinction between crimes which can be detected and punished by men and those hidden from men, but known to God, and dealt with directly by Him. The imposition of a fine for such offences as homicide and seduction (Jl 2: 19) shows that these were regarded partly as offences against personal piety.

There is a distinction drawn between wrongs done to a free Israelite, to a slave, and to foreigners respectively; e.g., the slaying of a free man is severely punished, but a slave may be beaten to death provided he does not strike the rod (Ex 21:29); if an ox known to be dangerous kills a free man, the owner may be put to death (Ex 21:29); but, if the victim is a slave, thirty shekels are paid to his master (v. 30). The stranger within thy gates (the g'rr, or resident alien) enjoyed the protection of the law, and alliances were maintained with some neighbouring States; otherwise history suggests that might was mostly right along the border; cf. David's doings in the Negeb (1 S 27:5), the Danite conquest of Laish (Jg 18), and the exploits of Samson (Jg 14). 3. Range of offences.—The list of omissions and commissions recognized as crimes indicates a high moral standard. The wrongfulness of ritual irregularities is, indeed, exaggerated by treating them as sins and crimes. On the other hand, the Pentateuch strives to promote moral righteousness in many matters which modern law does not venture to deal with; e.g., Dt 24:12 enjoins the prompt payment of wages, and Lv 19:10 forbids lying. But the difference is only apparent: the Pentateuch combines moral admonition with legislation, and draws no hard and fast line between the two. Again, the comparatively low stage of social development on the one hand excuses many acts as the toleration of polygamy and slavery, and the absence of any full recognition of international morality.

4. Subjects of punishment.—In some cases
animals were put to death; e.g. an ox that had gored a man or woman was to be stoned, and its flesh might not be eaten (Ex 21:28, cf. Lv 20:2). Animals, goods which could be burnt might be destroyed in the karem, or ban (Jos 7:21).

In earlier times the family might be put to death for a crime committed by its head (cf. III. 1), but the practice is forbidden, as already noted in De 21:19.

It is nothing to show at what age young persons became legally responsible for their actions. The census in Nu 1 included all males from twenty years old; and the age at which Levites began their service was thirty, and the twenty-fifth (Nu 8:24), or thirty (40), although responsibility must have begun earlier. Nothing is said as to exemption from punishment on account of mental weakness.

Naturally the legal codes did not recognize the principle that the powerful and wealthy might commit crimes with impunity; but they often enjoyed much licence in practice, as is shown by the narratives of Micah and the Danites; of David and Uriah; Amnon, and Tamar; and the frequent protests of the prophets.

5. Humanity: adjustment of severity of punishment to heinousness of crime.—The legal codes were evidently anxious that the punishment should be just, and be proportioned to the offence, hence the obvious principle of equal retaliation, found in the codes of many peoples, of an 'eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth,' and the laws providing for compensation for injury to property or person.

The list of capital offences [II. 2. (d)] is a little long, and includes some which, according to modern ideas, do not permit so severe a punishment, e.g. insult to parents, Sabbath-breaking, etc. But, as we have said, it is doubtful whether death was ever regularly inflicted for ritual offences; and, at any rate, the laws are due to an exaggerated sense of the wickedness of such acts rather than to reckless severity. The use of barbarous punishments—burning alive, mutilation, and flogging— is strictly limited; and there is no trace, either in the Law or in the history, of the torturing of witnesses or accused persons in order to obtain evidence.

The principle of blood-money is recognized only to a very limited extent; Ex 21:29 provides that, if there were not dangerous kill any one, the owner shall be put to death, but that 'if there be laid upon him a ransom, then shall he give for the redemption of his life whatsoever is laid upon him,'—in the case of a slave thirty shekels of silver to the slave's owner, or any one killing his slave to death, without the slave actually dying under the rod, is sufficiently punished by the loss of his slave (Ex 21:24); and in the case of injury to slaves the lex talionis is not to be enforced, any mutilation of slaves being atoned for by enanipation (Ex 21:26). So, too, Ex 21:18-19 permits compensation for bodily injury to a free man. On the other hand, Nu 35:23 (1) prohibits the acceptance of blood-money for intentional murder, or, even the release of a man who has committed unintentional homicide from the obligation of remaining in a city of refuge till the death of the high priest.

6. Connexion with methods of administration of justice in other systems.—Israel was always part of the international system which comprised Western Asia and Egypt; and there was a constant action and reaction between the various members of this system. At the outset, Israel was a group of nomad tribes, and the original basis of its Law was the tribal custom of the Bedawin. The position of the qe'dil, the next-of-kin, the avenger of blood, goes back to this source. The settlement in Canaan must have led to the adoption of many Canaanite laws. Now, Canaan and all Western Asia were, from a very early period, dominated by Babylonia; the conquests of Sargon I of Akkad (c. 2700 B.C.) extended to the Mediterranean, so that the institutions of Canaan were partly shaped by Babylonian influence. But, again, both the Canaanites and the Babylonians probably sprang originally from Arabia; so that Israel, Canaan, and Babylonia all drew from Aratian and stock of tribal customs; and it is very difficult to determine whether a law is a purely Israelite survival from this common stock, or has been derived through Canaan or Babylon. Moreover, during long periods the Egyptian laws exercised a certain influence over Syria; and Egypt had its share in moulding the life of Canaan (cf. the Amarna tablets, c. 1400 B.C.). Something, too, may perhaps be due to the 'bondage' in Egypt; but not much, for the Israelite tribes for the most part lived a nomad life in the border provinces.

The recently discovered Code of Hammurabi (king of Babylon, c. 2100 B.C.) shows how much the Israelite institutions had in common with those of Babylon. There are numerous parallels between this Code and the Pentateuch, especially the ancient Book of the Covenant, Ex 20—23. Both, for instance, lay down the principle of 'an eye for an eye,' etc.; both prescribe punishment of death for killing a priest; and both direct that if a man is in charge of some one else's cattle he may clear himself by an oath and need not make compensation. As the Code of Hammurabi was certainly known in Babylonia and other parts of the Empire, the Israelite legislation may have been influenced by it at any time; but the parallels may be largely due to common dependence on the primitive tradition of Arabia.

In comparing the ethical and religious value of Israelite justice with that of other nations, we have to distinguish the practice of the monarch and earlier times, as depicted in the history and Ex 20—23, from the ideal set forth in Deuteronomy and the Priestly Laws. It has been seen that our knowledge of the early practice is fragmentary. It is possible, too, that the redactors of the literature suppressed evidence that was discreditable to Israel, though it is not likely that this has been done to any great extent. But, as far as our information goes, it does not appear that the administration of justice in ancient Israel differed conspicuously from that of neighbouring Semitic nations in the same period, as illustrated, for instance, by the Code of Hammurabi. In matters Israel would compare favourably with Greece, or Rome, or China, or most Christian nations before the close of the 18th cent. A.D.

The Deuteronomistic and Priestly ideal aims at a level of social righteousness which has never been attained in practice, and ranks with the Utopias of modern social reformers. The Priestly legislation is, indeed, disfigured by an undue care for the material interests of the sacerdotal caste; but neither the practice nor the theory of the religious law of Israel includes anything like the Inquisition and similar systems instituted by the Christian Church.

LITERATURE.—Art. 'Crimes and Punishments,' in 1.UB.; art. 'Law and Justice,' in EEE, and 'Gericht und Recht bei den Hebräern,' in JEB (by Benzing); the relevant sections of the OT Archäologen of Ewald, Benzing, and Nowack; and the standard commentaries on the Pentateuch and other Biblical passages. For the Code of Hammurabi, see the art. on the Code of Hammurabi, by M. S. and A. I. Cook, The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi, London, 1905.

W. H. BENNETT.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Hindu).—I. Most of the terms designating 'crime' or 'offence' in Sanskrit are essentially religious in their nature, and no strict line between sins and punishable offences has ever been drawn. The Dharmasāstras (law-books) contain long lists of the
various degrees of crime or guilt—from mortal sins, such as sexual intercourse with one's mother, daughter, or daughter-in-law, down to crimes merely rendering the perpetrator unworthy to receive alms, such as receiving gifts from a despicable person, subsisting by money-lending, telling lies, and committing bodily injury or causing death, such as killing birds, amphibious and aquatic animals, worms or insects, and eating nuts, or the like. Analogous lists of sins may be found in the ancient religious literature of the Buddhists of India. These sins recur in the accounts of the offences mentioned in the secular laws of the Brahmins. Thus the killing of a cow, the sacred animal of the Hindus, is a punishable offence as well as a crime. The commission of a heavy sexual offence is to be visited on the patient by the king, and at the same time the stain caused by such sin is to be removed by religious atonement. Killing a Brahman, or depriving him of his gold, is a crime deserving capital punishment of an aggravated form, doubt because the religious law affords special protection to the sacred person of a Brahman. Many eccentricities of the criminal law are due to the religious elements entering largely into them. There is a righteous ascetic, who, according to the Vedas comes out in the following rules: a Súdra listening intentionally to a recitation of the Vedas shall have his ears filled with molten tin or lead; if he recites Vedic texts, his tongue shall be cut out; if he remembers them, his body shall be split in twain. The sanctity with which Brahmins are invested has led to establishing the principle that no corporal punishment shall ever be resorted to in the case of a criminal of the Brahman caste. Nor could the punishment of a Brahman be connected with the confiscation of his property, the ordinary consequence of punishment. The Súdras, on the other hand, were treated very badly, because they were considered to have no share in the religious forms, and hence, his guilt is to be visited on the patient by the king, and at the same time the stain caused by such sin is to be removed by religious atonement. Thus a Brahman who abuses a Súdra is convicted of an unholy act; Brahmins are, therefore, forbidden to practise usury. Certain kinds of interest on loans are expressly forbidden. The answer to these and other questions, as detailed in the Vedas must be sought in the Brahmánical law-savours of Oriental despotism, as, e.g., when the forgery of a royal document is visited with capital punishment. The caste system becomes visible in the gradation of crimes and punishments according to the caste of the offender, as will be shown below.

2. 'Punishment' (danda) in the Code of Mann (vii. 14 ff.) is personified as a god with a black face and red eyes, created by the Lord of the World as his lieutenant in the enforcement of his will, in order to assist in the punishment of the wicked, and to reward the good. It is, thus, the punishment of the crimes which are comparable to the gods Varuna, who binds sinners with ropes. If a king does not strike a thief who approaches him, holding a club in his hand and proclaiming his deed, the guilt falls on the king; the thief, whether he be slain or pardoned, is purified of his guilt. The king should first punish by admonition, afterwards by reproof, thirdly by a fine, after that by corporal chastisement (Mann, viii. 129). As a matter of fact, fines are by far the most common kind of punishment in the criminal code of the Sanskrit law-books, and they were equally common, shortly before the times of British rule, in the Hindu kingdoms of Rajputana (Todi), Mysore (Dubois), and others. The fines might extend to confiscation of the entire property of a criminal; but in such cases, according to Narada (xviii. 10 f.), the tools of workmen, the weapons of soldiers, and other necessary implements are to be exempt from confiscation. Capital punishment, in various kinds of aggravations, is inflicted by the high priests, who may be brought to death by the king, and in the case of a most heinous crime, such as an insult to the religious law, by trampling to death by an elephant, burning, roasting, cutting to pieces, devouring by dogs, and mutilations, are also frequently inflicted, even for comparatively light offences. The jix tulonis, tax on infidels, for the purchase of their slaves, becomes especially conspicuous in the punishments. Thus a criminal is condemned to lose whatever limb he has used in insulting or attacking another. The thievish fingers of a cut- woman, and the evil tongue of a lewd mother, to be cut off. A Súdra using insulting language is to have a red-hot iron thrust into his mouth, or boiling oil dropped into his mouth and ears. The breaker of a dille shall be drowned. The killer of a Brahman shall be branded with the image of a headless corpse, a drunkard with the flag of a distillery shop. Banishment, public disgrace, imprisonment, letters, forced labour, beating, and other forms of chastisement are also mentioned. Brahmins, however, are not to be subject to corporal punishment. Nor is this the only privilege enjoyed by Brahmins, who are allowed special indulgences in almost every case, the reduction of punishment in consideration of the rank of the person being one of the most salient features of the Hindu crimes, inculcations, and their punishment. Thus a Kástriya insulting a Brahman must be fined 100 peanas; a Vaiśya doing the same, 150 or 200 peanas; a Súdra doing the same must receive corporal punishment. On the other hand, a Brahman shall pay only 50 peanas for insulting a Kástriya, 25 peanas for insulting a Vaiśya, and nothing at all for insulting a Súdra. A similar gradation of fines may be observed in the punishment of adultery and many other crimes. If a man insults a Brahman, the loss of his forbidden food, he shall be amerced in a heavy fine; and, if he gives him spirituous liquor to drink, he shall be put to death. Another characteristic feature of the Indian penal code is the inclusion of works as punishments for violations of the religious law, as, e.g., when an apostate from religious mendicity is doomed to become the king's slave. King Asoka, as early as the 3rd cent. B.C., appointed censors who were charged to enforce the strict observance of animal life, and the observance of filial piety. King Harsha, in the 7th cent. A.D., inflicted capital punishment on all who ventured to slay any living creature. King Kumārapala of Gajarat, in the 12th cent., is said to have confiscated the entire property of a merchant who had committed the atrocious crime of cracking a loose. A Hindu Rajá of Kolhapur, in
CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Japanese).

—Long before the dawn of Japanese history, Chinese travellers to Japan brought back accounts of that country which contain our earliest information on the subject, dating from the later Han dynasty (A.D. 25-220). One of these notices says: 'There is no theft, and litigation is unfrequent. The wives and children of those who break the laws are consigned [sold as slaves], and for grave crimes the offender's family is extirpated.' Another account says: 'The laws and punishments are strict. There is not much to be learned about crimes and punishments from the mixture of myth, legend, and chronicle which takes the place of history in Japan for a thousand years previous to the 7th cent. A.D., though we hear of a staff or gill of executioners, and of capital punishment by decapitation; and a punishment by fire had its origin at this time, but it was only for such offences—comparatively few in number—as involved ritual uncleanness according to Shinto. An ordinance, enacted in 801, regularized what was, no doubt, an old practice, by which neglect in connexion with the omohime, or coronation ceremony, the eating the rice, and wearing concave clothing in any way with capital sentences, or touching anything impure during the month of special avoidance of impurity, subjected the culprit to an okoharashi ('greater purification'), i.e. he was obliged to provide for the coronation ceremonies of his own purification. This eventually became simply a fine. Other ritual offences which required punishment were incest, wounds given or received, bestiality, and leprosy. Homicide had to be atoned for in the same way, but the ritual character of the offence appears from the circumstance that even justifiable homicide caused uncleanness.

Weipert thinks that in these fines for ceremonial pollution was the first source of Japanese criminal law (quoted by Florence in T.A.J. xxvii. 1899) 57; but, in the opinion of the present writer, this view hardly holds, as the conclusion Weipert's theory does not account for the grave of all punishments, that of death, nor does it apply to robbery, rebellion, adultery, arson, and other grave offences. Moreover, the abolution ceremony was seldom performed for individual offences. The Mikado twice a year celebrated a 'great purification' of the offences of the nation, and similar minor celebrations were usual before all the great ceremonies of Shinto. In such cases, of course, of course, abolution was out of question. There is abundant evidence that a criminal law existed from very ancient times which had nothing to do with the purification of ritual offences.

Eventually the fines for ceremonial offences fell into abeyance, owing to a strong current of Japanese influence which set in during the 6th and 7th cents., and led to the code of civil and criminal law known as the Taikōhō. It was based on the laws of the Tang dynasty of China, though modified somewhat in accordance with Japanese usages. The penalties prescribed were reduced, burglary was punished, executors paid for the death of the deceased, and a capital punishment known as shibōhō was introduced.

A.D. 1716, issued a rescript ordaining due punishment for all those who should be discovered to entertain heretical opinions in his kingdom. This union of Ch'ing and State was actually maintained under the rule of the Manâthá kings; but even in 1875, when Dr. Bühler visited Kârsî, he found the Manâthá eagerly intent on looking after the due performance of the pujiâchottos, or presentations for the good of the deceased, the commandments of the Smârti. The enforcement of these religious punishments otherwise rests with the caste, which levies fines for every breach of the caste rules, and, in serious cases, excommunicates the offender. (See EXPLIATION AND ATTORNEY [Hindu] and greater.)


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The result was that, in many cases, torture was freely applied. The commonest device was to bind a man with ropes in some constrained position, or to make him kneel upon a sharp edge of wooden board placed edge upwards, and then to pile weights on his knees. On the whole, the tortures employed judicially in Japan were not so cruel as those used in medieval Europe. A samurai was not sent to prison. If his offence was not grave enough to call for immediate suicide, exile, or decapitation, he was ordered to go into confinement in his own house. There were different degrees of this kind of imprisonment, the most severe of which involved a complete cessation of egress and ingress for himself and his family.

Siebold, writing early in the 19th century, gives a description of the penal code of Japan at that time, which was similar in all essential respects to the Taikōriō, introduced from China 1100 years before. He draws a broad distinction between the punishments of the samurai and those of the common people. In the latter case, the culprit might be simply cut down by the man of higher rank whom he might have insulted or injured, or if he had been caught in the act of committing a grave offence. Decapitation was more usual. Crucifixion, burning, and sawing off the head with a large scythe were the only cruel punishments. At no given community was there an expert spearman stood on each side, and the two drove their spears simultaneously so that they passed crosswise through the vital organs. Death was instantaneous. Burning was a matter of form. The culprit was tied to a stake, which was fastened between two posts, and the fire was lit. Sawing off the head was of rare occurrence, and was limited to such heinous crimes as chief or parent-murder. The name and offence of the criminal were usually inscribed on a board which was set up close to the place of execution. Sometimes the offender was mounted on a sory nag and led round the city, with a similar placard fastened to his breast. The head might be set on a post, and allowed to remain from five to ten days. Social standing was always helpful, and was sometimes linked to a subject on which the samurai might test their skill and the temper of their swords. In later times it might be handed over for dissection. Among minor punishments at this period were branding, the naka-takana, or partial crucifixion, in case of theft. For political offences by men of the samurai class, banishment to an island was the usual form of punishment; and there was an ancient instance of a Mikado being so punished. The term was commonly for life, though there was a minimum limit of five years. Aailer form was an injunction to live under supervision at a distance from the capital. Whilst his case was under trial, the accused was confined to his own house, with the same forms of punishment. But when the offence was committed unintentionally, a partial or complete confiscation of his property might be the consequence. Deprivation of office or incapacity for making office was not unusual. Occasionally the offender was allowed to become a monk of a certain order, known as konsō, who wore a basketball with a small grating in front, completely concealing his face. This was never removed, and practically he was a beggar who roamed the highways as a mendicant, and so to attract the attention of the charitably disposed.

Harakiri.—This well-known institution is of considerable antiquity. It is of purely Japanese origin, and consists in making a cruciform incision on the belly, whence its name, which means 'belly-cut.' The 'happy dispatch' of some writers is only a joke. Sometimes a determined man succeeded in ending his life in this way, or he might complete the act of suicide he had inflicted himself in the throat with the same instrument—a short sword or dagger with a blade nine inches in length. Harakiri might be simply a form of suicide, or it might be the duty of a man of the samurai class under various circumstances, such as hopeless family troubles, lack of loyalty to a dead superior, or as a protest against the wrongful conduct of a superior. For example, when the Japanese Government yielded to the demands of France, Russia, and other European powers, the procession of Liouhtung, forty military men emphasized their protest by committing suicide in the time-honoured fashion. A common motive was to free from punishment the family and relatives of the person involved, who would otherwise, under the old law, have shared his guilt. Very frequently, however, harakiri was no more than an honourable form of execution. It was carried out with great ceremony, the incision being only for form's sake, and the real execution consisting in decapitation by a friend. In 1869, a motion was brought forward in the Japanese Parliament in favour of the abolition of harakiri, and 200 members out of a house of 200 voted against this proposal. Harakiri was legalized by law, though it cannot be said to be extinct.

Vendetta.—A Japanese samurai was permitted by law to avenge the murder of a parent or chief; but, before exercising this right, he was bound to give notice of his intention to the authorities. Among the crimes for which he might cut down his enemy, to repeat some such formula as this: 'I am A. B. You are X. Y., who murdered my father at such a time in such a place. Therefore do I now slay you.' In justification of this law, an ancient proverb is often quoted to the effect that 'a man must not allow the same heaven to cover himself and his father's enemy.' It is now abrogated, but was in vogue up to the Restoration of 1868. A teacher of the present writer's view that the Japanese criminal law had its origin in the imposition of fines on offenders against the ancient law of the samurai, or of punishments by the wearing of the garrison. In the case of Muzzyi (History of Japan, Glasgow, 1906, ii. 114) notices this feature of the former Japanese law.

Extra-territoriality.—When the treaties were negotiated which opened Japan to foreign trade in 1859, the criminal jurisdiction, or part of it, was left to the individual states, and, in most cases, the latter were defendants in a civil case, or the accused under a criminal charge. When in 1868 the Mikado resumed the reins of authority, it was felt that such an arrangement was liable to the dignity of the Japanese nation, and in any case a radical reform was a palpable necessity of the situation in the interests of humanity and good government. A code was, therefore, drawn up and promulgated in 1872. It was simply a selection from the laws of the two Chinese dynasties—Ming and T'ang—modifications being introduced into the amount and nature of the punishments prescribed for different offences. Barbarous modes of execution were eliminated, the death-penalty was greatly circumscribed, merciful and excessive
whippings were abolished, and the punishment of imprisonment with corrective labour was introduced for the first time. A second code was notified in 1874, by which many more and more humane provisions were added. By these codes, an offender who has been sentenced to a term of penal servitude is placed in the penitentiary of the district in which he has been tried and sentenced, and work suited to his age, physical condition, and requirements is allotted to him, so that 'by toil and labour he may be gradually brought to repent of his past misdeeds and be restored to virtue.' The punishment of death was by hanging or decapitation, the latter form being recommended instead in the civil law for ordinary criminals; the prejudice entertained by most Japanese against any mutilation of the body. In certain cases, the pillory in iron stocks within the prison yard was substituted for imprisonment, and fines might be increased inadvertently implicated, aged people, infants, maimed or deformed persons, or females. But these codes still preserved an essentially Chinese character, and they condoned many prolix officials and the samurai class. A husband was permitted to kill the lover of his wife or concubine along with the woman herself, if caught in the act; but, if a certain time had elapsed, the punishment was penal servitude for one year, while under the other law the husband could, in this case, only recover a penalty of no great amount. If a woman who had been guilty of adultery or incest was, on the discovery of her guilt, driven by shame to suicide, the punishment of the male offender was increased one degree, even though he might have had no knowledge of the woman's intention to do so. Masters and parents were punished with much less leniency than their servants and children in the contrary case. Abusive language to an official entailed penal servitude for one year if the person insulted was of the highest rank; for ninety or sixty days if of lower grades. In Jan. 1879, the practice of using oaths to compel confession—rendered necessary by the old principle that confession must precede condemnation—was abolished, and it was enacted that the evidence of witnesses, documents, or circumstances, or the admittance of confessions procured by such means, could alone be taken as bases for determining guilt. It will be seen that, although these codes marked a considerable advance on the Tokugawa system, they still left much to be desired, when viewed from the point of view of modern civilization. New legislation was therefore initiated, after a thorough study of the various systems of European law, with the assistance mainly of French jurists. Distinguished service was rendered by G. Bousquet in framing the new codes, which, after arduous labour and repeated revision, came into operation from 1st Jan. 1882. They have an essentially French character. A further revision of the Code of Criminal Procedure was effected in 1890.

Punishments for persons accused of crimes committed in the island of Yedo, where they sometimes work in the mines. A person who has suffered further injury by crimes is given his complaint, or, if the prosecutor of any court having jurisdiction over the crime in question, Policemen can arrest an offender whose crime was committed in the precincts of the constituted and actual averes have been actually committed. In all other cases they can arrest by warrant only. Each constable is the direction of the judge. Accused persons are often kept in prison for a considerable time before trial, and no lawyer is allowed to be present at the preliminary examination. The conducting of criminal cases, from the very beginning down to the execution of the criminal, he is left to suffer death, rests with the discretion of the procurator, who often in his own person the functions of public prosecutor and grand jury.'

The reforms of 1882 extended to the judiciary, which was now separated from the executive, judges, proclaiming the abrogation of servitude, and a new system of police, as well as law-schools, were established. Under the new regime there are far fewer capital punishments. In Tokugawa times the number of persons convicted to jail in Yedo, about 7000 annually, and of these over 3000 were executed. At present the yearly numbers of capital punishments for the whole Empire averages above eighty.

It is claimed that, on the whole, the new legislation has resulted in a body of law in unison with the most advanced principles and the most approved procedure of Western jurisprudence—all punishments not recognized as consonant with modern ideas of human civilization have been abolished or made for adapting penalties to degrees of crime (the previous legislation left the judge too little discretion), the rights of suspects and criminals being guarded, and the privilege of appeal guaranteed. This contention is substantiated, though traces of old usage remain. All men are not equal before the law, the military retaining some special privileges. Robbery with violence is still punishable with death, and a man does not render himself liable to banishment or to be sold. Consequently the service of his servant, unless death ensues. The preliminary examination of prisoners is secret, the assistance of counsel not being allowed. This last feature will soon be modified. Trial by jury is unknown. In 1890, after protracted negotiations, treaties were concluded with foreign Powers, by which the extra-territorial jurisdiction was abolished, and all foreigners became subject to Japanese law.

Prisons.—Under the old régime, imprisonment was not one of the recognized punishments. It was not until 1868, though it was necessary to provide some places of detention for prisoners who were awaiting their trials, sometimes for long periods. The inmates suffered very great hardship. The cells were overcrowded, the wooden cages of French specification, the arrangements for sanitation, food, and clothing were of the most wretched kind. The internal discipline was entrusted to the elderly prisoners—generally hardened criminals—with results which may be imagined. Soon after the restoration of the Mikado's authority in 1868, a commission was sent to visit a number of foreign prisons and make a report, and ultimately a complete change was effected. Sir Henry Norman, who recently visited the convict prison of Yokohama (Ashby, 'Treaty,' 1882):

'The dormitories are enormous cages formed of bars as thick as one's arm. There is not a particle of furniture. Thick quilts, or futon (the Japanese bed), are provided for sleeping. The jury holds 90 persons. The sanitary arrangements could not possibly be improved. No vermin could harbour anywhere. It was almost an ideal prison structure. The punishment cells were hardly ever occupied. There was no freezing. Two hundred prisoners were employed making machinery and steam boilers, working nine hours a day. Wood-carving, pottery-making, and paper- and chinoiserie-making are also among their occupations. Only a few are so clueless that stupid as to be employed in pounding rice or breaking stones.'

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Jewish)

The transition from the Biblical to the Mishnaic period is marked by external and internal limitations in the functions of the Jewish tribunals. Externally, the Jewish courts of justice lost the power of inflicting capital and other punishments,—a power exercised by the Roman procurators and officials,—and in the course of time the limits to the jurisdiction of the Beth Din were still further narrowed. Internally, we note a growing tendency towards the restriction of certain forms of punishment, by making it a matter of difficulty to secure a conviction. In practice, capital punishment was obsolete long before the fall of the Jewish State, and, in all probability, long before the courts were deprived of the legal power of inflicting it. This is shown by such passages as Jn 18, and the Talmud. Thus, in Jerus. Sanh. 184 (p. 228 of M. Schwab's tr., Paris, 1888) it is stated that this right was suspended some forty years before the fall of the Temple, i.e., 38): that the right of capital punishment in questions involving financial matters had been already abolished in the time of R. Simon b. Shetah, that is to say, during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (67 B.C.E.). Bab. Sanh. 40 brings out this fact even more emphatically. Nor may the trial and crucifixion of Jesus be cited as an instance to the contrary. It is now the generally accepted opinion, among both Jewish and Christian scholars, that the trial of Jesus was conducted in accordance with Jewish law, and that His execution was an act in which Pharisaic Judaism had neither initiative nor share.

Thus Robertson Smith (Ebr. xxii, 512, at end of art. "Synedrion") writes: "The meeting in the palace of the high priest, which condemned our Lord was exceptional. The proceedings also on this occasion were highly irregular, if measured by the rules of procedure which, according to Jewish tradition, were laid down to secure order and a fair trial for the accused." So also Miettien (Synoptic Gospels, i, London, 1894, 147): "Yet the trial of Jesus—if it can be called so—violates that (rabbinic) law in almost every particular. . . . It does not observe the trial of the accused in the law of the Jews, it violates Jewish law in many important points, that therefore the account given of it cannot be true. There have been illegal trials at all times, and the Jewish royal families have been wont to get rid of or subjugate their enemys . . . That there was any meeting of the full Sanhedrin is most doubtful; definite also is the part played by the "merchants" and "wise men;" but that the Sadducean priesthood was at the bottom of the arrest and of the "trial" . . . cannot reasonably be doubted.

In the passage from the Jerus. Talmud mentioned above, R. Simon b. Yokai, a tanna of the 2nd cent., expresses his gratitude for escaping the responsibility of condemning a human being to death. Other passages, as the Eliezer, offer a parallel character, in the Talmud and Rabbinic writings point to the same conclusion—that the Romans took away from the Beth Din the right to inflict capital punishment.

In addition to these restrictions imposed from without, the sentences which, as a matter of fact, were pronounced by the Jewish tribunals were mitigated by various internal and voluntary limitations. It may perhaps be that, in proportion to the severity with which Rome exercised the power removed from the local courts, these felt themselves constrained to act in such a way that they would not offend the gentiles, or fail to secure leniency in other directions. But this tendency to leniency was originally spontaneous, however much it may have developed afterwards in consequence of external circumstances; it began while the Sanhedrin still held the power of life and death. A sentence cannot be given; it is difficult to tell whether and when punishments enacted in the Pentateuchal legislation were carried out in all literalness, and to what extent and with what frequency. Does that legislation represent primitive practice, or did the mitigating force of the Mishnian recensions of these laws at all times modify their execution? The orthodox Jewish belief, which regards the Bible as the "ideal," and all the contemporary interpretations of the Written Law and of equal force, would take the latter view, namely, that the traditions embodied in the Mishna accompanied the practice of all Mosaic enactments. It is, however, held by many that the Mosaic law was new and original; that in early Mishnaic times it was felt that the Pentateuch demanded the death sentence too readily, and that the Rabbis took steps to prevent such sentences from being carried out. This subject need not be discussed here; it is sufficient to show that the death penalty was almost abandoned, without entering into the question of whether this was brought about by new prescriptive or not.

The infliction of death was surrounded by many preliminaries and obstacles. The law demanded not only the presence of two satisfactory eye-witnesses, whose testimony must support vigorous scrutiny (see Mish. Sanh. iv. v., ed. Strack, from which all the passages are taken), but that the person committing the crime, the accused must have received formal warning from the bystanders as to the consequences of his act (377a, b. v. 1; Bab. Sanh. 30b; Tos. Sanh. xxi. 4, ed. Zuckermandel, Passow, note, p. 451). The stringency in examining and in challenging witnesses, the necessity of proving haṭaraḥa, the elaborate and minute questions to which all these, by the Talmud, were subjected, are all tend to show that the infliction of capital punishment must have been practically impossible; and this seems to have been the precise aim which the Rabbis had in view. Makkoth 2a records the story of a Sanhedrin which condemned a prisoner to death once in seven years earned the reputation of destructive (טפוקות): according to R. Eliezer b. Azarya, once in seventy years sufficed; while R. Tryphon and R. Aqiba state that, had they been present, they would always have succeeded in advancing some plea to invalidate the proceedings in favour of the prisoner. Nor was this tendency limited to cases of capital punishment alone; it was extended to other branches of the law, e.g., to the talmudic laws.

The eighth chapter of the Bab. Qamma shows quite clearly that even in early days this command could not have been intended to receive literal interpretation, for a man who had lost his eye could receive no compensation through a similar injury being done to his assailant. Compensation could consist only in the worth of the eye being restored to the loser, and this was estimated by assessing the value of the injured party, it stood as a slave, before and after the accident, the difference representing the amount of the damages (incidentally, cf. Rash. on Ex 21b).

Even when a capital sentence had been pronounced and was about to be carried into execution, every chance of proving his innocence at the eleventh hour was left to the accused. The court remained sitting all day in order to receive appeals, and an elaborate system of signals was devised to stay the execution in the event of any unexpected piece of evidence coming to light (Mish. Sanh. 41a, v. 1). Punishment was to be so arranged as to prevent the repetition of the offence by other parties, in other words, to act as a deterrent, and to secure the extinction of the crime itself and of its consequences ("Then shall put to the wrong from thy midst;" and all Israel shall hear and shall sin no more."). Care had to be taken that no additional suffering or humiliation was incurred...
by the guilty party. Any distinction to the body resulting from the punishment was to be avoided, insofar as was not provided upon the sentence. In executions and in flagellations, particular caution had to be exercised in this respect.

Capital punishment as ordered by the Tēth Din consists of lapidation (53), burning (15), decapitation (15), or strangling (22) (see Mishn. Sanh. vii. 1; and Singer's Prayer Book, London, 1900, p. 262). Crucifixion, as a means of death, was a Roman form. The last two methods are not mentioned in the Pentateuch, where, in fact, stoning is most usual. There seems no reason to doubt that 'ṣqdā and 'ṣṛḏā in the Pentateuch mean what is commonly known as stoning and burning; but the provisions of the Mekh. are still more external in the manner of the execution. In the case of burning (Mishn. Sanh. vii. 2), the criminal was firmly fixed in pitch, up to his knees. A strong cloth, covered with a soft wrapping, was twisted round his neck, and its two ends were not mentioned in the Pentateuch, that the ends of the cloth were pulled so hard that they caused death.

The object of these modifications was, in the first place, to mitigate the horrors of death. On this account a cup of drugged wine and incense (15) was given to the criminal in order to produce insensibility (e.g. Bab. Sanh. 43a, Mek 15a, and other references). The second motive was to avoid desecrating the body beyond the necessities of the death penalty. The pursuit of both these great internal restrictions of the functions of the Jewish tribunal.

The various crimes for which the penalty was death are enumerated in Mishn. Sanh. vii.-x. Lapidation is the punishment for eighteen offences—including being hard of heart, idolatry, the giving of one's children to Moloch, necromancy, sorcery, Sabbath-breaking, the cursing of parents, criminal intercourse with a betrothed virgin, the inviting of others to idolatry, thepersuading of others to idolatry, keeping magic, and for the stubborn and rebellious son. Burning was reserved for a priest's daughter who violated her chastity, and for nine forms of incest—only, however, when committed during the lifetime of the legal wife. The punishment of an apostate city (Dt 13) was beheaded, and the following were strangled: one who beat a parent (cf. Zergil, Ziv. vi. 609), one who kidnapped a Jew's slave, a sabbath-breaker, his superior authorities, a false prophet, one who proscribed in the name of false gods, the adulterer, and one who bore false witness against a priest's daughter.

The number of crimes for which stripes could be inflicted was very large (Makkoth, iii. etc.). This penalty could, with certain restrictions, be imposed by the judges at their discretion, unless the Scripture demanded a specific punishment for some particular sin. In no case could the stripes exceed thirty-nine, and, whenever possible, fewer were given. The presence of the judges was obligatory. (For full details, see Mishn. Sanh. xiv. = Makkoth, iii.; also Abrahams, Jewish Life.) The Mishna (Sanh. 7:2) enumerates a great number of offences punishable by flagellation. Maimonides, in the Yad ha-Hazaziq, gives a far longer and more comprehensive catalogue. A culprit who received stripes was ipso facto freed from excision (15), and recovered all those rights from which his crime might have debarred him (Mishn. Sanh. xiv. 15).

The principle of making the punishment as lenient as possible, sederer in re, operated also in respect of those sins the punishment of which was reserved for the future life. The famous tenth chapter of Sanhedrin gives a list of those who have no share in the world to come, but every endeavour is made to make the list short. The principle is that all Israel are entitled to a share (15, 27:5; 1:27), unless they forfeit it.

He who says that the doctrine of the resurrection is not contained in the Pentateuch (according to other readings, 'he who denies the doctrine of resurrection'); he who denies the inspiration of Scripture; the Epicurean; according to R. Aqiba, he who reads external (i.e. uncritical) books; he who utters enchantment over the ground; ... — viz. those who pronounced the Targumim—but in all these cases reference should be made to the commentary of Maimonides (ed. Heilzer). Seven persons—three kings (Jebusah, Abah, and Mamaseh) and four private individuals (Baham, Beeg, Althokpel, and Gehaz)—are deprived of their future life, but in each case the Rabbis sought for extenuating circumstances in order to find a
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... were theoretical (see Strack's introduction to his edition of Mishn. Sanhedrin-Makkoth, p. 5); consequently we have there recorded the practice of an earlier period. In the Middle Ages there was a great revival of Jewish jurisprudence (see Abrahams, Jewish Life, p. 49, etc.). In Spain (ib.), up to 1379, Jewish courts could impose punishments and even pronounce a death sentence, which was carried out by the civil courts. In Portugal it was a form of punishment adopted by Jews, though it seems probable that they made use of the ordinary prison—once a separate portion of it—for their own offenders. The Jewish Quarter gave the Beth Din greater power and fostered the growth of two principles: (1) that it was unpatriotic for a Jew to cite another Jew before the civil courts; and (2) that no mercy was to be shown to the informer. The gravity of the Jewish tribunal in secular matters can scarcely be said to have survived the breakdown of the Ghettos, though in religious questions its authority remained unshaken. In many instances, plaintiff and defendant have, of their own accord, agreed voluntarily to submit their differences to the arbitration of the Beth Din rather than to the civil judge—a system at present in great vogue in the East End of London. This means many disputes are settled without the intervention of the magistrate. But this does not belong to the domain of criminal cases. Here the jurisdiction of Jewish courts has long ceased.

LITERATURE.—The Mishna, Gemara (Pal. and Bab.), and Tosaphot of R. Joseph Karo and R. Moses Maimonides should be consulted carefully. For the Mishna there are critical editions: (1) with vocab., notes, and trans., by H. L. Strack, Leipzig, 1901; (2) by Samuel Krauss, Leyden, 1899, with introduction, notes, and glossary; (3) for those who are ignorant of Hebrew, a tr., with notes, etc., has been prepared by Hölcker (Fleisch's Series, Tubingen, 1894), with special reference to NT questions; Mandel's comm. is edited by J. Holzer, Berlin, 1901. The Jerus. Talm. is translated by M. Schwab, Passow, I. 3; best edition of the Tosephta is that of Zunz, Breslau, 1889. See articles in Ebr. on 'Synhedrin,' in JE on 'Capital Punishment,' 'Stripes,' 'Excommunication,' 'Crime,' 'Punishment,' 'Hirah,' Admission to the Synagogue.' For the present work, see Avot Yada (Jewish), Pasewalk (Jewish); cf.: I. Abrahams, Jewish Life in Middle Ages, London, 1896; A. Büchler, 'Das Synedrin in Jerusalem und die Todesstrafen der Bibel und der jüdischen Nachbibliothek,' in MoBr., 1906; see also bibliographies in JE Ill., 256, iv. 329.

HERBERT LOEWE.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Muhammadan).—I. Introduction. In ancient Arabia, crime was often regarded as impurity, and punishment as purification. In Muslim tradition it is mentioned that a certain adulterer who desired to do penance for his sin was said to the Prophet, taḥkɜr (purify me), whereupon he was stoned to death.1 In the heathen period, manslaughter and other crimes often gave rise to bloody feuds among the Arab tribes. The revenge of the injured party or of the members of his family or tribe extended not only to the guilty person who had killed or injured any one, but also to all who belonged to the same family or tribe. It is true that by this solidarity of family and tribe both the innocent and the wronged respectively benefited; but, on the other hand, there was the disadvantage that many innocent persons had to suffer for the sins of their relatives, and that long-continued blood-feuds often broke off from insignificant beginnings. Usually on both sides an attempt was made to put to death as great a number as possible of enemies of high rank in return for each fallen tribesman; for many regarded as insufficient mere retaliation of greater importance as the Muslim presupposes makes it plain that the penalty of imprisonment could scarcely ever have been inflicted.

It must be remembered that, in the time of which the Mishna speaks, most of the decisions

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1 See I. Goldscheider, 'Das Strafrecht im Islam' (loc. cit., infra, pp. 101, 104 n. 2), and Muhammadi Studien, 1889-90, i. 57 n.
In this case the injured person (or his heir) may also give up his right and forgive the injurer.

In cases in which the judge has to decide as to a right of Allah, certain special principles apply. In many traditions it is expressly put in the foreground that God will base His relation to man, above everything else, on compassion and forgiveness; that He has always the right to prevent the covering of His servants with the cloak of love, but only on condition that they also act in this way and cover both their own sins and those of their fellow-men.

On the ground of the circumstances, the judge, the witnesses, and the culprit must all do their best to prevent the infliction of punishment, if it is a harg Allah. The culprit is then not bound to acknowledge his guilt if he is accused; he may even revoke his or his witness's act (see ADULTERY [Muslim]). If the guilty person does not desire to do penance for his crime, and in this way to purify himself from his sin, it is therefore usually impossible to punish him. If, however, his guilt is formally certain, and he is obliged to inflict the hadd precisely according to the regulations of the law.

2. Retaliation (qisas).—According to the Muslim law-books, retaliation is still permitted in only two cases: (1) when any unlawfully unjustly slain, another, the heirs of the latter have the right to kill the murderer; (2) if any one is deliberately and unjustly wounded or mutilated, he has the right to revenge himself on his injurer, if it is possible to make him suffer precisely the same wounding or mutilation. According to Muslim lawyers, this is in general possible only when a hand, foot, arm, leg, ear, finger, nose, toe, tongue, eye, or tooth, or other part of the body, has been cut off or cut in pieces. Punishment for highway-robery (ib. v. 37-38). In other cases, when no special punishment is prescribed, the judge is entitled to inflict such punishment on the guilty person as seems to be the most suitable in view of the circumstances. This form of punishment is called tazir ("correction").

Muslim canon law thus distinguishes three categories of crime and punishment: (1) the so-called jinayat, i.e. misdemeanours consisting of killing or wounding, which must be punished either with retaliation (qisas) or with payment of the dilya ("price of blood") or other damages; (2) adultery and other crimes for which must be punished with a fixed penalty (hadd); and (3) all other kinds of transgressions, which must be punished with tazir ("correction").

According to Muslim canon law, the punishment must be regarded in some cases as a harg Allah ("right of Allah"), in other cases as a harg adwani ("human right"). When, for instance, a Muslim has the right to exact retaliation or the payment of the price of blood, such a case concerns harg adwani, just as when he claims stolen or loaned property, or demands the payment of a sale price.
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(see art. Law [Muhammadan]; according to the Malikites, however, wives cannot exercise any diyas. If the heirs given right to qisas, the guilty person is obliged to pay the price of blood (diya); according to the Hanafites, however, the diya cannot be demanded in this case, if the guilty person does not himself agree to it. If the deceased has left various heirs, and some of them are willing to espouse the guilt, no vengeance for blood may be exacted, but only the diya.

Vengeance for blood is carried out personally, under the supervision of the judge, by those who have instanced the proceedings against the guilty person. If there are several who demand it, one of them is appointed to carry out the punishment.

2. The price of blood for manslaughter (diya).—The price of blood for manslaughter may be demanded: (1) when anyone has been killed deliberately and unjustly, and his heirs give up their right to exact the qisas; (2) when any one has been killed unintentionally. In both cases the diya consists of 100 camels, or 100 dinar of gold, or 12,000 dirhams of silver (according to the Hanafites, however, 10,000 dirhams of silver). But in the first case the so-called ‘heavy,’ and in the second case the ‘light,’ price of blood is incurred. In the jihād it is accurately decided what sort of blood can be exacted, as given in case (2). If gold or silver is paid in place of camels, according to some Muslim lawyers a greater sum may be demanded for the ‘heavy’ diyas than for the ‘light,’ but according to others it is not so; and, according to the latter interpretation of Shafi’i, the fixed payment of gold or silver is due, but the worth of 100 camels. The ‘light’ price of blood must be paid within a period of three years by the so-called ‘qiyāla,’ i.e. by those who pay the ‘eqd’ (price of blood) without distinction according to the Hanafites and Malikites, all ‘asabāt (i.e. the male relations on the paternal side) of the culprit, and according to them he must also himself pay part of the sum incurred; according to the Shafi’ites, on the other hand, neither the culprit himself nor his blood-relations in the direct line belong to the qiyāla.

When the Muslims after the great conquests established themselves in Egypt, Syria, Persia, and Arabia, the Old Arab family-organization partially lost its importance, and there arose a new grouping of persons who had the same interests to defend. According to the Hanafites, the same rules concerning the payment of the price of blood are applicable to these new groups as to the blood-relations of the guilty person; according to them, therefore, all persons belong to the ‘qiyāla who are bound to give their mutual support to each other (among others, neighbors with the same profession, those who belong to the same army-corps). The ‘heavy’ price of blood, on the other hand, may be demanded only from the culprit himself; and, according to most faqihs, he has no right to postpone payment. However, he also is only obliged to pay the sum within a period of three years.

(3) Besides the cases in which any one is killed either intentionally or accidentally, Muslim lawyers distinguish a third case in which the culprit did, indeed, attack the deceased intentionally, but without meaning to kill him. In that case the qiyāla must pay the so-called ‘heavy’ diya. They are also obliged to do this, according to some Muslim lawyers, if he has killed another accidentally, either in the sacred territory of Mecca, during one of the four sacred months (Muharram, Rajab, Jumada el-Awwal, and Dhu’l-qi’dā, Dhu’l-hijja); further, if the deceased was a mustawri (i.e. a relation whom it is forbidden to marry) of the culprit; according to others, however, they are in this case liable only to the ‘light’ diya.

For the death of a woman only half the price of blood can be demanded. For the death of a woman or a Jew, according to the Malikites, also half the diya, according to the Shafi’ites only one third, but, according to the Hanafites, the full price of blood. If any one kills the slave of another, according to most Muslim lawyers he must make good to the owner the full value, even though this cost more than the diya for a free man; according to the Hanafites, however, the owner has never a claim to more than the value of 100 camels decreased by one dinar. If the culprit was under age at the time, the price of blood must be paid out of his property by the guardian or curator; if the culprit was a slave, his master is responsible, but he can free himself from all further obligation by giving up the slave.

In addition to the qisas or the diya, manslaughter demands a kaffāra (atonement by sacrifice); and, according to Qur’an, iv. 94, this must consist in the setting free of a Muslim slave, or, if this cannot be done, in giving to two men of 80 poor persons, which in some other cases of kaffāra may take the place of fasting, is in this case, according to most faqihs, insufficient. According to the Hanafites and Malikites, this kaffāra is incurred not only when one has killed by accident (on the ground of the words of Qur’an, iv. 94); but, according to the Shafi’ites, also if the culprit has acted intentionally.

4. The diya and other damages for wounding.—The wounded person, as he has already been noted, if he gives up his right to qisas, claims the diya in place of it (according to the Hanafites, only if the guilty person agrees). The full diya is incurred when, because of the wound, a part of the body is lost (e.g. an eye, ear, hand, foot) or when there is a loss of property (e.g. silver). In the full price of blood is incurred for an eyelid, for a hand, and for a foot; in other cases they must be fixed by a legal sentence (hukūma), according to the loss suffered by the injured. An expert has then to estimate what value the body of the wounded person would have had before his injury. If it appears that the value of his body was diminished by, for instance, the judge sentences the culprit to pay half of the full diya. If any one has been wounded simultaneously in several places, he may claim damages for each wound separately, and therefore in some cases may receive even more than the diya for manslaughter.

5. Misddeeds which must be punished with a badd.—For the badd in consequence of zina, see art. ADULTERY [Muhammadan]. The punishment for apostacy from Islam, which is regarded by some Muslim jurists as a badd, is treated in art.
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APOSTASY (Muhammadan). We have therefore here to treat only of the other fixed penalties, viz. those for *qadifi*, wine-drinking, theft, and highway robbery.

(1) *qadifi*—By this the Muslim canoon law understands only such slander as is meant in Qur'an, xxiv. 4. Since only slander of *'honourable'* women is mentioned there, the crime of *qadifi* consists, according to Muslim lawyers, and the accusation of fornication brought against a man as is said to be permissible to address proof by four male witnesses of the slandered woman and the husband, if he is guilty of this crime must be punished with 80 stripes if he is a free man, and with 40 if he is a slave. This *hadd* is not enforced if he is under age, or insane, or if he is the husband of the slandered woman and avows that she is guilty, invoking Allah by means of the so-called *wilân* (see art. LAW [Muhammadan]). According to some Muslim lawyers, the slandered person has the right of the anxious punishment of the guilty, but not according to others; there is also a difference of opinion as to whether the heirs of the slandered person have the right of exacting this *hadd*.

(2) The *hadd* for the drinking of wine and other strong drinks consists of forcing the criminal to confess in public what he has drunk for 30 days, or in public stripes, on the ground of the tradition as to the way in which the Prophet punished drunkards in Medina. As to the number of stripes, there is a difference of opinion: according to the Shafi'ites, the punishment consists of 100 stripes; but according to the Hanafites, of 89 stripes for a free man, and of half that number for a slave. The guilt of him who is accused of this crime can, according to canoon law, be proved only by two male witnesses, or by the confession of the guilty. Moreover, the punishment is not applicable to minors, insane persons, and unbelievers.

(3) The *hadd* for theft depends on the command given in Qur'an, v. 42, 43, 'From the man thief and woman thief cut off the hands, as a warning example from God.' According to the Shafi'ite and the Malikite doctrine, a thief after his first theft must lose the right hand, after the second the left foot, after the third the left hand, after the fourth the right hand, and after the fifth the thief is to be put to death. In the case of following thefts he must be punished by *ta'zir*. According to the Hanafites, however, the thief must never lose more than the right hand and the left foot; if he continues to steal after his second offence, he must be kept in prison until he is reformed.

Theft is, however, punished with this *hadd* only when the stolen article had been put away in a proper manner, and, moreover, had a certain value (the so-called *night*). According to the Shafi'ites, the *hadd* is applicable only if the value of that which is stolen is at least 2 of a *dirham* (about 3 shillings); according to the Hanafites, only if the worth was at least one *dirham*, or 10 *dirhams*; according to the Malikites, 4 of a *dirham*, or 3 *dirhams*.

The *hadd* for theft is also not applied if the thief was under age or insane, or if he could make good a certain *dirham* worth of the stolen property. The latter is the case if one of those who have taken part in a battle steals something from the booty before it has been divided among the troops, or if a Muslim steals from that which was intended for the general use of Muslims. If one of a married couple steals something to the injury of the other, according to some Muslim lawyers the culprit must be punished with *hadd*, but not according to the opinion of others.

The person whose property was stolen has the right to reclaim the stolen article; and, if this has been lost, the thief must pay damages in its place. According to the Hanafite doctrine, however, the thief is not obliged to make such payment of damages if the *hadd* for theft has been applied to him.

(4) The *hadd* for highway-robbery is deduced from Qur'an, v. 57, 38:

'The punishment for those who fight against Allah and his apostle, and pass through the land spreading disaster, shall be that they shall be slain or crucified, or have their hands and feet cut off crossways, or let them be hanged up. Moreover, unless they reform before they fall into your hands, God is forgiving and compassionate.'

Since, therefore, this *hadd* was not accurately defined, there is much difference of opinion among Muslim lawyers as to the punishment of highway-robbers. The various opinions cannot all be mentioned here in detail. According to the Shafi'ite doctrine, four cases must be distinguished:

1. If the culprit has only made the road unsafe, he must be banished;
2. If he has also practised robbery (namely, in the sense that he would incur the *hadd* for theft if he were not a highwayman), his right hand and left foot are cut off (in the case of a repetition of the offence, the left hand and right foot as well);
3. If he has deliberately murdered any one, he must be put to death, even though the hands of the murdered person were not taken; moreover, he has as a highway-robber robbed and killed, not only is he punished with death, his corpse is exhibited for a time on a cross.

According to the other madhabs, regulations obtain which are partially different, according to the other figh-schools, however, this is not permissible.

When the robber repents before he has been captured, the special *hadd* for highway-robbery is no longer applicable to him, but he remains, for instance, obliged to restore that which has been stolen; and, if he is convicted of theft, the heirs of the latter have, just as in other cases, the right of exacting the *qiyâs or diya*.

6. *ta'zir* ('correction').—When no special punishment is prescribed, the judge, as has already been noted, must condemn the culprit to the punishment which seems to him to be the most suitable in view of the circumstances. He may, for instance, send him to prison, exile him, or sentence him to be publicly put to shame or scourged, etc. He may in the difficult cases of the first theft to the Malikite doctrine, if he is even entitled in this case to condemn him to as many stripes as are prescribed in the case of *hadd*, or even more; according to the other figh-schools, however, this is not permissible. According to them, too, the *ta'zir* must always be more severe than a *hadd*. The *ta'zir* is, among other things, applicable to a thief when the stolen property has not so much value that the culprit must be condemned to the *hadd*; furthermore, in general, to all kinds of transgressions for which no other kind of punishment or any special atoning sacrifice (*kaffâra*) is prescribed.

The judge is not always obliged to apply the *ta'zir*; according to the Shafi'ites, only if the injured person expressly requires him to punish the culprit; and, according to the Hanafites and Malikites, also when he is convinced that the latter will not reform without punishment. A *hadd* can, on the other hand, must always be waged against the guilt of the culprit if it has been proved, because this punishment is expressly prescribed in the canoon law.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Parsi).—

From the list of the contents of the original twenty-one novels of the Zend-Avesta, the bulk of which is irretrievably lost, we find only seven of them consisted of the dātik, or 'legal' literature (Dinkert, viii, 1, 11). Of these the Vendidad, 'the Leviticus of the Iranians,' is preserved in its entirety, and this work, with some other parts of the Zend-Avesta, forms the chief source of our information on the criminal law of the ancient Persians.

Offenders against law are punished, first, in this world, according to the penalties laid down for violation of the rules of sanitation and hygiene; for it is said that the man who violates these rules imports or furthers epidemic, and endangers human life. The punishment for the ill-treatment of the various classes of dogs is exceptional, and is calculated to ensure good treatment of this faithful animal, who as a sentinel guards the flocks of the faithful, and protects them from the attacks of wolves and other wild beasts, as also from the depredations of thieves and bandits. Thus, if a dog is found by the owner of the body, he must be given in order to be useful. If the dog is eaten by the owner of the body, he will be put to death. The penalty increases proportionately with the repetition of the crime, and, on the eighth committal of the same, the man is termed a pēšgān, 'of sinful body,' and is to be punished with two hundred stripes (ib. 18-21).

The second class of offences is committed by those who do not prevent or repel the assault wherein a man brands a weapon with the intention to strike a blow, he becomes guilty of this crime (Vendidad, iv. 17). He receives ten stripes for the first crime, and the maximum penalty of two hundred stripes is prescribed in his case if, without attempting for his previous crimes, he repeats the same three times (ib. 22-25). (3) oredāt, 'wound.' The penalty for this crime begins with fifteen stripes, and makes the culprit liable to two hundred stripes on the repetition of the same for the sixth time (ib. 30-33). (4) avahr, 'sacrifice.' This is punishable with thirty stripes for the first crime, and two hundred for the fifth repetition (ib. 30-33). (5) tacot, 'bloody wound.' The penalty is fifty stripes for the first offence, and the culprit liable to two hundred stripes on the repetition of the same for the sixth time (ib. 32-39). (6) asto-bēl, 'bone-breaking,' begins with the punishment of seventy stripes for the first offence, and closes with that of two hundred stripes for the third (ib. 32-39). (7) freza-bēl, 'rendering unconscious or causing death.' The punishment for this crime is ninety stripes for the first offence, and two hundred for the second (ib. 40-42).

The Parsi Shāyestān (Zend-Avesta) variously speaks of eight crime classes of crimes (i. 1, xi.1). The farman and sraoš-carvānā are the additional sins mentioned here. Certain degrees are assigned to the various crimes, and the bodily punishment is converted into fines. Thus the degree of the smallest crime, farman, is estimated at four stars (a star being equivalent to four dirhams). The degrees of the crimes rise in proportion to the gravity of the offences, until the tanafar sin is estimated at three hundred and twenty dirhams (ib. 23-24). Haoma is invoked to warn the faithful of the cunning movements of the thieves (ib. 21), and Rashnu, the angel presiding over truth, is spoken of as the best killer, slayer, and destroyer of the thieves and bandits (Yashna, viii. 41, 71). The sacrifices offered to Khusrāw, asking him to help the pious to withstand these evil
forces, is said to be equivalent to offering the same to Ormazd (Yt. vi. 4; Ngush. i. 14), and Ardvahra is invoked to pour down her waters as a source of torment to theบรรษัท (Yt. vi. 8). The routing of the thieves and robbers is eagerly prayed for (Ys. ixi. 3). The man who takes a loan from another, with the evil intention of not returning it, is a thief; and the commentator explains that, if he bluntly refuses to restore it, he becomes a robber (Vend. iv. 1).

The culprits had either to pay fines, or their ears and hands were cut off, or they were imprisoned. If a man stole a dirham (about 7½), he had to pay twice the value of his lent money, ten hundred dirhams, with a stick were inflicted upon him, and he was imprisoned for some time (Sad Dar, lxxiv. 2–3). If he stole another dirham, four dirhams were fined his fine, he had to forfeit his other ear, to receive two rods, and to repay with a period twice the length of that inflicted at the time of his first crime (ib. lxiv. 4). The third repetition of the crime was punishable by cutting off his right hand (ib. and 6), and the fourth, in destroying his evil work, he finally stole five hundred dirhams, he was to be hanged (ib. 6). The bandit who had robbed a person of something by violence, had to restore to the owner four times as much as he had taken, or he was to be hanged (ib. 11; ib. further, on theft, Dinkhurt, viii. 20. 123. 21. 1–14).

3. Breach of contract.—The man who lies to Mithra is guilty of Mithrā-drayj, and brings death to the whole country (Yt. x. 2). The faithful are exalted not to violate contracts entered into with any one. The six important forms of contract are: (1) word-contract, (2) hand-contract, (3) the contract to the value of a sheep, (4) the contract to the value of an ox, (5) the contract to the value of a man, and (6) the contract to the value of a field (Vend. iv. 2). The penalty for breaking these contracts begins with three hundred stripes with aspa-āstā and an equal number with vrašo-carrānt, for the violation of the first class of contract, and rises to the maximum punishment of a thousand stripes each in case of the breach of the final contract, namely, the field-contract (ib. 11–16).

4. Crimes connected with the defilement caused by the dead and dead matter.—The earth, being one of the sacred elements of nature, is to be kept pure from defilement. Ahriman created the sin of interring corpses in the earth, for which there is no atonement (Vend. i. 13, iii. 39), and it is the duty of a good man to disinter the dead bodies, wherever possible. If a man lets a corpse remain buried, and neglects his duty to dig it out within six months, his punishment is five hundred stripes with each of the two punishing rods. The penalty is doubled in the case of a corpse remaining buried for a period of one year, and if it is not disinterred within a period of two years, it makes the man guilty of uipa-kretha, for which there is no atonement (ib. iii. 39–39).

Under no circumstances may a corpse be carried by a single person, lest he should be defiled. Capital punishment is meted out to him who violates this precept. The culprit is to be removed to the remotest land and to be kept there until he grows old, after which his head is to be cut off (ib. 15–21). The man who does not properly observe the rules of removing the corpse to the top of a mountain, and fastening the body with brass or stones by the feet or head, to prevent the dogs and birds from carrying the dead matter t water and trees, is to be punished with two hundred stripes (ib. vi. 471). If a man, happening to touch a corpse in the wilderness, approaches water and trees without cleansing himself, he receives four hundred stripes with each of the two instruments (ib. viii. 104–106).

Wilful carrying of the dead matter to water or fire makes one worthy of death (Sad Dar, lxxii. 1). Unnecessary work of being deprived, or a man who throws more cloth on the corpse than is essential has to suffer the punishment of four hundred stripes, rising to one thousand stripes with both the whips, in proportion to the quantity thus wasted (Vend. viii. 25–25).

Among the worst crimes created by Ahriman is that of cooking corpses, for which there is no atonement, and of which the penalty is death (Vend. i. 17, viii. 73 f; Strabo, p. 732). The punishment of the man who is cooking on a man makes one unclean for ever, and it is prescribed that the heart of the man guilty of this crime shall be torn out, and his eyes put out (Vend. vii. 23; Sad Dar, lxxi. 2; Grand Rûsyüt, P. 129).

The ground on which a dog or man has died is not to be tilled for a period of one year. The man who does not observe this rule is punishable with two hundred stripes. The man who tills the ground without cleansing it of the bones, hair, urine, and blood lying on it becomes a pešôtânu, and receives two hundred stripes with the two instruments of punishment as a penalty (Vend. vi. 81 f). It is sinful to throw bones of a dead dog or a dog's skull in the open earth, or to throw the marrow flowing from them pollutes the ground. The penalty of throwing a bone of the size of the top-joint of the little finger is thirty stripes, and rises proportionately, to the maximum penalty of one thousand stripes when the body of a dead dog or a dead man is thrown on the ground (ib. vi. 10–25). Bringing back fire into a house in which a man has died, within nine nights in winter and a month in summer, is punishable with two hundred stripped with each of the two instruments and with the two hundred with the vrašo-carrānt (ib. v. 43 f).

5. The crime of ill-treating the dog.—The Iranians held the dog as the sacred animal created by Ormazd, and rigorous punishments are prescribed for his ill-treatment. The giving of bad food to various classes of dogs is punishable with fifty to two hundred stripes, in accordance with the importance of the class of dogs (Vend. xii. 24–27). Seven hundred stripes with each of the two implements is prescribed for a bitch that is with young (ib. xv. 50). Fifty hundred to one thousand stripes are the lot of those who kill various kinds of dogs (ib. xiii. 4, 12–15). The murder of a water-dog is to be atoned for by ten thousand dirhams, or by the payment of thirty thousand loads of sweet-scented wood to the fire, or an equal number of barson twigs, or by carrying the same number of xothrou libations to the waters, or by killing as many snakes and other noxious creatures, or by helping to contract marriage between the faithful, and by doing various similar redeeming works (ib. xiv. 1–18).

6. Crimes relating to women in menses.—Elaborate rules are laid down for the period of the menstrual purification. Under no circumstances may a woman be exposed to the dangers of the outside world. If she is detained in seclusion, the violation of which is generally punishable in the next world. Intercourse with a woman during this period amounts to wilful murder, burning of the life-giving semen, and as a result, as the man has to pay his sin by an additional performance of meritorious deeds, as those of killing about nine thousand noxious creatures such as snakes, frogs, and ants (ib. xviii. 67–74). If the woman who has brought forth a still-born child drinks water for the good of her own health, she
becomes a pàdâma—his offence is punishable with two hundred stripes (ib. vii. 70-72).

7. Crimes regarding the purificatory rites.—Capital punishment is meted out to him who officiates as a cashier without himself being well versed in the rites of cleansing. His hands are to be bound to a wooden stake, and his head cut off, and his body is to be thrown to the vultures (Vend. i. 47-49). A later work prescribes that he shall be nailed with four nails, his skin taken off, and his head cut off (Fres. Privyent. p. 398, as quoted by Darmesteter in SSE iv. 183 n. 2, and Le Zandt in ib. Le Zendt, ii. 170, n. 55).

8. Unnatural crime.—Zoroaster denounces this deed as the worst crime against morality (Ys. li. 12). Ahriman is its creator (Vend. i. 12). There is no sin greater than this, and the man practising it becomes worthy of death (Sad Dar, ix. 2). This is the only crime which entitles any one to take the law into his own hands, and to cut off the heads of the sodomites and to rip up their bellies (ib. ix. 31). The Dictating-i-Dénik (lxvi. 3) modifies this, and states that, before taking the law into one's own hands, one should try to impress the heinousness of the crime on the minds of the wicked sinners, but, if that is of no avail, one may kill them (lxvi. 9). This is to call a demon, a worshipper of demons, a male paramour of demons, a female paramour of demons, a wife of demons, as wicked as a demon; he is a demon in his whole being while he lives, and remains so after death. Reasonable men, that is, faithful should not have any intercourse with such a man, except by way of attempting to reclaim him from this inexpiable crime (Dictating-i-Dénik, lxvi. 10). The crime puts one on a par with Ahriman, Afrasiyab, Zohak, and other wicked ones (Sad Dar, ix. 6), and greatly increases the joy of the Evil Spirit (ib. 6). Eight hundred stripes with each of the two rods is the penalty for him who has been forced by violence to this crime, but there is no atonement for him who voluntarily submits to it (Vend. viii. 96 f.). The same crime committed with a woman is equally heinous (Sad Dar, ix. 7).

9. Adultery and abortion.—See Adultery (Paris) in vol. i. 135 f., and Feticide.


MANOEJKI NUSSEVANJ DIBALLA.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Roman).—Roman law never acquired on its criminal side the clearness and precision which characterized its civil applications, in an ever increasing degree, until the collapse of the Empire came. Among the many causes for the imperfect development of criminal law, the most important is the comparatively large influence which political conditions exercised upon the definition and punishment of crime. Under the democratic system, when the assembled citizens were in theory sovereign, evolution proceeded with such slow and uncertain steps that the fixing of the criminal code was made more systematic. For the purposes of our brief exposition, three sections of the subject have to be distinguished: the notions attached to crime, the gradual abridgment of the guilt between criminal law and morality, and the widening jurisdiction of the State over offences. The second branch concerns the procedure leading up to punishment; the third, the nature of the punishments inflicted. Needless to say, the boundaries between these three divisions cannot be perfectly drawn.

In the earliest days of the Roman community, most of the functions of the State were rudimentary, and there was little scope for the public punishment of actions committed by citizens, even when they shocked the family decency. Much was left to the vengeance of heaven, and in some cases any citizen could make himself the champion of the offended gods. The close-knit organization of the family (patria) and the clan (gens) also greatly restricted the scope of criminal law; and, though the framework of the gens early fell to pieces, that of the familia retained many of its primitive elements until Roman civilization succumbed. Survivals in the historical period clearly show that the head of the family (paterfamilias) once possessed uncontrolled authority (imperium) over the lives of all who were in his power. The wife, the child (born in the family or brought into it by adoption from without), and the slave were in this respect all equally subject to the family custom (mos maiorum), powerful in every age of Rome, restricted in practice the exercise of this authority, though in principle it was absolute, and required it to be used with a certain formality and within the scope of the law so as to be protected to an increasing extent the freeborn members of the family. New forms of marriage enabled the wife to escape from the absolute imperium of her husband. Examples of the execution of women in criminals are found in the 2nd cent. B.C., and of men in the 1st; but the bare right of the head of the family to put to death those subjected to him was only removed by Constantine, and the cruel exposure of newly-born children was permitted long after his time. Even the slave was protected by the Imperial legislation. See art. CONSTANTINE, above, p. 90.

In so far as the State corrected crime, the supreme magistrate, whether known as rex, dictator, consul, or praetor, was, in the remote age, in the same position as the paterfamilias, that is to say, his imperium was, within its own sphere, in principle unlimited, though he would often have to submit, in the case of citizens, to the force of the imperative decision of the Senate and of that of treaty obligations. The Republic introduced, as one of its few fundamental innovations, the right of appeal (provocatio), which entitled every citizen to a trial by his fellows in all weightier matters. Only in special circumstances, which will be described later, was he subjected to arbitrary treatment during the Republican age. The protection afforded by the provocatio was at first valid only against magistrates who administered the city and a thousand miles outside, but it was gradually extended to Italy and even to the provinces. The changes which were brought about by the Empire were profound. As in other departments of government administration, the Emperor became supreme. From the first his autocracy was practical, and in the end it was undisguised. Apart from the traces of primitive practice preserved in later institutions, the most complete and well-organized system afforded to the criminal side of Roman law is given by the fragments of the Twelve Tables. Punishment of individuals by special enactment (privilegium), i.e. by an act of attainder, is forbidden. The State recognizes as offences against itself only these three—treason (perduellio), aggravated murder (parricidium), arson, theft of grain from the soil, lampooning, and possibly false witness.
The definition of crimes was vague, especially (as was natural) in the case of treason, but later legislation gave more precision to treason and extended the range of criminal inquiry. Sulla carried out a great codification of criminal law, and grouped crimes under eight or nine heads. To each group a separate court (prætorian) was assigned, each with a fundamental law, dealing carefully with the substance and the forms of its jurisdiction, and Sulla’s regulations were further elaborated by Julius Caesar and Augustus. The courts set up by Sulla dealt with the following crimes: (1) embezzlement of public funds (repudianum); (2) theft to the detriment of the gods (sacriilégium); (3) murder and offences akin to it—brigandage, misuse of criminal procedure in capital cases, poison, magic, arson, and wrecking; (4) public bribery; (5) treason (now termed maiestas); (6) forgery (falsum); (7) the infliction of bodily damage (injurin); (8) public violence (vex); and (9) kidnapping (plagium).

The crimes mentioned are only the principal ones ascribed to the founders, but they also dealt with many other outrages (such as sexual offences) by direction of particular statutes, under conditions which are difficult to determine. Augustus established separate courts to deal with (1) adultery, which was generally regarded as a public crime; and (2) usury, against which many Republican statutes had been directed (mostly in vain), and the offence of artificially raising the price of corn. Later on, many forms of wrongdoing, e.g., debt recovery, were the concern of the praetors, which latter citizens were subject to. Thus, the time of the early Empire, a multitude of deeds, not formerly punishable, or punishable only by fine, came to be included in the category of crimes, which might even be considered a public offense. The idea that the government might withdraw from the commander in the field the right to impose the death penalty, rests on a wrong inference from a passage in Sallust (Jug. 39). The statute which conferred power on Sulla, and which, with the Tribunician powers, was handed over to the dictator, was not bound to guarantee an appeal, but he was placed in the same position as other magistrates by a lex Valeria, enacted in 301 B.C. Military rule naturally excluded the provectio. But there was no provision for the use of this last appeal against the death penalty, except that the Senate, on the advice of the Court, might order that it be suspended.

The Senate from time to time claimed the right to authorize the magistrates to inquire into offences and to punish them without regard to the assembly. The earliest recorded example of this usurpation is afforded by the suppression of the so-called Bacchanalian conspiracy in 186 B.C., when, in a time of panic, many citizens, as well as members of the Decemvirs, had been put to death on mere suspicion. The Senate, however, withdrew from the commander in the field the right to impose the death penalty, rests on a wrong inference from a passage in Sallust (Jug. 39). The statute which conferred power on Sulla, and which, with the Tribunician powers, was handed over to the dictator, was not bound to guarantee an appeal, but he was placed in the same position as other magistrates by a lex Valeria, enacted in 301 B.C. Military rule naturally excluded the provectio. But there was no provision for the use of this last appeal against the death penalty, except that the Senate, on the advice of the Court, might order that it be suspended.

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citizens and their property. In these instances the citizens were deemed to have passed judgment on their offenders, and (lex Calpurnia) in 49 B.C. established a special court (questio), with delegated authority to try governors who were charged with robbing the provincial subjects of Rome. As has been stated above, Sulla placed all recognized crimes under the sway of such standing courts, and, though recourse to the more cumbersome process before the comitia was still possible, it was rarely attempted. The questio were exempted by law from the operation of the magistrates' veto (interesse). Occasionally temporary courts were established to deal with particular offenses. In this way the men who had trafficked with Jugurtha were punished, and Clodius was tried and acquitted by special judges. The jurors were originally drawn from the Senate, but after 70 B.C. the two bodies shared the privilege with men of a somewhat lower station. Both qualifications and procedure were varied from time to time. The comitia centuriata was established to continue till the 3rd cent. A.D., but the parallel jurisdictions which the Empire introduced continued to exercise their authority until they were extinguished.

There were few of punishment which did not depend on an arraignment before a criminal tribunal, properly so called. The censors of the Empire could penalize the citizens in many ways, degrading them, and even inflicting on them the stigma of the equestrian order. The criminal statutes, and took cognizance of moral and social offenses which were outside the parsive of the laws. But succeeding censors were not tied to the decisions of their predecessors. The forms of civil law were employed to vindicate some breaches of public order, and also to provide redress for certain forms of fraud which could not be adequately punished by executions in money. Not only in Italy, but in every municipality, there were fines which were recoverable by civil process, on the public behalf. In some private suits, the defendant, if condemned, incurred additional penalties which were not pecuniary. The judgment inflicted on him a stigma of infamia) which impaired the value of his citizenship and left him under many disqualifications for public life. The circumstances were such that the losing litigant was held to have been specially bound to honor the decision, and that in business he had cheated another, or a guardian defrauded his ward. Theft, when practised by one citizen against another, without violence, was technically not a crime, but condemnation in a suit for damages in pursuance of their carried ignominy with it. The same stigma rested ipso facto upon men engaged in occupations regarded as degrading, that of an actor, for instance, or a public auctioneer (praxer), or a gladiator.

The Roman jurisdiction over offenses was exercised at first only as far as the Romanus ager extended, that is to say, in the regions of Italy possessed of large rights. Outside this pale foreign law prevailed. After the Social War (91–89 B.C.), Italy was parcelled out among Roman municipalities, and there had to be a division between the local jurisdiction and the central courts in Rome. Little is known of the principles on which the discrimination was based, but we read with some surprise that the statute of Sulla relating to murder restricted the court at the capital to cases arising in Rome. Before the end of the Republican period, the rule was established that a Roman citizen outside Italy could claim to be tried in Italy for any serious offense, and in the provinces the authority of the provincial governor in matters
of jurisdiction tended perpetually to encroach upon the autonomy of the municipalities and peoples. As is well known, the Roman government granted special privileges to the Jewish communities.

The advent of the Empire brought about a great transformation in the criminal law of Rome, as in all other parts of Roman politics. The paramount authority of the Emperor, and, in particular, his power of pardoning, led ultimately to a complete recasting of criminal procedure both in Rome and outside it. At Rome, new officials, especially the praefectus urbi and the praefectus praetorio, gradually acquired a large jurisdiction; and, in the end, practically all important charges were to be tried by officers who were Imperial nominees. As the world became Romanized, local diversities in privilege disappeared, until the celebrated decree of Caracalla was promulgated, which conferred the franchise on the whole Empire, and led to uniform, or nearly uniform, legal practice all over the Roman dominions. In the early days of the Empire every citizen had a right of appeal to the Emperor in any important case, by the practice of St. Paul (A.D. 259), but by the 3rd cent. each pro-
vincial governor received from the Emperor the right of the sword (iudicium), which enabled him to dispose of the lives of provincial citizens, except those belonging to members of the municipal senates (decltures). After the accession of Augustus to power, the Roman Senate became a high court of justice, trying for the most part senators who were charged with the more serious offenses, just as Caracalla. But some senatus were ultimately destroyed by the dominance of the Emperor, so the jurisdiction of the Senate was reduced to municipal powers under the monarchy established by Diocletian and Constantine.

And certainly, in improving the extent of local autonomy possessed by the different cities and peoples who were subject to Rome varied greatly while the great process of assimilation was being carried out. The tendency, however, to increase the authority of the Roman government was strong from the first, and in the end nothing but a limited control in matters of police, and in other minor affairs, was left to the municipal courts, Italy being placed in this respect on the same footing as the provinces. The history of police jurisdiction, at all periods of Roman history, is obscure. During the Republican period, citizens of the criminal class at Rome seem to have been dealt with severely, but a regard for the public peace. Indeed, the value of the provocatio greatly depended on the willingness of the magistrates—in the last resort, of the tribunes—to secure it to the burgess, while the red-
handed assassin or the thief taken in the act set the lones Valerius and Porcig were of little avail.

The nature of the punishments inflicted by the Roman State varied greatly in the course of its history. We can clearly discern a time when the crimes of a Roman citizen were inflected by the penalty of death and no other. Under the system of trial before the comitia, this was the only punishment which the chief assembly, the comitia centuriata, could assign. But the custom was carried into cases of robbery after the final verdict was given, could shake the dust of his country from off his feet and go into exile. In this case, at the final hearing the plea was put in that 'he had changed his soil with a view to exile' (sedem evertisse exilii causa), whereupon the assembly passed a resolution known as interdictio aqua et igni (in the full form tecto addo), refusing the offender (now no longer a Roman) the right to receive the chief necessities of life—shelter, water, and fire—within Roman territory, as technically defined by the phrase Romanus ager, which for this purpose was never deemed to extend beyond Italy. The questions, in the case of the more serious offenses, followed the earlier practice of the centuries. Exile was such a common incident in the early civic community that many treaties made between Rome and other States included a clause binding the contracting parties to give harbourage to outlaws. Until the time of the Empire, which led to the enfranchisement of Italy, a Roman could find a refuge no further away than Tivoli (Tivoli); but Milo, condemned for the murder of Clodius in 52 B.C., had to place himself beyond the bounds of the Empire. At this time, a law within the Romanus ager could be warned to quit it by the magistrates, unless international agreement stood in the way. This form of removal was called relegatio. But after the Hannibalic War the feeling of unswayed disregard of treaty obligation, and the repeated indiscriminate expulsions from Rome of Latins and other Italian allies did much to bring on the great Social War. This form of banishment was extended to Roman citizens in 87 B.C.

The relegatio was merely ordered to live in a particular place during the Emperor's pleasure. This was the only restriction on the person's privileges as a citizen, and Ovid, banished to Tomi, was careful to insist that he was a relegatus, not exilii.

Cicero laid it down in the year 66 B.C. (pro Ccec. §101) that exilium was not a punishment known to Roman law, but a means of escape from punish-

ment, yet he himself broke through this technical principle through the lever of the statuata, and for a time, when, as consul, he passed a law to check public bribery. Thereafter exilium was freely used as a penalty, and new forms of it were devised in the Imperial age. The old interdictio aqua et igni totally fell into disuse, and for it was substituted the deportatio in insulam, rendered familiar to us by Tacitus and Juvenal, who describe the islets of the Egean as crammed with exiles.

The death penalty, except in the military sphere, was, as we have seen, hardly ever exacted in the Republican age, but in the more important cases it could not be so escaped under the Empire. Probably nothing else so fostered the bitterness entertained against the nobles against the Empire, as the system of its first institution. Yet infliction of death was exceptional in the first two centuries, and was confined chiefly to the more important crimes which came before the Senate and the Emperor. But in the times of the Antonines, when the lawmaking power, and were not bound by statute, as were the regular courts. From the succession of the Severi (A.D. 193), capital punish-

cement became more and more common, and the number of offenses to which this technical method was continually increased. In the end not only treason and murder, but arson, magic, coinage, kidnappinng, aggravated violence, and a number of other wrong-

ful acts might be treated capitally. The forms of execution were also changed and extended.

Originally, as a rule, the offender was tied to a stake and flogged, then released and beheaded. This was symbolized by the bundles of rods (jovacis), each containing an axe (scorpius), which were carried by lictors in front of a magistrate invested with the unimpaired imperium. In the city the axe was laid aside. Beheading by the axe was common in the earlier Imperial age (cf. Rev 20), but was forbidden later, when the sword was sub-

stituted. The old method was confirmed with the pass-
ing of a death sentence by the comitia centuriata; show that, before the time when escape into exile was permitted, the condemned criminal was sometimes flogged and crucified. The procedure was revived by the Empire, 'according to the custom of our ancestors' (more maiorum), as the saying
CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Tentonic and Slavico)

went. During the main part of the Republican period, crucifixion was restricted to slaves, except in rare instances, such as the case of men convicted of misconduct with Vestals. A quaint early method of disposing of one who had slain a man or had committed other hideous crimes, was to draw him up by a neck with a cock, an ape, and a serpent, and then to drown him. The Vestal was walled up, and died of starvation. In both these cases the sentence had originally a domestic character, and we have in this strong family resemblance the primitive objection to the shedding of blood within the domestic circle. The Vestals were the daughters of the great State family, and were condemned by the Pontifex Maximus, who stood to them in the relation of paterfamilias. Something of a religious character attached to the spilling of the criminal's blood by the community. But the gods of the family could receive no such offering. Later, when the paterfamilias executed a member of his family, he was regarded as the deputy of the magistrate. The cross was used against free men without scruple by the Imperial administrators, until its employment was abolished by Constantine on religious grounds. The equally cruel death by crucifixion was also frequent in Imperial Rome. This form of punishment was applied, by a crude sort of homoeopathic retaliation, in the age of the Twelve Tables, to the citizen guilty of arson, and, later, it was occasionally a form of vengeance for military crimes. The killing of the citizen by the Tarpeian rock was condemned, and, later, it became one of the commonest forms of execution, and it lasted into the Christian period, being still in use in the time of Justinian. Malefactors who were executed in prison, like the Catilinarian conspirators, were usually strangled by the cornifici, or public executioner, under orders from the city commissioners of police, the tresviri capitales. We hear also, in Republican Rome, of wrongdoers being hurled from the Tarpeian rock on the Capitoline hill; and the same thing happened occasionally later, in order of the Senate; while the Twelve Tables prescribed this form of punishment for bearing false witness. The application of it in the age of the Empire seems to have been restricted to no particular offenses, or prisoners of war. But later it became one of the commonest forms of execution, and it lasted into the Christian period, being still in use in the time of Justinian. Malefactors who were executed in prison, like the Catilinarian conspirators, were usually strangled by the cornifici, or public executioner, under orders from the city commissioners of police, the tresviri capitales. 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Tacitus, and, as may be inferred from the affinity of A.S. *smeri,* 'water,' with Skt. *svarana* (cf. BLOOD-FEUD [Aryan], vol. ii, p. 734), it goes back to the primitive history of the Teutonic race. From that remote age come also the terms O.H.G. *birna,* O.Sax. *boila,* O.Norse *bol,* 'wine,' which represent it in the slavic as *vino,* 'better,' 'best,' and originally signified 'repair of damage.' Likewise Goth. *sulda,* skulda, 'debt,' 'debut,' O.H.G. *sculda,* skulda, A.S. *scylt,* which are all derived from Goth. *skulda,* skuldan, 'to be owing,' and metaphorically the obligation to pay, (wergold or fine), and then, figuratively, in general, whether before God or man (cf. art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii, p. 499). For the Goth. *dulga,* 'guilt,' etc., see below.

In the conception of crimes, however, blood-revenge and its remission by wergold and fine were treated as something more than the private affairs of the families concerned. The injured group, instead of exacting blood-revenge, might, as is implied, renounce it (Tacitus). This was decided under a term common to Greek and Sanskrit, viz. *skulda* (A.S. *sakde*), O.Norse *sak* to the public assembly. The compensation paid by this tribunal was regarded as in some sense a penalty, and the amount was shared between the parties (this relation) on the one hand, and the chief or (in republican States) the community on the other.

If we regard the intervention of the public assembly as involving no more than the attempt on the part of the tribe to bring about a peaceful settlement of such feuds as were especially dangerous to the common weal, then the germs of the procedure among the Teutons may be referred to a very remote age. In the main, however, the offences dealt with by the assembly (Goth. *ma;f*), A.S. mecol, O.H.G. *nahdal,* O.Norse *mal,* in its judicial capacity would be, alike in antiquity and in the time of Tacitus, those which are included under a term common to Greek and Sanskrit, viz. *skulda* (A.S. *sakde*), expressing an idea that must go back to the dawn of Aryan history (cf. art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii, p. 50).

Of the primitive Teutonic terms applied to crimes against the gods, of their affinities, and religious unions, the most important is the series O.H.G. *birna,* A.S. *birna,* 'crime,' which is the nearest equivalent to Gr. *Skulda* (A.S. *sakde*). *Birna* (O.H.G. *birena,* A.S. *brine,* O.H.G. *finea,* 'crime,' 'sin'), of these the first three are the first series (O.Sax. *sundor,* O.Norse *sundor,* etc., probably related to Lat. *sancus,* 'guilty'), and the second (Goth. *fransurfs* originally signifying 'being liable') is seconded by the primitive connotations of these words, we must, of course, guard against introducing Christian ideas; yet the fact that the Church selected precisely these terms to express the conception of sin, i.e. transgression against God, shows that even in that heathen antiquity they must have implied some notion of trespass against the gods. The third series (Goth. *faina*), has not as yet been satisfactorily explained. Some connect it with Lat. *per in periture,* *perperon,* Gr. *περιπατείων,* and interpret it as 'a deed that goes beyond,' i.e. beyond the crimes usually entailing blood-revenge; others connect it with Goth. *feorin,* 'snearer,' O.H.G. *feirn,* 'sneering,' and regard it as signifying an offence involving the element of secrecy. It is in any case certain, as appears also from the language of Tacitus, that in the early period drawn relatively fine distinctions within the general idea of wrongdoing. Among the various groups of words thus employed are the forms with the prefixes *mein-* (esp. O.Norse *meinir*), *Amur-* (O.H.G. *unamur*), O.H.G. *mein-eit* (Germ. *Meineid,* 'perjury!') and *missat-* (Goth. *missatdeis,* O.H.G. *missatell,* '误解'), implying respectively the attributes of deceitfulness and perversity in conduct. This deepened sense leads to the Teutonic dialects with the forms *sborna,* 'sense of shame,' and O.H.G. *Looster,* O.Norse *lotr,* 'error,' 'vice,' 'disgrace,' from *lotan,* 'to blame' (cf. also O.Irish *locht,* 'error'). The primitive word *lot* (Loth), which has been found in the series: O.Norse *ult,* M. Eng. and Scots *wite,* O.H.G. *wizzi,* it is related to Goth. *frowohtan,* 'avengé,' O.H.G. *wizzen,* 'punish,' and O.Norse *forwizza,* 'to wish,' and, as connected with the root *vid* (Lat. *viduo*), seems to be equivalent to the Lat. *animadverttere* in aliquem, 'to proceed against one.' A form peculiar to the Western Teutonic dialects is the O.H.G. *karvan,* i.e. something imposed as a disgrace (O.I.G. *karvan,* A.S. *karwan,* O.Slav. *svorou,* Russ. *soromu,* 'disgrace'). The O.H.G. *antion,* *anadorn,* 'punish,' 'blame' (cf. O.H.G. *auto,* 'indelible offence') is exclusively German, and its etymology is still etymologically obscure words M.I.G. *strofe,* 'punishment,' and *veime,* 'vehme.'

(2) Slavie. — Turning next to the Slavs, we note that, apart from the treaties of Prince Oleg (A.D. 912; Jireccek, no. 1) and Prince Igas (A.D. 945; Jireccek, no. 2) with the Greeks, the earliest Russian document of a legal character is the collection of ancient prescriptive laws, decrees of princes, and Christian Byzantine enactments, known as the *Tatulov* file of laws; which, as we are used to the terms of the modern and ancient Slavonic, and their etymology, as also the later and still etymologically obscure words M.I.G. *strofe,* 'punishment,' and *veime,* 'vehme.'

1 Germ. 12: 'Distinction poenarum ex delictio.' Diversitas supellicii illius respectu, tanquam sedet estendit oporteat, dum puniuntur, 'demonstrate.'
2 Nestor, Chron. xii., 'Their lives each with his kindred (родей), and upon his own territory, every one ruling over his own kindred, and his form of government was pure democracy, and the decision of all questions rested with the public assembly.'
3 Germ. 21: 'nee implacables durant [inimicitiae]; liitor enim eum easque [inimicitiae] invigilantur.'
4 Germ. 12: 'Licit apud concilium accurare quoque et dis- crimine capitis inter se.'
5 ib. 'equorum peccatorum numero convexit multatum; pars suae eligere regi et civitatibus, i.e. eum, qui vindicetur, vel proprias eum, excusavit.'
6 Germ. 21: 'periculeosiores sint inimicitiae justa libertatem.'
As among the Germans, the legal relation of the various clans to one another was based upon the laws of blood-revenge, of which the primitive Slavic designations are found in O.Slav. svant:, Russ. vstot, 'revenge,' and O. Russ. vretstv, Vel. svstot, sver, 'criminal.' The practice of blood-revenge persisted among the Slavic peoples until the dawn of historical tradition, and among the Southern Slavs, indeed, until recent times, has been known in BLOOD-FEUD (Slavonic), vol. ii. p. 783 ff. There is no doubt, however, that in very ancient times the blood-revenge could be adjusted by means of the wergeld, and this holds whether the Russ. term for wergeld, viz. vito, is of cognate origin with the above-mentioned Skr. svart, or A.S. svært, or serv. kve (Russ. krot, 'blood'), all of which mean both 'homicide' and the 'compensation' paid therefor.

In process of time blood-revenge was gradually abolished, and superseded by ransom (Russ. svatok), which on its older form sanctions blood-revenge only in cases of murder or serious bodily injury, and confines it within certain degrees of kinship, brings us to this stage, as in other cases it substitutes for blood-revenge, the thousandfold, 'money-payment for an offence,' viz. 'sale,' (of vengenance?). The prodicta either fell to the chief alone, or was shared between him and the injured party. That for which compensation was paid was usually called 'goods,' but it should be noted that obrok is the common term for slava, and is not limited to its modern sense of 'insult.' The classical tongues were then drawn upon for words to express the idea of compensation; thus we find O. Russ. eax, and A.S. eorh, for was borrowed from one of the Teutonic dialects. If the latter alternative is the right one, the original Slavic term must be looked for in such words as Czech knava (Russ. godov, 'head'), Pol. serce, or Serv. kve (Russ. krot, 'blood'), all of which mean both 'homicide' and the 'compensation' paid therefor.

The question arises, however, whether in the case of the Slavs, as in that of the Teutons, the conceptions of crime and punishment in general did not spring from the narrower ground of transgression against the community and its tutelary deities. Of Slavic terms for 'crime' there is only one, and that is not peculiar to the various Slavic dialects, viz. O.Slav. grčká, 'sin,' a word etymologically obscure (cf. Berneker, Slaw. etym. Worterb., Heidelberg, 1908, p. 350 ff.). It is certainly the case that this word, as used in a literary tradition under Christian influence from the first, is, in general, practically equivalent to 'sin against God,' precisely like the O.H.G. suntan and Goth. framwrits (see above); it always signifies a transgression in the ecclesiastical sense, while a civil offence is called studejand, which should be borne in mind, however, that, as grčká is found in all the Slavic dialects, it must go back to heathen times; and it is natural, therefore, to see in this word the Slavic (as in suntan or framwrits the Teutonic) equivalent of the Gr. ὑγεῖα = Skr. āgna. And since, as we saw above, all matters were referred for decision to the public assembly, and as there is also evidence for a primitive Slavic word signifying 'tribunal' (O.Slav. svrto), it will hardly be counted rash, the present writer thinks, to assume that here too, as among the Teutons (for the concilium, see above), and also the Macedonians,2 the trial assembly was a court which might deal inter alia with offences (grčká) against the community and its gods. That such infringements of the public interest are not mentioned in the Russkaja Pravda is explained by the fact that the latter is not, and does not purport to be, a code. The practice of blood-revenge for murder, for instance, was in the first-named group goes back to a primitive form karat, which is found, with or without derivatives, in many Aryan languages, and means 'army' and 'war' (O. Pers. karā, 'army,' Lith. kari, 'war' and 'army,' Ger. kriegen, O. Russ. karjai, Irish cairt, 'army'). If this series be correctly interpreted as originally denoting the national army drawn up for war (cf. Schrader, Sprach. u. Kultur v. O. Russ., 1901, p. 349 f.), one is tempted to take the further step of connecting karatī, 'punish,' with the judicial functions which we have conjecturally ascribed to the Slavic 'assembly' (cf. also adver = eŭma in Hesychius).

2. Particular crimes and punishments.—As it cannot be expected that the present article should deal with the entire criminal law of the ancient Teutons and Slavs, the writer proposes simply to emphasize the fact that this is a great lack of preparatory works in this field, particularly on the Slavic side, so that only a few of the more important points can be referred to. We saw above that the Teutonic and Slavic races from the very first drew a distinction between those offences which, as directed against the community, had to be punished by the community (i.e. the public assembly, and subsequently the State), and which, bearing merely on the individual, were found in all the various Teutonic tribes. Even at a very early period, however, we find that penal offences coming under the latter category, such as murder or flagrant theft, were really assigned to the former, so that it is impossible to make the distinction. The question of the principle of an exact classification of crimes. But we can hardly doubt that the species of crime referred to by Tacitus (Germ. 12), viz. cowardice in war and treason,2 was always clearly discriminated from that which embraced personal assault, ordinary homicide, robbery, etc. The original Teutonic word for 'cowardice' would seem to be found in the O.Norse orgr, A.S. earh, Lombard orga (a term of abuse), O.H.G. orga, 'cowardly'; while an old term for 'treason' appears in O.H.G. heriz̄, 'desertion from the army.' An O.Russ. term for a related crime was perevet (cf. Russ. oreti, 'answer,' O. Russ. vodo, 'public assembly,' O. Russ. vudati, 'speak'), 'secret treasonable communication of intelligence,' for which, of course, as for the crimes mentioned by Tacitus, the penalty was death (Pokrovskaja Grammar, Jirecek, ix. 14).

We shall, therefore, treat of the various offences, apart from those against honour, under the following:

1 For the Teutons, Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsetalter, p. 74 ff., is still the best guide; 2 Ignati et imbelles, proditores et transuges.```
CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Teutonic and Slavonic)

(1) Crimes against the person.—It is creditable to the Teutons that they discriminated between killing in general and murder, i.e. (according to the ancient point of view) the wilful and secret (or, in other words, taking by human life) crime denoted by the following series of words: Goth. maunri, O.Norse morð, O.H.G. mord, cognate with the Lat. mors, morītis, 'death,' though it should be observed that Ulflas (MK 17) uses the term in a sense more nearly corresponding with Barabas who is said to have committed a maunri (ψάρον) in the insurrection (τοῦ ψάρου), and, therefore, not in secret. The idea of secrecy receives its first distinct expression in the exclusively German forms compounds with mäh, viz. mählwerk, mählhärte, meuchelmaord; cf. O.Irish firmángthle, 'alsconditás.' A somewhat different shade of meaning appears in the Slav. razboj, which is the usual word for 'murder' in several of the Slavic languages, and which in Old Russian means both 'highway robbery' and 'ambuscade.' According to the Russkaja Pravda (Diyerec, iv. 4 and 5), one who kills another openly in a quarrel or at a feast may be punished only if he has assembled a band to commit razboj without any quarrel, the people shall not pay a fine for the razbojnikā, but shall surrender him absolutely, with wife and child, to the polokā and the razgrabliāri (for these punishments, see below). Of the above Teutonic terms for the infliction of bodily injury only the Frisian dolch need be referred to here. In the Lex Frisorum it is the most comprehensive term for wounding of all kinds. A familiar phrase is dath uus, 'you killed,' of which, e.g., in O.H.G. noch tolk noch töt. Dolch comes from Goth. dulgis, 'debt,' related to O.Slav. dílig, 'debt,' and O.Irish díliged, 'debt,' 'duty,' 'law,' 'right.' There was thus a term signifying 'debt,' 'obligation, commonly to all the Slavic languages of Northern Europe, and this acquired the special meaning of 'obligation to pay compensation for bodily injury,' and eventually that of the 'injury' itself. Beyond this, however, no rigid distinction was made between homicide and wounding, and O.Norse words like vig, är, and drep may signify either. In the Russkaja Pravda the only difference is that the fine for homicide is termed vira, while that for wounding is termed prolota (see above). 'Slander' and 'false accusation' are also crimes of this description: death shall he pay to [the prince] three grijvenicks, and to the person injured one grijvenick, and money for the doctor; but, if he does cause death, the vira must be paid' (Diyerec, iv. 24).

(2) Crimes against property.—Of all crimes the first to acquire a precise terminology was theft; this takes us back to primitive Aryan times—cf. Skr. stena- and tává-, 'thief,' O.Iran. tává-, 'thief,' O.Iran. táv- 'thief,' O.Slav. tati, O.Irish táid, 'thief,' and also Gr. κλέπτας, Lat. clandest, Goth. klifin, and Gr. χλεπή, Lat. fur. A form common to all the Teutonic dialects is represented by Goth. stilen, while all the Slavic languages, have also terms corresponding to O.Slav. kradó, krasči, 'steal.' The fact that in all these languages the words connoting secrecy are related to the terms for 'thief,' 'theft,' 'steal,' (e.g. Skr. stàyat, 'secret,' to stend-, O.Slav. toj to 'thief,' to kradó, etc.) clearly shows that it was the element of concealment which distinguished theft from open robbery (Goth. birmanůn, A.S. régfan, O.H.G. ræðfan; and O.Slav. grába, Russ. gráblin, Pol. gróbil, etc.). As robbery, however, was not in primitive times counted dishonourable (cf. Schrader, Reallex. s.v. 'Raub'), and as, even in historic times, theft was often punished more severely than robbery, it is obvious that the ethical ideas of later ages must have undergone a complete transformation. The horse-theft was punished with signal severity by Teutons and Slavs alike. It is recorded, e.g., in the Vitae Legiudri, i. 26 (ed. Brouer), that by order of Duke Witiza a horse-theft was put to death by stoning, while the above-quoted passage of the Tovkóvaja Gramota puts the horse-theft (koneyog tati) and the incendiary (začinjnikāh, cf. O.Fris. mortbrond) on a level with the persecutions (see above); they are all liable to the penalty of death. In the ancient Teutonic codes the general term 'theft' comprises a large number of subordinate species with distinct names, for which, so far as the present writer is aware, the Slavic codes furnish no equivalents. Thus we have O.H.G. wetlcrvnkp, A.S. wealcf, 'stripping of corpses,' and O.H.G. herirecta, etc., 'ravaging,' i.e. 'the perpetration of crime—especially robbery—in bands. Closely allied to this is Heinsmechung (O.Fris. heinsmeche; in Scots Law, hameswucken), 'douis invasion in aliquam familiam,' which, however, may be committed by a single person, and in that case resembles the modern Hausfriedensbruch (Lombard 'curtis ruptura,' quod absque inest obversa lex).

(3) Crimes against morality.—In marked contrast to the class of crimes against property, the class embracing what would now be reckoned crimes against morality has a singularly meagre vocabulary. This is best illustrated by the change that has taken place in men's ideas regarding sexual morality (see also art. CHASTITY [Teut. and Balto-Slav.]).—A change for which, alike in Teutonic and in Slavic countries, the way was opened by the Christian Church. It may be noted, first of all, to incest, the Teutonic family of languages, so far as the present writer knows, has but one specific term applicable to this crime, viz. A.S. sib-leger, 'lying (i.e. cohabitation) within the family,' which points unmistakably to family exogamy. In Anglo-Saxon glosses the Lat. incestum is rendered hærwæ, which, however, means caušsī simply—lawful or unlawful, or even adulterous. No O.Russ. term for 'incest' (modern Russ. juxtaćenij, 'blood-mixing') is known to the writer. Any such term would, of course, bear the stamp of the Church. We find, for instance, that the metropolitan Johannes II. imposed penance upon marriages between persons as far apart as the fourth degree of blood, but in no cases where there cause death, he shall pay to [the prince] three grijvenicks, and to the person injured one grijvenick, and money for the doctor; but, if he does cause death, the vira must be paid.'
is rendered by thiueverifin, theorifa, 'women-stealing'; cf. also O.H.G. nötzgoi, 'to abduct forcibly,' nötvanf, notvanf, A.S. nylægme, O.Norse nôthhtkt (not is lit. 'force'). In Old Norse also, nôthhtkt, 'violence,' is also used for the crime of rape.

It would be interesting to know the Teutonic name for the corpse infames, who, according to Tac. (Germ. 12), were punished by being submerg- ged in a barrel. It seems probable that the reference is to sodomy (O.Norse sorðinn, storðinn, 'mulicbria passus'). There seems to be no recorded evidence regarding the Slavic practice in this respect.

B. PARTICULAR PUNISHMENTS.—Here we distinguish (1) capital punishment and outlawry, (2) corporate punishment, and (3) abridgment of personal freedom.

(1) Capital punishment and outlawry (banishment).—The peculiarity of this penalty of death, as decreed by the public assembly, was known to the Teutons is shown by Tac. (Germ. 12).1 The commonest form of execution was hanging, and the root-word denoting this penalty is common to both the Teutonic and the Slavic languages. O.H.G. Gulg, O.Norse gylg, A.S. gealga (Eng. 'gallows'), O.H.G. gylgo. In ancient Russia likewise, according to the passage already cited from the Školskaia Granulda, the perpetrators of most serious crimes, whether by order of the public assembly (veče) or of the chief, and in this case also resort was usually had to the gallows (Sreznevskij, s.v. 'Povešenije, Pověšatíĕ').

According to the Teutons, 'outrawly' (banishment, exile), i.e. expulsion from the tribe, was in its effects practically equivalent to capital punishment. The most ancient word applied to a person so proscribed is retained in the Lex Salica as hæring, 'hanging, as, hoc est expulsus de codicem pugio' (cf. Goth. gwerorgan älataen, 'to condemn to death,' O.Norse vørg, 'wolf' and 'outraw', A.S. wæorg, 'the malefactor sentenced to the gallows or to outlawry,' etc.). He was altogether outside the law (O.Norse vægr, A.S. ñægr), and any one who met him might kill him, and was, indeed, bound to do so. This penalty was often combined with 'laying waste' (O.H.G. wœosten); i.e. the members of the judicial community assembled together to burn or ravage the criminal's house and property. The term 'outrawly,' supplemented thus by the idea of ravage, corresponds with the potoku or potoká and rozpravbienie of the oldest Russian legal documents. The latter word means 'striking,' 'hitting,' which should possibly be translated 'expulsion,' 'banishment,' (Russ. tociti, lit. 'to cause to flow, tekâ, 'flow'). The penalty affected not only the criminal, but his wife and children also, and was inflicted for murder with robbery, horse-stealing, arson (see above, p. 309), and Sreznevskij, s.v. 'Potoku'), and similar grave crimes.

For the special objects of this article it is a question of great importance whether the execution of criminals among the Teutons was— as the foregoing observations regarding their conceptions of crime suggest—a religious ceremony, i.e. whether at bottom it was designed to operate like a sacrifice in appeasing the wrath of the gods. The affirmative has the support of such distinguished writers on the history of law as H. Brümer (Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte, i.), R. Schröder (Lehrb. d. deutschen Rechtsgeschichte), though E. Mokg (ASGO xxviii. Leipzig, 1890) 17 has recently called in question the practice of hanging among the Teutons. In any case there is the evidence of a passage in the Vita Wulfharii to show that among the Frisians executions were performed at the festivals of the gods (cf. Müllen- hoff, Deutsche Altertumskunde, Berlin, 1870-1890, ii. 244). With regard to this practice the present writer has no evidence to offer.

(2) Corporal punishment.—Punishments involving mutilation of the body—cutting off the nose or ears, severing the hands or feet, blinding the eyes, or even severe floggings—could not possibly be regarded as punishment solely preliminary to the death penalty, were in all likelihood introduced at a relatively late period. In primitive times, among Slavs and Teutons alike, even the infliction of bodily injury was generally made by private revenge, and the practice survived till the time of the Russkaja Prawda (cf. Jireck, iii. 2: 'if he has been beaten till blood comes or till he is blue, it is not necessary for him—this man —to seek an eye-witness. If he cannot avenge himself ([mistiti], he shall receive for the crime [za obidu]; see above) three gryvniw, but the doctor [receives] the wages'). Such vengeance would, of course, be carried out according to the principles of the lex talionis, and cannot, therefore, be regarded as punishment in the technical sense. In course of time private revenge for wounding was superseded, both among the Teutons and among the Slavs, and partly in consequence of their mutual relations, by the infliction of penalties prescribed by public authority. A more difficult question to decide is when and how corporal punishment found its way into the ancient codes. On the one hand, such penalties were probably first of all inflicted upon slaves and serfs, who, of course, could pay the regular fine. The Lex Frisiorum, for instance, recognizes corporal punishment only in two cases, viz. (a) as merely antecedent to the penalty of death, for those who had been taken in the act of robbing a temple (cutting off the ears and castration), and (b) as meted out to a delinquent serf whose master refused to pay the fine. Similarly the Russkaja Prawda (Jireck, iii. 16): 'if a serf (cholopî) strikes a free man, but takes refuge in the house, and his master refuses to give him up, then let [another] serf be taken, and the master shall pay twelve gryvniw for him. But if afterwards the man who was struck finds him, he shall beat him' (dix bijatt ego). So far as the present writer knows, this is the only example in the criminal codes of Russia of the infliction of a corporal penalty. On the other hand, the credit of introducing corporal punishment must be assigned to the clergy, as is proved with special clearness in regard to Russia. In point of fact, the clergy and the church could give what the state could not—new ideas, such as, e.g., that it amends the evil will, deters others, and the like. For the attainment of these ends they believed—after the example of the Byzantine legislation, which had elaborated this system with great fullness—that such bodily penalties as blinding, severance of hands, etc. (many of them on the Mosaic principle of 'an eye for an eye'), and floggings formed the appropriate means. According to Jaroslav's Ustâr, —the ecclesiastical counterpart of the Russkaja Prawda,—a sorcerer, e.g., must be punished (kazniti) after conviction, and she must further pay a fine (penija) of six grynviw to the metropolitan. The nature of the kazniti appears from a warrant of the Russian metropolitan Johannes (1089-89), according to which the officers shall 'smartly chastise' (jaro kazniti), i.e. beat her, 'but

1 Mos eva... ut corpora hominum damnatorum in morum sollemnis decorum... sappiscit diversis literar modis; quosdam valorisque sunt personae sacrantur, alios patribus appendunt, alios laevis acerbissimis vitam extendunt, proterae et alios marinarum sive aquarum floribus submersantur.'

not to death, nor cut off her limbs.' It is a well-known fact that under the power of the clergy, the Church, and the State, they would do, as well as in the illegality of those who, out of aim and effect, had no repressive influence on crime, the numbers of those in penal servitude at that time being more than three times as great as in 1910. No real and steady fall in crime took place till in 1879 the Summary Jurisdiction Act put an end to these long sentences. Almost simultaneously a uniform system of prison administration and treatment was inaugurated, and all local prisons were handed over to the State. The coincident fall in crime, which began then, and has steadily gone on since, may fairly be ascribed to a large extent, to these two reforms, which may be said to combine mitigation of penalties with uniformity and certainty of application. From time to time, however, the treatment of offenders oscillated between extreme severity and extreme laxity; but, when both these principles were rendered in the same way—denoting instability of administration—the very worst results ensued. About the year 1870, as punishments were more freely passed and not inflicted, the convict population of Great Britain, with its population of 15 millions, consisted of no fewer than 50,000 persons, some in hulks and prisons at home, others in penal settlements abroad. The necessity of punishment, which was enormous, was surpassed only by the futility of the system of punishment. Subsequently the Penal Servitude Act of 1853, and the refusal on the part of our Colonies to receive convicts, put an end to the system of convict transportation. The number of convicts meanwhile declined, till in 1862 it was 17,000; and in 1878, when the local prisons were handed over to the State, it amounted only to 10,000. At present (1910) the number is about 9,000.

Receding severity in punishment occurred now and then, as, for instance, when flogging was freely resorted to in order to put down garrotting; but on the whole the tendency of our criminal law, since the Prison Act of 1865 at all events, has been in the direction of leniency in prison treatment; and the results have been satisfactory. To a large extent this spirit of leniency may be regarded as in itself a reflection of the improvement in the character and conduct of our people, which, again, depends largely on the general advance in civilization, together with the spread of education, intelligence, temperance, and other influences designed to elevate the penal code. To 1848 (the year of the primitive Russian law); Encyclopaedia Dictionary of Old Russian; St. Petersburg, 1882: V. Kinevskii, Course of Russian Penal Code, 1870; V. Kinevskii, History of Russian Law (Russian); O. Schrader, Die deutsche und russische Recht., 1880; V. N. Kinevskii, Geschichte der Rechtsgeschichte der Russischen (containing a treatise by M. von Puschkin).—The chronological development of the general conceptions of crime and punishment in ancient Russian law; and one by V. N. Kinevskii on the criminal law of the peninsulary, with an amble history of English penal law. —The chronology of the criminal law of both sexes, and of all ages and varieties, and the total neglect of the authorities to bring any religious or moral influences to bear upon the unhappy inmates, produced an inevitable crop of profligacy, moral and physical corruption, widespread disease, and death. When at last she woke up, and found that proper sanitary buildings and separation of prisoners were essential to reform, and when Pentonville Prison was built in 1842, an impetus was at once given to same administration. Since then England has been amongst the foremost of
the nations in the search for some equitable, moral, and scientific scheme of prison treatment calculated to reconcile the rights of society with the rehabilitation of the criminal so as to enable him to return to a law-abiding life. It is, however, to the United States that we must look for the progressiveness of experiments in this direction. No methods of reform and no social experiments appear too costly or troublesome to the indefatigable philanthropists of America who take up this subject, if only they are reasonably likely to reclaim criminals. Starting with the root-idea, which may be over-sanguine, that no one is absolutely irreclaimable, they have established at Elmira, and other prisons, or 'State Reformatories,' a system based on the indeterminate sentence, combined with conditional liberation on parole when the prisoner gives satisfactory evidence of reform. A somewhat strict discipline, with drill of a military character; instruction in skilled industries; moral, religious, and secular education, united with various kinds of amusement, are expected to alter character, and turn the subjects into good citizens. Further, every one is enabled to profit pneumatically by his own work, and is expected to demonstrate his fitness for discharging the homes in which he is confined, but he must first find employment. Probation officers supervise and help those on parole, and misconduct leads to forfeiture of licence.

From this sketch of the system, which is a type of American prison reform, it can be seen that Elmira is practically a reformatory for adults, who are received up to the age of thirty. All are known as 'inmates,' not prisoners, though they are under sentences of from one to a possible twenty years. Considerable success is claimed for the Elmira system, but statistics are not convincing as to the number of reclaimed cases, originally alleged to be 80 per cent. According to a report of the New York Prison Association, which recently analyzed the cases on parole from Elmira, 'probably not over 70 per cent of men paroled can be classed as reformed,' while some other authorities put the percentage at 50. 'Society is best protected,' they say, 'by the reform of the criminal.' One point emerges, however—the actuality of the incorrigible, of whose too frequent appearance at Elmira they make complaint. The tracing and following up of the reclaimed is difficult in so vast a country, with unlimited facility for travel.

Generally speaking, in the United States a unit of the best and most progressive prisons, it has also many of the worst in Christendom. Race prejudice against the negro, who is held to be either irreclaimable or not worth reclaiming; Labour Laws which, in many of the States, either prohibit altogether or restrict the sale of prison-made goods, and so keep prisoners idle, or employed in unproductive work; constant changes of the wardens or governors as political parties come and go; public apathy and parsimony in regard to prisoners; and the general desire to make prisons pay their way—these are the conditions which make the state of most of the county and city gaols fall very far short of modern ideals. The lamented Howard Association, Mr. Edward Grubb, made a tour of some of these prisons in 1904, and found them very unsatisfactory, and in startling contrast to the State Prisons and Reformatory. He says:

These institutions (county and city gaols), designed for the mere keeping of prisoners awaiting trial, or for the serving of short sentences by misdemeanants, are, with little exception, far from satisfactory, even in the Northern States. The best I saw was at Baltimore, Pennsylvania, and at Cleveland, Ohio, to say nothing of the South, the gaols were, for the most part, far from clean, and the prisoners were shut up together, with no chance to reform. Neither had they no occupation (as Mansfield they were engaged in making bricks) nor opportunity to corrupt each other. Either they had no occupation (at Mansfield they were engaged in making bricks) or opportunity to corrupt each other. They were employed in the House of Corrections, where they were working in a very half-hearted manner.' He describes the state of the convict camps as seeming with abuses—indiscriminate association, negro women 'constantly having babies,' terrible cruelties and even murders, and bad encouragement and conditions (see the pamphlet published by the Howard Association).

Even in the better class prisons, many of the privileges enjoyed in Europe are curtailed in order to secure a freedom which would probably be unsuitable for the class of habitual. Buying and selling, the free use of tobacco for smoking and chewing, card-playing, cinematograph exhibitions of prize-fights, and so on, are too advanced expedients for moral improvement to appeal to British sentiment.

Like everything else in the United States, crime is on an immense scale. A country so huge in itself, containing such a varied population, black and white, and receiving every year hosts of immigrants from everywhere, is, in the nature of things, a hunting-ground for criminals. Further, it has almost as many penal systems as it has States, so that it is difficult to estimate the general effect on crime of any special penal measure. In practice it is by no means universally adopted. The magnificent modern prison built by France at Fresnes has been designed for separation, but there is considerable scope for association also, in order to prevent overcrowding. It may be said that the principle of cellular confinement on the separate system, which was established by law in England in 1865, finds favour with all European nations, as it does with all British Colonies, and with progressive Japan; but in practice it is by no means universally adopted.
applied by each country. For purposes of comparison with our own results it has been found impossible to arrive at any definite or valuable conclusions. If murders only were reckoned as a test of the amount of crime, Great Britain would certainly rank high; but this would give a false idea of the temper of the population, for murder is not a crime which prevails. Offences against the person are much more common in some countries than in others, while offences against property form the bulk (as in our own country) of the crime in others. There is, however, another division which can be drawn from the general survey. Recidivism is rampant everywhere. In France it has been specially prevalent, and the recrudescence of crime, particularly amongst the Apaches, or bozilgan class of youths, who commit flagitious and even more flagitious crimes, is, of sinister omen, and has already led to a revival of capital punishment. Whether or not these phenomena are to be regarded as only temporary manifestations of a prevailing state of general social unrest, of which we shall presently speak, in the strike-riots in France, Germany, and Wales, it is certain that a heavy responsibility rests on those who preach anarchy. It is well they should remember that crime is not, like disease, contagious, and that it cannot be said that criminology is yet by any means to be reckoned amongst the exact sciences. Human nature with its faults and foibles may be the same all the world over, but the different phases of criminality, the different methods, the different idioms and temperaments which characterize various races, all tend to modify our pre-conceived ideas as to the possibility of repressing crime, as a general evil affecting the world at large, by any remedy, or by any system of remedies designed as a preventive, reformatory, or punitive in intention, which can be held to be of universal application. It is well to understand that there is no royal road to the solution of complicated problems of this kind. We can only hope to avoid the creation of more or less disparaging comparisons between our own methods and those of our neighbours in matters of social reform. Introspection of this kind is undoubtedly a national characteristic that is highly advantageous, tending, as it does, to check complacency and stimulate progress; but we must not lose sight of the fact that many features of the judicial procedure and the penal systems in force amongst Continental nations are utterly foreign to our ideals, and ill-adapted to our use. The well-known practice, for instance, of 'interrogating' accused persons, which in our eyes, amounts to heckling of a particularly cruel and vindictive type, is to foreign eyes the main sine qua non of our criminal law, which holds every man innocent until his guilt is proved, that we could not, if we would, fit so incongruous a practice into our scheme of things. In the same way, the lifelike interest that we take in the lives of our criminals, with some Continental nations, by the side of which our brief terms of mitigated separate confinement seem unheroic and contemptible, are so repugnant to our national sentiments of justice and humanity that we decline even to look at them.

It has been said that every country has the government it deserves. The dictum applies with equal cogency to its laws, to its administrative machinery, and to the penal and disciplinary measures which it deems necessary for the guidance and control of its citizens. We may assume, in fact, that every country knows best the main lines on which its subjects can be kept in order; and it will be found that national barometers of crime, punishment, and national temperaments are factors which have much more to do with the shaping of penal systems and codes of moral discipline for peoples than the degree of civilization to which these peoples have attained. We find, accordingly, that the civilized countries generally differ very widely from one another in the matter of criminal law administration, that the range of variation is almost as great as that which distinguishes civilized from savagery in its methods of control —all due weight being given, on the other hand, to the consideration that indigenous plants do not always thrive in foreign soil.

It would appear, then, that very little is to be gained by comparing or contrasting one penal system with another when they are not really parallel, and much less by trying to glorify one at the expense of another. We may feel convinced that our own system, which has been evolved from our experience, is so well adapted to our circumstances that it cannot be said to approach rashness, is fairly adapted to our present-day requirements; but it is very doubtful whether it would meet the wants of different states of society in other countries, or even in our own under the social conditions that prevailed half a century ago. The criminals of that period would undoubtedly have been attracted, rather than repelled, by the comparative amenities of life in a modern prison. Hosts of them would have taken a long vacation without incurring a penalty, or being unable to enjoy it, while taking a retreat, seeking compensation, in a restoration of their health and energies, for any inconvenience or boredom they might have had to put up with while undergoing moral repairs. It must seem strange to those who are unfamiliar with our British moods of self-deprecation and pessimism that the very confident theorists who are never tired of reminding us that we are on an entirely wrong track, and that our system is a farce, should practically all be found in our own camps, the ex-criminals take by no means so disparaging a view. Recognizing, as they do, the enormous reduction that has taken place in recent years in our number of criminals, they look somewhat fixedly with a rhetorical explanation, which is frequently resorted to in similar cases, that improvement has come 'in spite of the system'; they regard the system, as a matter of fact, with a much more favouring eye.

Further, it is a fact that in very large measure the after due allowance has been made for the effects of family tradition, our progressive and up-to-late younger brothers in Australia, who are neither visionaries nor dreamers of dreams, follow very closely our procedures and practice. The fashionable outcry against modern penal treatment is really traceable to the fluent pens and forensic accomplishments of ex-criminals, who by their
ex parte allegations seem to have captured the greater part of the press and a considerable portion of the general public.

In *Crime and Criminals* (1910) the present writer made an effort to stem the tide of delusion and misrepresentation on the subject, but it still advances. The basis of this pessimistic outcry is complete fallacy. Prison treatment, we are told, is a failure because 'it neither deters nor reforms the habitual criminal.' But all the authorities are agreed that the distinguishing characteristic of the habitual criminal is that he actually prefers his vocation to the humdrum alternative of a steady and active working life. The writer's own intimate and first-hand acquaintance with the living evidence enables him emphatically to confirm this doctrine. We are warned over the hideous criminal's vicious propensities are innate or acquired, it is certain that his habits, when he reaches maturity as we find him in prison, are practically ineradicable. The spirit of the road seems to have already developed into fixed habits, so that he is, to all intents and purposes, a hopeless incorrigible. Here lies the difficulty. No system yet invented can fairly be expected to alter a person of this type. To carry out this theory appears to be a feat analogous, both in sound and sense, to squaring the circle. We are not, however, without some means for dealing with him. If methods of cure are not feasible, prevention and restraint will do as well to use as treatment for the incipient habitual, and preventive detention for the veteran, typify these two modern prison expedients respectively. For the present, however, the writer is more concerned to point out the fallacious reasoning on which the theory of failure is based. No notice whatever is taken of the important fact that the number of habitual criminals at present in business has been brought within such manageable figures that it may quite reasonably be said that we have them in a ring fence. The same set pass in and out of prison with apparently unvarying regularity, and, for the most part, for the same kinds of offences. Specialisation in crime, indeed, has become so marked in our time that the police authorities of Scotland Yard claim that they can, in most instances, tell, from the manner in which a clever burglary or robbery has been planned, the name of the individual who committed it. We might fail to expect that the reduction of a standing convict population of 10,000 persons in 1880 to 3000 persons in 1910 would be considered a respectable achievement under any system, and would give rise to some doubt, if not disbelief, in the minds of thoughtful and intelligent people, as to the truth of the failure theory. The current of general opinion, however, if we are to judge from the press, sets in quite the opposite direction; and we are led to believe that we are going from bad to worse. The apparently habitual and incorrigible, although they decrease steadily enough in numbers, decline to amend their ways, or to vanish en masse into the obscurity of some honest calling. It is well we should cherish no illusions on this subject. Our repressive measures stand in constant need of tightening up for this intractable class of criminal, and our reformatory methods in like manner need constant widening in scope, if we are to arrive at better results; but no conceivable combination of them will ever succeed in totally eliminating those obnoxious persons from the community. In regard to the system itself, it is not claimed that the mere absence of failure denotes the presence of perfection. It is quite conceivable, and perhaps even probable, that not more good might be accomplished in other countries by a different set of principles and machinery; but it is claimed that our own system has produced fair practical results, and that it is better suited to our national requirements than any exotic system with which we are acquainted.

4. Theories of punishment.—But, if public opinion is unsound in regard to the treatment of the criminal, the classic and purely theoretical dichotomy to the one side of the prison or on the other side of the fence is being put by our authors in its stead the fantastic substitute of a collective guilt. Prison, as comprising the whole body politic, is a pernicious feature of our time. Surely a more demoralizing doctrine, destitute alike of the sanction of religion, morality, law, and common sense, has never been invented. The prolific crime that our system has given rise to is the result of throwing together a motley bag of the lowest and most degenerate and self-respecting people. Those who aspire to regenerate society by this egregious piece of social philosophy are hugging a very vain delusion. It abolishes at a stroke the exercise of free will, which is the foundation on which even the very thing it is outside the realm of logic. If any sane individual in the community be permitted, even in the name of philosophy, to divest himself of his social and moral responsibility by the simple process of being put in prison, he is seemingly open to any, or all of the other individuals of whom society is composed to claim a similar privilege. A premium is thereby placed on evil-doing, and every man is tempted to become a law unto himself. The practical result is a sort of self-administered, partial relaxation of our moral code would undoubtedly be that the maintenance of social order would be rendered difficult, if not impossible; we should find ourselves retracing our steps in the direction of barbarism; and, incidentally, we should find the world a distinctly unpleasant place to live in.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the theory of personal responsibility is to be applied ruthlessly to those who are, at present, delinquents and the incapacitated, but incapable of fully appreciating the significance of their offences, and who are, to this extent, not answerable for social conduct. It should be the aim of any humane system to apply disciplinary methods very sparingly, if at all, to those unhappy class, who at present amount to 3 or 4 per cent of our prison population. Hitherto these hapless offenders—"weak-minded, but not insane," in the language of the Courts—have been a source of much anxiety to the authorities, and few, if any, have had to deal with them, as well as to prison authorities who are constantly receiving them on short and useless sentences. In prison they have been treated under a very modified form of discipline, and efforts have been made to improve their conduct and condition. Medical protection has shielded them from actual physical detriment, but the atmosphere of a penal institution is by no means conducive to their moral improvement, nor is it one in which they would be compelled to live even for short periods. The Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded has fully recognized this weak spot, and legislation is now urgently needed to carry out their recommendations.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the principle of vicarious responsibility, if applied in practice, would not tend to the repression of crime. Nevertheless, it is vehemently insisted on at street corners, in the pulpit, and in the press, while the dramatic possibilities of it are exploited in sensational drama. Many good and benevolently-minded people seem to get periodically conscience-stricken on behalf of the criminal as a victim of circumstances; but, to mention only one of the peculiarities the burden of their own small vices, but also, in their emotional fervour, to take up his larger ones,
and condone his crimes, however heinous. They almost apologize to him for his existence as being a victim of heredity, and palliate his misdeeds on the grounds of his bringing up, so that every vulgar fiction can be in truth he is implicitly a victim of ill-nature.

Criminals are consequently quite ready to adopt the extenuations and excuses which are urged in their behalf, not only by their legal advocates, but also by theorists in criminology. In the world's recollection, forty to thirty years ago, 'poverty' and 'drink' were the two main causes given by prisoners for their downfall; but now these pleas have gone out of fashion, in favour of unemployment, parental neglect, slim-life, and liberty. Much more light-hearted are the others who have snapped the conditions, and he is not generally gifted with the staying or enterprise characteristics of the old hand. It is much more probable that the genesis and development of the latter type are traceable to the encourangling characteristics of his class. In his spells of freedom the race-conceve is the special scene of his recreation. Familiarity with risks breeds contempt, and he gambles with liberty much more light-heartedly than others do with stocks and shares. But the curse of social evils which are so wide-spread is of necessity a very slow process. Their total extinction, if such a thing were possible, would unquestionably tend to the prevention of much crime and human suffering; but there would still be left a substantial residue of crime unconnected with these social evils, and society would be compelled to protect itself from this by the infliction of some kind of punishment. Even the Social Ideal of a community of the future, when it gets into working order, this problem is not unlikely to crop up, and compel attention; but meantime what are we to do with the persistent offender?

Another argument which is promulgated by the apologists of the criminal, and which bears on the ethics of punishment, has a somewhat captivating effect on short-sighted reformers. There is, we are told, something immoral, or unfair, or at least inconsistent in, inflicting punishment on a guilty person in order to deter others from crime. Except on the grounds that the guilty person is punished with excessive severity, or beyond his deserts, this specious theory cannot be sustained. If we lay this part of the question as is often done for the purposes of the argument, the immoral and unjustifiable nature of the proceeding is clear enough. Otherwise the practice is both rational and equitable. The actual criminal suffers no wrong, the strictly non-criminal person is totally unaffected, while the person with dormant criminal propensities, who is tottering on the verge of criminality, is provided with a strong and valuable incentive to virtue. 'Encouraging the others' cannot be considered an immoral expedient in dealing with crime. The deterrent principle, which has always been recognized by law, is in reality a double-edged weapon of the highest value. Its effect on the actual offender may be, and often is, absolutely negative; but on others its force is incalculable, and invariably many times greater and more far-reaching than on the individual. This fact is too often ignored by those who criticize and under-value the deterrent value of measures and systems which do not absolutely disclose superficially the indirect effects which they really produce. Statistics show clearly enough that our penal system deter occasional and first offenders, though it often fails the deterrent effect on habituals. Present-day conditions of imprisonment are not real punishment to this latter class at all, but merely a form of restraint which removes them from temptation for the time being. The most recent device, the before, which has been adopted for dealing with them in the Prevention of Crime Act of 1908—that is to say, preventive detention for long periods—is really a measure of inhibition and restraint, adopted primarily in the interests that will be at the disposal of the authorities for effecting moral improvement in the prisoners themselves is also expected to yield more encouraging results.

In regard to the principle of deterrence, the only practical one by which the deterrent effect can be put, until he renders himself more amenable to reformatory influence, would appear to be to make him a warning to other people for whom prison has more terrors. This, after all, is a trilling reparation for him to make to a community on which he persistently preys for a living, whether he be in or out of prison.

But these various doctrines which tend to the extenuation, or, it might be said not unfairly, to the justification of the criminal, are overwhelmed by the much wider and more comprehensive one that we have no right to punish, and no moral justification for punishing, our fellow-creatures at all. Count Tolstoi was the leading exponent in recent years of this impossible creed, and he gained many disciples, who have been attracted, apparently, by the magnetism of his genius. In his novel Resurrection he makes his hero Nihilof, who is really a replica of himself and his theories, ask the question, 'By what right do some people punish others? Why, and by what right, do some people lock up, torment, exile, flog, and kill others, while they are themselves just like those whom the law calls criminal? It is obvious to plain people that the latter part of this question embodies the underlying fallacy of the whole theory. The greater part of society is law-abiding; or at all events non-criminal in conduct; but another actual member is permitted to flog, or kill another individual member with impunity, why should society collectively be denied the same right? Every State or community has an inherent moral right to make laws and regulations for the maintenance of social order. If social laws are merely optional in character, and no penalties are attached to their violation, they cease to have any force outside Utopia, so that every man's hand is against his neighbour. The mind of this gifted philosopher, when he attempts to reflect the state of chaos and anarchy to which his teaching led him, so that at the last he was utterly weary of the world and its problems. Theories denying the right of society to punish, which have no foundation whatever in the Moral Law (on which the regulations of all civilized States ultimately rest), have no more than an academic interest for practical rulers. However suitable they may be for the land of dreams in which Tolstoi's spirit seemed to dwell, they are quite unfit for a practical world, in which a mere touch of the actual suffices to shatter them to pieces.

It may be regarded, then, as axiomatic that punishment in some form is essential for the cor-
rection of persons who infict wrong on society; that the right to punish is in no sense immoral; and that every system of correction should have in it a penal element. It is true that these principles are strenuously denied by theorists who hold that prison treatment should be purely reformatory; but no one pretends to have devised a working scheme for carrying out this beneficent intention with full-grown criminals. All prison treatment must be, in the nature of things, to some extent penal, since it deprives persons of their liberty. Even Emira imposes this restraint. To a large number of criminals, moreover, deprivation of liberty is itself the greatest punishment. It cannot be contemplated that the ideal prison is to abolish these restrictions on liberty under any coming régime. It is already on record that a prison without work existed some years ago under a local authority, and the results were found to be neither reformatory nor determinate. It came to be known as a 'Reading-Reading Gaol,' and one prisoner explained his return to it by saying he had come back to finish his time. Any vague idea is ready to assume in this connexion that a kind of "Free-Library" treatment, combined with musical entertainments, will alter the nature and habits of even hardened criminals; but those who live outside do not know the sort of life that is brought into the prison and that spiritual influences are needed for those who persistently covet and desire other men's goods. At the present time it is the fashion to decry, or to ignore, much of the silent work of prison chaplains. This work is very much under the most disheartening of conditions, especially amongst the habituals. The writer knows, however, that prisoners themselves, who show any wish to do better, get an enormous amount of encouragement, guidance, and help. It is not in the punishment, but in the exercise of the correctional powers of the prison, that the future of prison work lies; and that the appreciation of the unadvertised work of his department much more highly than do the general public, or those who write on prison reforms.

§ Penalties a Necessity.—Although reformatory treatment is an essential element of every good prison system, it is nevertheless lacking in two important respects. It is applicable in practice to the prisoners with very short sentences, who constitute the majority of the whole prison population, and it embodies none of that deterrent principle which is necessary not only for the repression, but also for the prevention, of crime. It is obvious, therefore, that pains and penalties of some kind must be resorted to in order to check or restrain the habits of crime; and it is very important that these penalties should bear some proper and adequate relation to the nature of the offence, the character of the offender, and the general sense of public justice as between injurer and injuree. No longer is it necessary to brand, or mutilate, or inflict permanent injury on those whom it is our interest to cure. Society has, however, the right to seek redress (not revenge) at the hands of wrongdoers, and it is compelled to take this course if it would prevent the substitution of private vengeance for public justice. Now, the only medium through which this redress can be exacted at present is the person or the person of the offender, so that in the last resort we are driven either to the infliction of capital punishment or to some form of imprisonment. The offender, in fact, is confronted with the footpad's usual alternative, 'Your money or your life,' or at least a part of it. If any one could invent a less objectionable form of punishment which would restrain the criminal, and at the same time reform him, and deter him and others from the committing of crime, he would merit public gratitude, and lay our penal code less open to even a suspicion of inhumanity. But, as this is merely a visionary possibility, we can only look meantime for such a mitigation of the conditions under which these two measures are ordered, or for carriers of the minds of those who hold that prison punishment is cruel and degrading, humane and just. Much has already been done in this direction. Capital punishment is now practically reserved for the worst cases of wilful murder, though it is still on the code for a few other offences, such as treason, setting fire to public arsenals, etc.

6. Capital punishment.—Without entering into the merits or demerits of capital punishment, we shall note those respects with the subject which tend to justify us in the use of it. A return laid before the House of Commons in 1907 shows that most of the chief European States, and most of the States in America, retain the death penalty in their codes, though many of them use it sparingly. Baron Garofalo, the President of the Appeal Court at Naples, in his book on Criminology (see Lit. at end of art.) tells us that in Italy, where, since 1878, there have been no executions except in cases under military law, homicides average 2,814 a year, compared with about 300 in England. He notes similar results in Belgium and Prussia, where few executions take place. In Switzerland, when the death penalty was abolished, murders increased; but it was re-introduced in 1875 per cent. Higher moral standards have, since its re-introduction, much more common. In America, Mr. Hugh C. Weir tells us (in The World To-Day, in regard to a recent census of American crime) that 'in only 1-5 per cent of our homicides do we secure a conviction.' Further, he states that Chicago averages 115 murders a year. London, which has four times the population of Chicago, has only 20. It is notorious that the death penalty is seldom carried out in the United States by law, though the convicting of the death penalty is carried out. In 1868, abolition has been discussed eight times in the House of Commons, and negatived on each occasion by large majorities. Several committees and commissions have decided in the same sense. The opinion of the Scottish Judges at one of the inquiries was:

"It would not be for the interests of humanity that the well-conducted and useful members of the community should be more exposed to deprivation of life by murder in order that the lives of the murderers may be saved."

A French Professor of Law put the same idea bluntly, when he said that if abolition were sanctioned it should be announced that 'benevolently the law in France will guarantee the lives of none but murderers.' An incidental justification of the death penalty would seem to be that, under it, the newspaper hero of a sensational crime passes quickly into oblivion; whereas, if he is left in prison, his career furnishes endless opportunities for the dissemination of unauthentic, unwholesome and false gossip in the press, which makes a direct appeal to the perverse imitative faculty of other criminals. Lastly, it is the opinion of Laennec, and many other observers, that the English statistics of crime are probably the most satisfactory in Europe.

With a view to securing a fair trial, and to preventing mistakes in capital cases, both law and custom in England provide elaborate safeguards. An accused person, after having the charge against
him investigated successively by coroner, magistrate, and Grand Jury, is tried by Judge and Jury, when he has the option of giving evidence in his own behalf. After conviction he can take his case to the Court of Criminal Appeal. If unsuccessful there, he can lay before the Home Secretary, either in petition or through his legal advisers, and it is understood that may not have been forthcoming at his trial. Every scrap of evidence in his favour is most carefully examined, and, if there is the slightest suspicion of any mental deficiency, medical experts in criminal cases, report to the Secretary of State before a final decision is made to carry out the sentence of the law.

**7. Penal servitude.—**Criminal offenders, other than those who pay the penalty of death, are sentenced in this country either to 'penal servitude,' which is mainly served in convict prisons, the sentences ranging from three years to life; or to 'imprisonment,' which is carried out in local prisons only, the sentences ranging from three days to two years. Death sentences are carried out at local prisons. Convicts—that is to say, those sentenced to penal servitude—generally undergo the first part of their sentences in local prisons in Scotland, and the remainder is served in a convict prison, where they work in association, for the most part out of doors, though some work in shops. The length of the period of separation varies at present from three months to one, according to the nature of the case of the convict. This part of the sentence is most criticized by reformers, as being inhumane and likely to lead to mental troubles, moral introversion, irritation, and misconduct. As a matter of fact, results do not bear out this a priori reasoning, for no treatment so severe as is commonly supposed. The Stage is responsible for a good deal of misconception on the subject. Although 'separate' confinement is, for controversial purposes, called 'solitary,' the two are quite different. Solitary, in the strict sense, is a cell; it is called legally, 'close confinement,' is never resorted to except as a punishment for offences committed in prison, and it is ordered solely by the Governor or superior authority. Under separate confinement a man works in his cell for the greater part of the day, but he gets many reliefs. He is allowed at least one hour's exercise daily, attendance at one chapel service on week days, and generally two on Sundays; he is also allowed for various sanitary purposes, such as shaving, and he is frequently visited during the day by officials—governor, chief warder, officers serving him with work, meals, etc. Further, he is under careful medical supervision, with a view to preventing mental or physical injury. The period of separate confinement, nevertheless, is one of the vexed questions of prison treatment at present. Its effect is penal, in so far as the average convict dislikes it; on the other hand, it does not seem to be without advantages in the direction of reformation of character for those who wish to profit by them. Introspection is not necessarily all morbid, and a period of seclusion gives time for reflection and for a kind of self-examination; the prisoner may find opportunities to the chaplain for influencing the mind of the prisoner, away from the distractions of association with fellow-prisoners who too often urge him in wrong directions.

When this part of his sentence is over, a convict is drafted to a convict prison, where he works on the land—at reclaiming, tillimg, gardening, quarrying, etc.; or at building, with allied industries; or in shops—at tailoring, shoemaking, carpentering, printing, book-binding, moulding, fitting or other useful employments. He sleeps and takes his meals in a separate cell, which is well warmed, lighted, and ventilated. He is warmly clad, and has a very good, if not a ample, place of his own. After conviction he can take his case to the Court of Criminal Appeal. If unsuccessful there, he can lay before the Home Secretary, either in petition or through his legal advisers, and it is understood that may not have been forthcoming at his trial. Every scrap of evidence in his favour is most carefully examined, and, if there is the slightest suspicion of any mental deficiency, medical experts in criminal cases, report to the Secretary of State before a final decision is made to carry out the sentence of the law. The Prevention of Crime Act (1908) gives power to declare a man who has been leading a persistently criminal life to be an 'habitual criminal.' Such a person is to be sent in the first instance to penal servitude for three years and may be kept for a further period of not less than five, or more than ten, years in a state of preventive detention by order of the Court. A special place for detention is to be provided for the protection of society, though hopes are entertained that he, too, may benefit under the new conditions, with more time available for effecting cures. Preventive detention does not come actually into force till 1911, but responsible authorities expect great results from it, though they have not advocated for years some means of imposing a more permanent kind of restraint on this intractable class of offender. In the United States the indeterminate sentence and the release on parole are worked on such liberal lines that many thoughtful Americans say serious crime is triled with, under the guise of reclamation; while our Legislature hesitates to entrust the liberty of the subject, even though he be a confirmed criminal, to the discretion of prison authorities, who might keep him for life. Mr. Grubb tells us that the average term of actual detention at Elmira is about one and a half years.
It certainly seems strange to us that a dangerous burglar, or a coiner, or even a murderer of 30 years of age should be set free, cured in so short a time, when we require a year, or two years, to cure boys of 10 to 16, and unless we have a system very similar to that of Elmira. If such things can be done in America, we must either have much to learn from them, or their reputed success must be doubtful, or the subject must be a very different one from the British specimen. Unfortunately, the statistics on the question are not capable of verification, although unquestionably good results are obtained in many cases. Meantime we adopt such parts of the American system as seem suitable to our national requirements.

8. Imprisonment.—In regard to punishment by imprisonment, as distinguished from penal servitude, local prisoners now enjoy many more advantages in the matter of associated labour than they did when the “separate” system was established by law in 1865. Associated work in shops or working parties, under strict supervision, is now carried out at all local prisons, but out-door employment, except in the grounds, or at officers’ quarters, is limited to about 140 prisoners in the United States. In near large towns does not give much scope for actual labour on the land. The term of separate confinement for local prisoners, which had been fixed at three months by the Prison Act of 1865, was increased to six months by the Act 93. This, and now commonly reduced to a still shorter period. Very large numbers of local prisoners are unskilled workers, and are under such short sentences that cell employment of some kind is necessary, unless the little in the way of training can be accomplished in short periods. The low diet of the short sentence has a like effect, the object being to make the lesson for a petty or occasional offender short and sharp, so that he may not come back. A spell of less than a month is not likely to form an ideal preparation. Local prisoners are housed in comfortable and sanitary cells of 700 to 900 cubic feet, kept at a proper temperature, and well lighted and ventilated. Daily exercise and chapel service relieve the monotony of the cells, and is on so liberal a scale as that of convicts, is graduated according to length of sentence, and is carefully adjusted to the physical requirements of the prisoners, while medical officers have a free hand in ordering extra food in special cases. Like the convict, the local prisoner works his way through the stages of a progressive system, earning privileges for industry and good conduct, and forfeiting them by the slightest breach of the rules. He can also earn remission of part of his sentence if it is more than a month; but this, too, is liable to forfeiture. Severe instruction is given him under the direction of 18. The local prisons are provided for by them and by the clergy of the different denominations to which the prisoners belong. All these regulations are subject, in their working, to medical safeguards and restrictions; and they are carried out within the limits of the terms of the different denominations to which the prisoners belong. All these regulations are subject, in their working, to medical safeguards and restrictions; and they are carried out within the limits of the different denominations to which the prisoners belong. All these regulations are subject, in their working, to medical safeguards and restrictions; and they are carried out within the limits of the different denominations to which the prisoners belong. All these regulations are subject, in their working, to medical safeguards and restrictions; and they are carried out within the limits of the different denominations to which the prisoners belong. All these regulations are subject, in their working, to medical safeguards and restrictions; and they are carried out within the limits of the different denominations to which the prisoners belong. All these regulations are subject, in their working, to medical safeguards and restrictions; and they are carried out within the limits of the different denominations to which the prisoners belong.

9. Borstal treatment.—The tendency of recent legislation has been to make the Borstal treatment, especially of the young and of first offenders. The Prolongation of Offenders Act gives power to the Courts to release the latter, and order them to come up for judgment if called upon. The Children Act prohibits offenders under 14, and practically all young persons under 16, from being sent to prison at all; and the Prevention of Crime Act establishes a new form of sentence and a new type of Institution for offenders between the ages of 16 and 21. The sentence is detention under penal discipline in a Borstal Institution for not less than one and not more than three years. This is intended for those whom, by reason of criminal habit or tendency, it is expedient to detain for long periods under such instruction and discipline as appear most conducive to reformation and the repression of crime. The treatment adopted in these Borstal Institutions closely resembles that of Elmira, already described. It is based on a vocational element, and is progressive, including training, combined with specific instruction in some trade or skilled industry designed to fit the inmates for honest living. Rewards are given for industry and good conduct; penalties are inflicted chiefly by a short period of detention in the Borstal. The sentence is extended to those who are deserting; and work is also found for them on discharge; and an After-Care Association of benevolent workers supervises them, and gives not only encouragement, but moral and material aid to the inmates, which is utterly demoralizing.

10. Habituals and vagrants.—From the outline given of our penal system, as bearing on the general subject of crime and its punishment, candid readers will see that for this class, although the Act of 1865 does not sacrifice the interests of the criminal to those of the community. The general principles on which it is based would seem to be that it should be penal without being vindictive, reformatory without being demoralizing, and deterrent without being inhumane. Administrators who keep a watchful eye on statistics, are quite alive to its weak points, in so far as it fails to reform or deter certain classes of prisoners. It is notorious that it does not reform individuals professional criminals, who come back time after time to prison, though it reduces the numbers of this class very considerably by cutting off the recruits. It is idle to expect that they will ever be totally eliminated; but it is highly probable that the new remit of preventive detention will considerably limit their depredations, and deter many from entering their ranks. The system, again, seems to be ineffective with vagrants, who have been increasing lately at the rate of 4000 a year. Prison life sits lightly on an idle class, and measures of indulgence in the nature of physical comfort, dictated by an exaggerated sentimentalism, are not likely to check idle habits. Unfortunately, most generally with our liberal friends, they are bent on encouraging this evil. ‘To labour truly to get one’s own living’ has become for many persons a very disagreeable obligation; and State Aid, which is a popular panacea for social evils, is
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too often invoked where energy and self-reliance would be the more manly remedy; while Society is too often called upon to saddle itself with the vices and follies of individuals. To a large extent these doctrines would seem to be responsible for an idle spirit in our lower ranks. According to the last official returns, no fewer than 33,766 persons found their way to prison in 1910 for offences against the Vagrancy Acts. When it is borne in mind that several more thousands of this idle class are in workhouses and at large, it will be obvious that the question of dealing with them is becoming very urgent. No economic remedy for mere welfare and employment will meet their case, since the work-habit in practically all of them has been lost. A Committee appointed in 1905 to investigate the subject made recommendations that such persons should be treated, not as criminals, but as persons requiring detention on account of their mode of life. The object aimed at is to train and compel them to some kind of work, so as to aid the solution of the problem which they themselves present. Legislation is now urgently wanted to carry these recommendations into effect.

11. General results of our penal system.—Recent enactments in reference to inebriates, first offenders, habituals, and youthful delinquents, together with the recommendations of committees for further legislation for weak-minded prisoners and vagrants, suffice to show that our penal system has by no means reached perfection or finality. But how far has it served its purpose in the repression of crime? Some general considerations have to be taken into account in deciding this question. We have no trustworthy data for estimating with any approach to accuracy the sum total of crime committed in the country. Undetected and unproven crime still flourishes, and we can judge the proportion it bears to detected crime only by general indications. We know that our methods of detection and identification of criminals have improved, so that it is at least probable that less crime goes undetected now than in former years. Further, we know that life and property are as secure with us as elsewhere, and that respect for human life is certainly greater in this country than in most civilized countries. But, although we can base no conclusions on figures representing the total criminality of our population, we have ten large categories of our prisoners, a statistical basis for estimating comparative progress or retrogression. The figures are simple; they have been arranged on the same lines since the local prisons were handed over to the State in 1878; and we may infer that within the last thirty years, the general shortening of sentences, which followed on the passing of the Summary Jurisdiction Act in 1879, accounts for a certain proportion of this decrease, but cannot altogether explain it away, since the missing convicts are not found in the local prison population, which has also declined considerably, despite the addition of many minor offences to the statute book since 1880. If we take the two sets of offences and add the prisoners—together, and place beside them the increase of ten millions in the general population, it will be seen that the criminality of the country must have declined very substantially to show such results; and although we look forward to better things in the future, it must be admitted that our penal system has, on the whole, served us well. It would, however, be very erroneous to infer that the decrease of crime is due solely to our methods of repression. It is only of many doubtful whether such marked decrease could take place under an inefficient penal system. Social progress, of course, accounts for much of it. The training and discipline of the schools are conducive to moral improvement; self-control and self-sabbling habits; while the steady progress of temperance is probably one of the most important factors of all. Bank holidays have long ceased to be carnivals of drunkenness, and the statistics of crime show a steady decline in this offence.

12. Drink.—The latest returns show that in 1910 the total number of prisoners, male and female, received in the prisons for drunkenness had been less than the total of 1909 by 53,522 cases. These figures are satisfactory as showing progress, but there is still room for much improvement in a list which reaches the enormous total of 57,418. Without any desire to minimize these figures, which represent an appalling amount of human misery and degradation, we would point out that much misconception prevails as to the actual connexion between drink and crime. Exaggerated statements that 80 or 90 per cent of crime is caused by drink are without foundation. A few criminals in each case, which do not justify such sweeping conclusions. Many thousands of offences tried summarily have no connexion with drink. It should be remembered that the relation of cause and effect existing between drunkenness and crime, is the result of the combination of the most trivial cause of crime, which entails a long sentence, is by no means so direct or clear as it is in the case of minor crime, since drunkenness is in itself one of the minor crimes, and one which figures most prominently in the population of our prisons, a statistical basis for estimating comparative progress or retrogression. The figures are simple; they have been arranged on the same lines since the local prisons were handed over to the State in 1878; and we may infer that within the last thirty years, the general shortening of sentences, which followed on the passing of the Summary Jurisdiction Act in 1879, accounts for a certain proportion of this decrease, but cannot altogether explain it away, since the missing convicts are not found in the local prison population, which has also declined considerably, despite the addition of many minor offences to the statute book since 1880. If we take the two sets of offences and add the prisoners—together, and place beside them the increase of ten millions in the general population, it will be seen that the criminality of the country must have declined very substantially to show such results; and although we look forward to better things in the future, it must be admitted that our penal system has, on the whole, served us well. It would, however, be very erroneous to infer that the decrease of crime is due solely to our methods of repression. It is only of many doubtful whether such marked decrease could take place under an inefficient penal system. Social progress, of course, accounts for much of it. The training and discipline of the schools are conducive to moral improvement; self-control and self-sabbling habits; while the steady progress of temperance is probably one of the most important factors of all. Bank holidays have long ceased to be carnivals of drunkenness, and the statistics of crime show a steady decline in this offence.

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The outstanding feature of these statistics is the very conspicuous decrease in serious crime indicated by the fall in the convict population, in the proportion of ten to three, during the last thirty years. The general shortening of sentences, which
much in the light of social 'sports,' instead of anti-social offenders and public nuisances. An attempt was made by the Inebriates Act to stem the evil by applying curative treatment to cases of inebriety, and placing them under control and medical care for prolonged periods. The intention of the law was commendable, and its influence on scientific teaching, but, unfortunately, it did not work well in practice. No legal obligation had been placed on the local authorities, who were expected to co-operate in the scheme, to provide accommodation and food for patients. The Courts were reluctant to deprive of liberty, for the long periods necessary for cure, any persons except the most confirmed inebriates. These, as might have been expected, quickly relapsed into their former habits or committed new offenses. For those who were less confirmed in drinking habits, and who might have gained benefit from the Act, it became a dead letter. The liberty of the subject in his case amounted to liberty to ruin himself; and without danger, anxiety, or expense on their friends. Further, disputes arose between the local authorities and the Treasury as to the cost of maintaining the Homes, which led to further deadlock. A Committee of Inquiry has already been appointed in order to meet these difficulties. The State should take over the control of the Homes. Whether or not this proposal be carried out, the Act requires stiffening in some way. As it is, it is a failure. The occasional drunkard also needs more attention. If he is to be restrained from drifting into the habitual before his will-power disappears under continued indulgence, cumulative penalties must be dealt out to him more freely, and the risk of becoming an inebriate under the Act must be constantly kept before his eyes.


CRIOBOLIUM.—Like the *taurobolium* (wh. see) the *criobolium* was a sacrifice performed in connexion with the worship of the Great Mother of the Gods and Attis, with the difference that the victim was a ram instead of a bull, and was slain in honour of Attis. When the *criobolium* was given in conjunction with the *taurobolium*, the altar was, with rare exceptions, inscribed to both deities; whereas, when the *criobolium* alone was given, the inscription was usually to the Mother only, though symbolic decorations on the altar even then often indicated the participation of Attis.

Unlike the *taurobolium*, which, if not an original feature of the worship of the Great Mother in Asia, was borrowed by her priesthood at Rome from the Cappadocian religions which were brought there in the early 2nd cent. A.D., the *criobolium* seems to have been a special sacrifice instituted after the rise, and on the analogy, of the *taurobolium*, for the purpose of giving fuller recognition to the duality of the Great Mother and Attis, which had recently become more prominent, through the rise of Attis to greater importance. There is nothing to indicate its existence either in Asia or in Italy before its first celebration in honour of the Mother and Attis.

In the absence of direct evidence, we may suppose the *criobolium* to have been similar to the *taurobolium* both in details of ceremony and in spiritual effect. Its celebration was widespread, and Attis was worshipped in connection with the *criobolium* and the Christian doctrine of redemption through the blood of the Lamb (Firmicus Maternus, de Error, 27–28).

LITERATURE.—See references under *Taurobolium*.

CRITICISM (Old Test.).—Criticism is the art of estimating the qualities of literary or artistic work. M. Arnold defined it as a 'disinterested endeavour to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world' (Ess. Crit., i. 58). It is not to be mistaken for censure or disapprobation—the expression of hostile or unfavourable opinions. Realizing that the word verges on this adverse significance, writer and others he preferred to speak of literary 'appraisal'; and certainly the true Bible critic desires chiefly to share his admiration with his reader. But 'criticism' and the allied terms should be used without prejudice, to signify the effort of the mind to see things as they are, to appraise literature at its true worth, to judge the records of men's thoughts and deeds impartially, without obstruction of personal likes or dislikes. In distinction from 'lower' (a term seldom used), or textual criticism, which aims at ascertaining the genuine text and meaning of an author, 'higher' (a term apparently first used by Eichhorn), or historical, criticism seeks to answer a series of questions affecting the composition, editing, and collection of the Sacred Books.

The higher critic's task is to show how the ideas of any particular writing are related to the environment in which they grew, to the spirit of the age, to the life of the people, to the march of events, and to the kindred literary productions of other times or places, if it may be, of other lands. It is a scientific method of 'searching the Scriptures.' It substitutes the inductive for the a priori mode of inquiry, observation and experiment for tradition and dogma. It is a new appreciation of the Scriptures, or an unexamined life—of man or book—is not worth living.

The critical movement, which has shed a flood of light on the OT, and given the Church a new and more human conception of the mode of revelation, did not begin till the middle of the 18th century. The traditional view of the composition of the Sacred Scriptures was a bequest from the Jewish to the Christian Church, which no one ever thought of closely examined to be or not to be, indeed, few sporadic attempts at literary criticism, which ran counter to the received opinion. Theodore of Mopsuestia relegated some of the *Psalms of David*—such as the 51st, 65th, and 127th—to the period of the Exile. Phil. Ezra, the most noted Jewish scholar of the Middle Ages (1070–1138), detected a number of anachronisms in the Pentateuch, but advised the reader who understood these things to be discreet and hold his tongue. Luther was a fearless critic of both the Old and the New Testament; it would matter if Moses was not the author of the Pentateuch; he saw that the Book of Kings was more credible than that of Chronicles; he surmised that some of the Prophetic books received their final form from redactors; and he would have preferred if the First Book of Maccabees instead of Esther had been included in the Canon. Spinoza's
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philosophical acumen anticipated not a few of the modern critical results. 'Ex his omnibus,' he says, 'luce meridiana clarus apparat, Pentateuchum non a Mose, sed ab alio et qui a Mose multis post scriptum vixit, scribendum fuisset' (Tit. 3, cited. p. 38).

Richard Simon, the French Oratorian, observed some double accounts of events in the Pentateuch, and suggested a diversity of authorship. But the critical opinions of these and other gifted writers were in this obiter dictum, which made little impression upon the mind of the Church, and never disturbed her dogmatic slumber. They inaugurated no critical movement.

It was reserved for one who was neither a scholar nor a theologian, but a man of science, the Frenchman and court-physician Jean Astruc, to discover the critical secret, and to forge the novum organon which was 'to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant.' His study of the Pentateuch was the paragon of a busy life chiefly devoted to the writing of books in his own special department, and his supreme merit was that he brought to the search of the Scriptures a mind thoroughly trained in those methods of criticism which had been anticipated—and pioneer work which had left a perfect example for the imitation of all his followers. As a devout Catholic believer—he takes his readers into his confidence in a beautiful preface—he refrained for a while from publishing his discoveries, on the ground that his work, if put to the test, would put a weapon into the hands of the free-thinkers; les esprits forts—of his time. He could not doubt, however, that his discovery would serve to remove some serious difficulties from the pages of ancient writers, and in his sixtieth year he was constrained to give his book to the world (1753).

The very title of the work at once gave expression to the characteristic modesty of a true seeker after truth. He merely offered Conjectures sur les Textes, ouvrant a manier de secret, le texte de la Genes, a book s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genes. He did not know whether they would be accepted or rejected, but in either case nothing could ever alter his love of Truth and of Religion. It is worth while to state his argument in his own words—here slightly abridged.

In the Hebrew text of Genesis, God is designated by two different names. The first is Elohim, for which other meanings in Hebrew, it is especially applied to the Supreme Being. The other is Jehovah, הוהי, the great name of God. Now, if we suppose that the two names were used indiscriminately as synonymous terms, merely to lend variety to the style. This, however, would be contrary to the greatest care, as there are whole chapters, or large parts of chapters, in which God is always called Elohim, and others, at least as numerous, in which he is always called Jehovah. If, then, we are to believe the composition of Genesis, we should have to ascribe this strange and haphazard variation to himself. But can we conceive such negligence in the composition of so short a book as Genesis? Shall we impute to Moses a fault such as no other writer has committed? Is it not more natural to explain this variation by supposing that Genesis was composed of two or three memoirs, the authors of which gave different names to God, one using that of Elohim, another that of Jehovah or Jehovah Elohim?

That Astruc was conscious of leading the students of Scripture into untrodden paths is proved by the motto from Lucretius (i. 926 f.), which he put on his title-page:

Avisa Pierdum perdere loca, nullius ante Trito sola.

In the first pages of his book he carried his critical analysis to the whole of Genesis and the beginning of Exodus, as far as the point where the distinction of Divine names appears to cease (Ex 6). He discovered some passages which he could not attribute either to the Elohist or the Jahwist. He displayed his results by the whole of the text in four parallel columns. His attempt had the inevitable defects of all pioneer work, and he was far from dogmatizing as to the details of his criticism. But, with a true scientist's confidence at once in the precision of his methods and in the general accuracy of his conclusions, he wrote at the end of his prolegomena:

'So we must either renounce all pretense of ever proving anything in any criticism, or else abandon the idea that the combination of these facts affords a means to a complete demonstration of the theory of the composition of Genesis which I have proposed."

Astruc's Conjectures received but a cold welcome in his own Catholic communion. No single opponent of his initiated the critical mantle, and it was destined to be the work of a long succession of patient German scientific theologians to continue and complete the process of literary analysis which the brilliant Frenchman had begun. The great Hebraist Eichhorn came to know Astruc's theory at second-hand, and deliberately refrained from reading the book till he had independently, and still more thoroughly, gone over the same ground, with the same general results. He had no difficulty in finding a good criteria besides the Divine names to differentiate the two oracles; and, instead of pausing at the beginning of Exodus, he carried his investigations to the end of the Pentateuch, expressing the opinion—long since disregarded—that the last four books (1762), followed by a separate work entitled Critical Remarks on the Hebrew Scriptures (1800), gives vigorous expression to his views. He was a remarkable man and no mean scholar, who certainly deserves to be remembered among the pioneers of criticism; but by excess of zeal—the perseverid ingenium Sociorum—he led criticism astray, and tended on the whole to discredit the movement. Sooring the timid theory of Astruc and Eichhorn,—that Moses used two sources, the only work which had been attempted to discover the true authorship of Genesis,—he launched the hypothesis that the whole Pentateuch was nothing but a collection of loose scraps, of various age and worth, probably compiled in the time of Solomon. He had no difficulty in pointing out an immense number of these originally independent fragments, in the conjunction of which he saw no orderly plan or leading motive. He thus became the author of the Fragment Hypothesis, which was introduced into Germany by Vater, who translated or paraphrased a large part of Geddes's Critical Remarks. Vater thought the Book of Genesis was composed of thirty-nine fragments. The theory made much noise for a time, but received its death-blow at the hands of the greatest OT scholar of last century, Heinrich Ewald of Göttingen, in his Die Composition der Genesis kritisch untersucht, which he wrote when he was a youth of nineteen (1823). Geddes's opinions cost him his priestly office. Aberdeen consigned him with a doctorate of laws.

Meanwhile a real and important advance, from which there have been nulla vestigia retrorsum, was made by Igen, Eichhorn's successor at Jena. His fine study of the whole of Genesis afterwards acquired a scholastic fame similar to that of the Appendix of 1655—detected the presence of two writers in Genesis, each with an unmistakable style of his own, who habitually use the Divine name Elohim. This discovery did not receive much attention at the
time of its publication (1798), and it was not till it was independently made again by Hupfeld, more than half a century afterwards, that its significance was recognized by the foremost scholars of Germany. It is now accepted as one of the assured results of criticism. As the second Elohist is devoted to ideas and institutions of the Levitical system, he is known as the 'Priestly Writer,' while the name 'Elohist' is reserved for the earlier author, who, like the Jahwist, is more akin to the prophets.

In 1792, Geidt had joined it to the Pentateuch, regarding it as 'copied by the same author.' Careful and minute investigation convinced de Wette and Bleek that this procedure was correct. The real affinities of Joshua are with the writer of the 'Six Books' ( שלושת ספרי יהושע) of the Alexandrian Greek for a book), instead of the Pentateuch.

For the next half century there was one inspiring name which dominated the study of the OT, wellhausen, who dedicated his Prolegomena ' to my unforgetting teacher, Heinrich Ewald, with gratitude and honour,' was one out of many who felt the spell of this scholar's genius. It must be admitted, however, that Ewald lent his authority to a hypothesis which for a considerable time retarded rather than furthered the progress of criticism. He began where Astur and Eichhorn left off, and neglected Igen's discovery of the two Elohist. Regarding an undivided Elohist document, which he called the 'Book of Origins,' as the 'groundwork' of the Hexateuch, and finding its unmistakable ideals and formula giving order and unity to the whole structure, he maintained that the Jahwist sections were merely added to supplement the Elohist. He thus was the famous 'Supplement Hypothesis.' Defended by Bleek, Schrader, and many other scholars, it was viewed for long as the citadel of criticism; but it could not permanently stand the cross-fire to which it was subjected, and it has now no more than a historical interest.

In 1834, Eduard Reuss was lecturing on OT theology at Strassburg, and applying his strong, keen intelligence to the critical problem, which he approached from the historical rather than from the literary side. He found it psychologically inconceivable that a nation should begin its history with a fully developed code of laws. He thought it inexplicable to know as any nation should ignore their country's laws, which they of all men ought to have reverence. How was he to solve the enigma? The critical movement, at the point which it had then reached, did not help him much, for Deuteronomy was still not set apart from the OT; but the Prophets, which had yet been replaced in the historical environment out of which it grew. Reuss's problem was to determine the age and original of the 'Law of Moses' and the 'Psalms of David.' The answer of 1834, as he told long afterwards, rather as an intuition than as the result of a careful and exhaustive investigation. It was this—that in the true historical sequence the Prophets are earlier than the Law, and the Psalms later than both. In the following year (1835) practically the same theory was independently propounded by vatke in his Bibl. Theol. wissenschaftlich dargestellt, and by George in his Die alttestamentlichen Psalmen. These books commanded any great attention, the reason was that they were too theoretical. They did not present a thorough analysis of the language and ideas of the Books of Scripture. Vatke's work was, indeed, a very remarkable instance of the successful application of Hegelian principles to the study of a national and literary development. But it was intended only for the initiated, who were sealed of the tribe of Helg. The author warned off the very threshold of his book, and advised the reader to approach it only if they understood the master's terminology. Reuss, who tried to read it and failed, deferred the publication of his own conclusions for nearly half a century. His L'Histoire sainte et la loi appeared only in 1873, and his Geschichte der Weisheit in 1881. As one of his most brilliant pupils, K. H. Graf, professor at Leipzig, had forestalled him by a dozen years in his Geschicht Bcher des AT (1866), and consequently the theory is known to all the world as the 'Grafian and Rheinhardt hypothesis'.

Hupfeld, one of the eminent Hebrewists of Halle, where he was the successor of Gesenius, brought a fresh mind to the problem of the literary composition of Genesis, and was rewarded with more success than almost any of his predecessors. Six Books, as he was the most nearly read the riddle of the sphinx, and it is a remarkable fact that his book, Die Quellen der Genesis (1853), was published exactly a century after the famous Conjectures of astruc. Having shaken off the obsession of Ewald's 'Supplement Hypothesis,' he had the good fortune to repeat Igen's almost forgotten discovery of the two distinct Elohist writers in the Pentateuch. He laid bare the work of the Priestly Writer (the second Elohist). He demonstrated the close affinity of the first Elohist to the Jahwist, and the wide difference between both and the writer of the Grundschri. Under his spell each of these ancient writers seemed to come forth a living personality, with a style which revealed the man. He showed that the additions which J was alleged to have supplemented P were often entirely out of harmony with the latter's circle of ideas. His own theory was that the productions of three original writers, one was the famous 'Supplement Hypothesis,' as J, E, and P were at length combined by an editor, who—fortunately for us—left his sources much as he found them, being content to establish a merely superficial unity. The literary problem of the authorship of the Hexateuch was thus solved. But the vitaly im-


WELLHAUSEN'S GESCH. ISRAELS APPEARED IN 1878, AND OF ITS RECESSION IN GERMANY PFEIDERER SAYS:

'THE ARGUMENTS FOR THE NEW HYPOTHESIS, DERIVED FROM THE PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT OF LAW, RELIGION, AND LITERATURE, WERE EXHIBITED WITH SUCH VIVACITY THAT THE IMPRESSION PRODUCED ON GERMAN THEOLOGIANS (ESPECIALLY OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION) WAS IRRESISTIBLE. ... IT WAS A SPECIAL MERIT OF WELLHAUSEN'S BOOK TO HAVE EXCITED INTEREST IN THESE QUESTIONS NEGLECTED BY CERTAIN GROUPS OF SPECIALISTS BY ITS SKILLFUL HANDLING OF THE MATERIALS AND ITS ALMOST PERFECT COMBINATION OF WIDE HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS WITH THE CAREFUL AND FORTHRIGHT REMOVAL OF CRITICISM FROM THE ARMS OF THE CRITICAL DISCUSSION' (DEVELOPMENT OF THEOLOGY, ENG. TR. 1890, P. 250).


FOR, WHILE THE TIRED WAVES, VALIANTLY BREAKING,

SEEN HERE NO PAINFUL INCH TO GAIN,

FAR BACK, THROUGH CREEKS AND INLETS MAKING

CONQUEST, FLOATING IN, THE NOBILITY (H. CLAIGHT).


WELLHAUSEN'S GESCH. ISRAELS APPEARED IN 1878, AND OF ITS RECESSION IN GERMANY PFEIDERER SAYS:
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Canaan; while it has found in Hammurabi a law-giver far older than Moses; it has not hitherto appreciably affected a single critical conception of the several elements of the ancient

Bible. 'Archaeology has refined only the argument which Prof. Sayce, in his 'Religion of the Uses which they really use, with, of course, the entire position, which depends upon them, it has left absolutely untouched. (Br. Arch. Cornwall, Eng. ed.) Winckler has rendered splendid service as archaeological specialists, and every discovery they have made has been welcomed; but science would be in a worse plight than it is just now of having to diutate with cheap anti-criticism. (Prof. Orr is the ablest critic who has written about this country, but he has not, as he must, in the long run be a more decisive choice between them. (C. M. Taylor, 1887, 125), he is methodically comparing the issues of the of criticism has been slow. The labour has been spread over a century and a half. Every critical theory that has ever been advanced has been severely tested and strenuously contested. Criticism is bound to be self-critical, proving all things and holding fast that which is good. It is not to be imagined that finality has been reached on every minor detail of criticism. All along the line there are matters that still await adjustment. In the improvements which it is receiving at the hands of a new generation, the Graeco theory resembles the Darwinian.

Allusions can be made to only a very few points. (1) The Yahwist and Elohist have often been called 'prophetic' writers, and (2) the so-called 'sacred history' of the Old Testament.

In the 'Book of Genesis' and 'Exodus' and 'Leviticus' and 'Numbers' and 'Deuteronomy' (Freiburg, 1907, p. 190), but, the other hand, much that must needs have been

The idea of the Book of Proverbs is, that the wisdom a person of wisdom, besides the wisdom of the rabbis, has been discovered. (4) The Psalter as a whole is probably post-exilic, but it is in the nature of things scarcely possible to determine the precise date of its composition, with any degree of accuracy. (5) The Wisdom literature and the relation of its later developments to Greek thought still need much attention. While Job is recognized as post-exilic, and Ecclesiastes is dated later than Daniel (which belongs to the great age of Apocalyptic) as it remains probable that the Book of Proverbs represents the oral wisdom of Israel in the time of the monarchy.

Some gains obtained by the criticism of the Old Testament may be mentioned. It has established the fact that the OT was not written to any soul that was not exactly fitted to the occasion and the man'; and that 'separate... from this context... it is no longer the same perfect Wool'. (Robertson Smith, O. J., 1862, p. 101.) It has reconstructed the history of Israel in the light of that other modern principle—there is no history but critical history. For the incredible dogmas of verbal inspiration and the equal divinity of all parts of Scripture, it has substituted a credible conception of the Bible as the sublime record of the Divine education of the human race. It has traced the development of the religious conceptions and institutions of Israel in a rational order. Moving the OT's centre of gravity from the temporal, it has proved that the history of Israel is fundamentally and essentially the history of Prophecy. It has made a sharp and clear distinction between historical and imaginative writing in the OT, and so enhanced the real value of both. The OT has been described as the Bible of Israel, the Bible of the people, and the spirit of the earliest prophets, and used by them to transmute the devotion of a higher faith into the veins of the people. It has thrown light—as Astruc saw that it was—on the many duplicitous, and even contradictory, accounts of the same events that are found in close juxtaposition. It has explained the moral and theological crudities of the Bible as the early phase of a development which has taken centuries. It has denuded the desert pilgrimage of literary glory, only in order to enrich the Exile. For the 'Psalms of David' it has substituted the 'Hymn-book of the Second Temple,' into which are gathered the fruits of the whole OT's development of the Mishnaic centuries. To the legendary wisdom of one crowned head it has preferred the popular philosophy of many generations. For a religious history which looked like an inverted pyramid, it has given us one which is a pyramid on a flat stream—the record of a winding but unwavering progress in the moral and religious consciousness of a people. Instead of crowding the most complex institutions and ideals into the infancy of the nation, it has placed the sword at the blade, then the car, then the full corn in the car.'

Prof. B. D. Eerdmanas, Kueen's pupil and successor, is re.

...a reaction. He begins his Allttet. Studien (Giessen, 3 parts, 1908-10) by announcing that he has 'criticized the Graeco-Catholic-Kueenian' because he claims to have been wrong from the start. 'Astruc led her into false tracks' (p. 94). The 'theory which uses the Divine names as a guide through the pyramid of the phenomena is an error, astral names are the names' (p. 94). Instead of taking these names as literary criteria, let us have an historical-religious investigation of their meaning. (Ex. 20:23-24) These names have been interpreted to refer to the God of Israel. It is a real plural. The 'judges' (Ex 21:23) as a rule, have been taken as two persons, or two names for two separate phases in the history of Israel. But the critical school has been victorious. Polytheism is to be found not only in the "Book of the Covenant," but in the narratives of Genesis. 'For the arrogance of the patriarchs must be excused: it is a great importance to see clearly that the legends which have been received gradually absorbed a monotheistic' (Richard, p. 190). The figures of the patriarchs are many and varied. The patriarchs have been gathered in (1) stories in which the polytheism is undisturbed, (2) stories in which the Yahwism has been developed, (3) stories in which the polytheism has been adapted to monothestic. Some parts of the OT—names of the patriarchs—carry much older than the Exile, and round all the ancient legends there have gradually accumulated many additions and reductions, dating from the earliest to the latest times.

Eerdmanas has failed to take account of the fact that for the recognition of Je and El in the Hexateuch there are many other important critical criteria. Style, point of view, religious tendency—besides the Divine names. It will be found that the difference between him and his master is after all not very great. His vigorous and suggestive criticism is a trumpet-call to all OT scholars to re-examine their position, and they are cheerfully responding; but it does not appear that the solid walls of P have been shaken.


J. STEACHAN.
CRITICISM (New Testament)—The criticism of the NT may be treated in two divisions—that of the Gospels and Acts, and that of the remaining books. In the Gospels and Acts we are dealing with narrative material, which may, therefore, be approached from the standpoints and methods of (a) literary, (b) historical, (c) textual. But in the Epistles and the Apocalypse we have to do with books where the historical element is subordinate and the literary predominant. Consequently, literary methods stand in the foreground, and further scope than historical methods, and there is likely to be less divergence of opinion on the results obtained.

1. CRITICISM OF THE GOSPELS AND ACTS.—To the dispassionate inquirer the present state of this department of investigation must be strangely bewildering. This is not due to variation of opinion in the region of literary criticism, for there it has long been seen that the possibility of obtaining sure results is very limited in scope, and agreement has hitherto largely reached on all points where agreement is possible. But, in the region of historical inquiry, results are surprisingly contradictory, and there seems at present to be no likelihood of agreement being reached.

(a) Literary criticism.—So far as the Synoptic Gospels are concerned, important results have been reached by the methods of literary criticism. These may be briefly summarized as follows. (a) It has been shown that the Second Gospel was used in the compilation of the Third Gospel. (b) It has been further shown that behind the First and Third Gospels lies a compilation of the Lord's Sayings (= Q) which directly, or after passing through intermediate stages, was used by the editors of the Synoptic Gospels. (c) It has been made probable that the editor of the Third Gospel used, in addition to Mark and Q, at least a third written source; but no agreement has been reached as to its scope. (d) Some recent attempts to analyze the Second Gospel into two or more documents which are originally distinct rely more upon historical considerations than upon purely literary methods, and are too recent to have been fully considered.

In the Fourth Gospel literary methods have recently found much play. Wellhausen has attempted to find traces of composite authorship, and he has been followed by Spitta, who endeavors to distinguish between a "Herausdruck," to which he assigns very high historical value, and a "Bearbeitung." But it may be questioned whether the unity of the book is not too apparent to be lightly shaken.

The attempt to analyze the Acts into its original sources finds ever new disciples. The latest is Harnack, who finds in Ac 2-15 a compilation of three documents. But the grounds alleged do not seem adequate to support the conclusions. On the other hand, the identity of the editor of the Acts with the writer of the 'We' sections and with the editor of the Third Gospel has received the weighty support of Harnack himself, and on purely literary grounds is hardly deniable. Those who dislike this conclusion have to fall back upon historical considerations.

So far we have been dealing with literary criticism in its efforts to determine or to detect underlying sources in the narrative literature of the NT. It will be seen that the most important and assured results have been reached in those cases where the editors have not used the original material. The union of Mark in Matthew and Luke has been rather observed than discovered; and, if Mark did not exist, literary analysis certainly could not reconstruct it out of the later Gospels. For that very reason, attempts to reconstruct Q can be at the best but tentative. The attempted analysis of these books into sources which are not now extant is a matter of great difficulty, arising from the fact that the writers have so re- east any sources which they may have used that reconstruction of them is now almost impossible. It is for that reason that attempts on purely literary grounds to re-discover source used in the Acts are little likely to succeed.

(b) Historical criticism.—It is, however, in the region of historical criticism that the variety of opinion spoken of above chiefly exists. And the reason of it is not far to seek. Inquirers into the Gospels and Acts are divided, broadly speaking, into two classes, according to the right method of approaching the narratives, and consequently employing different standards or criteria in estimating their value as historical material.

(1) Investigators of the first class start from the assumption that the facts of history which lie behind the narratives are purely natural facts, similar in nature to other facts known to us. In particular, they take it for granted that Jesus was a man, whose personality underwent the normal process of gradual development, so that the growth of His intellectual conceptions can be traced on psychological lines. Inquirers who are guided by principles like these are, of course, bound to apply to the material before them such criteria as the following. (a) Does a writer state as fact an event which lies outside the range of the known laws of Nature? Then, not only did the alleged event not happen, but some account must be given of the nature of the evidence that has led the writer to state fact what is incredible. Under this head the whole of the so-called miraculous element in the Gospels and Acts is removed from the sphere of history, and translated into the realm of myth, legend, popular exaggeration, symbolism, allegory, or transference of the miraculous from other departments of tradition into the life of Jesus. In the early days of criticism this generally led to the transference of the Gospels into the 2nd cent., in order to allow for the growth of legend rather than for the few traditional facts of the life of Jesus. More recently it has been argued that such growth may have been very rapid, and is consistent with a later date for the Gospels. (b) The mental development of Jesus must be similar to our own, and it


6 The Second Synoptic Gospel is generally assigned to a.d. 60-70, the Third to the a.d. 80, and the First to varying dates between the publication of Mark and the end of the century. The tendency nowadays is to push the dates of the Acts backwards rather than forwards. This is illustrated by Harnack's admission that the Acts - have been written 'in early as the beginning of the seventh decade of the first century' (Acts, p. 267).

7 Harnack now (Neue Untersuchung, zur Apostelgeschichte, Leipzig, 1911) places Acts before the death of St. Paul, St. Mark and St. Luke earlier, and St. Matthew shortly before or after a.d. 70. The present writer has used for a date about a.d. 50 for St. Matthew (Eph., July 1910).
is not possible that He could have taught doctrines which appear to us to be logically inconsistent. This has been applied in particular, in recent times, to the problem of the eschatological teaching in the Gospels as compared with the moral teachings. Of the two opposite views, both have been held by some unclouded thinker of the moral sayings and the apocalyptic fanatic of the eschatological passages. We must, therefore, give up one of the two as historical, and the teaching generally chosen as most conveniently to be got rid of is the eschatological, which is then regarded as an intrusion into Christ's teaching of elements derived from Jewish Apocalyptic writings, remodelled in Christian circles. Of course, on the other side, one of the lines of explaining away the evidence which, at first sight, the Gospels set before us as to the facts of Christ's life.

It would be impossible to give here an exhaustive list of all the ways in which criticism attempts to do this, but the following are some of them:

Adaptation of Christ's life to the narrative and prophecies of the Virgin conception, and of the flight into Egypt, etc.) Adaptation to His life of heathen mythology (for adaptation to the present life of Christ). The historical doctrine of the Messiah. The attribution to Him of sayings prophecies of later events, e.g., the manner of His death, or the fact of Jesus being crucified in certain facts of words spoken by Him in allegory or metaphor.

The main difficulties which many will feel with criticisms of this kind are these:

(1) It starts from presuppositions with which the evidence of the narratives immediately conflicts. (2) Its methods of explaining away consist in the fact that these are conjectured and fanciful—not the application of scientific principle, but an appeal to any or every supposed cause that might have given rise to the circumstances of evidence. (3) Its results are hopeless precautions. The Jesus who emerges from its labours is sometimes a simple-minded lover of God, who is crushed between the ethical and the apocalyptic wheels of His day; sometimes an ethical teacher of high value; sometimes a dreamy enthusiast, who died because He declared Himself to be the Messiah. (4) It is argued, cannot be substantiated. The Gospels, as manipulated by the uncertain methods of this sort of criticism, seem capable of yielding a picture of any sort of Jesus that the critics desire.

(2) Investigators of the second class approach the subject from a very much wider and more liberal historical background. They argue that a cursory reading of the Gospels gives us at once a consistent picture of One whose personality, which is truly human, yet transcends the limits of human personality as elsewhere known to us. They, further, argue that the same kind of evidence which is given to us in the Gospels is also given, with continuity of personality, in the history of the Christian Church; so that the Gospels are only a first stage in a continuous stream of evidence to a Person, dead yet living, human yet more than human. In view of this deepest and most profound fact of human experience, we cannot, they urge, apply to the Gospel evidence those rough and ready tests of the historical which critics of the first class are so eager to use. Christ is reported to have worked a miracle. The critics of the first class say at once: (a) 'This miracle did not happen'; therefore (b) 'the narrative is very late,' or (c) 'it is to be explained as due to one of the causes summarized above,' and (d) 'it is worthless as evidence of historical fact.' Christ is reported to have worked a miracle. The critics of the second class will say at once, 'Why not?' 'What does this mean save that from the inexhaustable treasure-house of the Personality of Jesus flowed some influence or power which so dazzled the minds of the witnesses that they recorded their impression in the simple words that have come down to us?' Or, again: Christ is reported as having taught moral principles which presuppose

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the continuance of human society, and as having spoken about the Kingdom of heaven as something which was to be men. He is also reported as having announced the near approach of the Kingdom, and His own identity as the 'Son of Man' coming on 'out of the clouds of heaven.' Critics of the first class say at once: 'Christ cannot have spoken these two divergent lines of teaching. We must choose between them.' Critics of the second class will rather argue that we are dealing with two types of teaching which are ultimately harmonious; that difficulties arise if we unduly press, or too literally interpret, sayings of the one or the other type; and, in criticizing, that believing that prophetic and apocalyptic utterances are statements of profound truth as to the future of the world, and of the relation of Christ to humanity, which are essential for a right understanding of His being.

So long as NT critics start from different assumptions, and employ different methods, it is obvious that they will arrive at different conclusions. It is clear that sooner or later some agreement must be reached, if possible, as to the truly scientific method of approaching the Gospels and Acts, and as to the principles or criteria by which we are to test their historical value. In other words, are we or are we not to look upon them as isolated records which can be examined in and for themselves, regardless of the corroboration in history of the more than human Personality to which they bear witness? Or, is the representation of Jesus as given in the Gospels as a whole one which the experience of the Christian Church in later history has proved to be substantially true? If the latter be the true alternative, we shall be bound to approach the Gospel with some such canons of criticism as these—

(1) We are dealing with a record of One whose personality and force of character transcends, as is proved by the witness of history, all human knowledge. We cannot, therefore, rule out as evidence statements which ascribe to Him power and influence which are not found in normal experience of life. (2) There is, therefore, a general probability in favour of the credibility of the Gospel narratives. The area of uncertainty arises later in the attempt to reconstruct from them the original facts as they occurred. For instance, the narrative of the raising of Lazarus (a daughter of which we leave with the certainty that an impression was made on the minds of the witnesses of that event that a dead person had been brought back again to life. 'What death and life' are never to be known to us. The substantial fact is that the force and power of the Personality of Jesus effected this astonishing thing that the girl, who otherwise would have been numbered with the dead, took her place, through His influence, once more in the world of living men and women.

The question of the necessity of approaching the Gospels as historical witnesses, with some sort of presuppositions in favour of, or against, the Gospels, has not yet been treated in a serious scientific manner. Yet nothing is more certain than the fact that historians approach all ancient documents with certain presuppositions. These are, in large part, inferred from known facts. The historian who answers No will necessarily approach the Gospels with a presupposition against their evidence. And this presupposition seems to be due to a denial on his part of an element in life which
others affirm, and which causes them to say Yes. This element is the sustained witness of the Christian sources of the Gospels and from setting up human life, of which they find the first account in the Gospel history. It has always claimed to be not merely witness to the powerful influence exerted by the life of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels, but witness to the influence of Jesus Himself, exerted on individuals, not merely through the record of His life, as a memory of a dead friend may influence one living, but immediately as living Spirit upon living spirit. This sustained witness is a psychological fact which is deserving of more serious treatment than has hitherto been accorded to it. If it is in any sense true as a phenomenon of consciousness, then it necessarily becomes a presupposition with which the inquirer must approach the Gospel evidence. If the spontaneous acts upon consciousness through the whole period of history since His death in a way in which no other personality known to us has ever acted, then it will be clearly unscientific to apply to the record of His life the same axiomatic conclusion, as to what is or is not probable, that we are tempted to apply to the evidence as to the personality of ordinary individuals. This does not make any investigation into the life of Jesus useless, or lead us to accept as literally true anything that has been recorded about Him. The ordinary rules of historical investigation will apply in large part to the Gospels as to other ancient literature. But it will cause us to exercise caution in ruling out evidence that is not in line of resources of power over psychical and natural phenomena which we should reject in other cases.

What has been said above applies mainly to the Gospels, yet it also concerns the Acts. For there, too, the same question arises. When we read anything that is of a non-natural kind, are we on that ground to relegate it to a position of late date and historical valuelessness? This is what Harnack does, e.g., with Ac 1. He speaks of the narrative of the Ascension which it contains as probably the latest tradition in the Book. The only reason apparently for that judgment is the nature of the event recorded. But what if behind the narrative lies the tradition of the primitive Church that the phenomenon can only be dimly surmised behind the strong colours in which it has been painted? Christ had left the disciples finally; that they knew. No more would He appear to them as at the Galilean Lake. They could imagine Him to them in a new way, in another sense. And He was to come again. What if some strange experience of fact lies behind this narrative? Need it then be so late in date? What prevents it from being one of the earliest traditions of the Christian Church? St. Paul is witness to such a tradition.

Criticism of the Gospels and Acts which is based on quite unscientific presuppositions—that is the point. The same axiomatic conclusion as to what is or is not probable, that we are tempted to apply to the evidence as to the personality of ordinary individuals, is condemned offhand certain narratives as fictions, and then invents the most improbable causes to account for their genesis and growth. This is not criticism based on principle, but arbitrary rejection of evidence. We want, if possible, some sort of scientific method or principle, and this can be reached only by a preliminary investigation of all the facts. Christ as presented in the Gospels, Christ as experienced in history, Christ as experienced in modern life,—is this all of a piece, one long consecutively witness to a supernatral Christ? If so, whatever other method may be wrong, nothing can be more fundamentally unsound than the attempt to go to the Gospels and from setting up human life, of which they find the first account in the Gospel history. It has always claimed to be not merely witness to the powerful influence exerted by the life of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels, but witness to the influence of Jesus Himself, exerted on individuals, not merely through the record of His life, as a memory of a dead friend may influence one living, but immediately as living Spirit upon living spirit. This sustained witness is a psychological fact which is deserving of more serious treatment than has hitherto been accorded to it. If it is in any sense true as a phenomenon of consciousness, then it necessarily becomes a presupposition with which the inquirer must approach the Gospel evidence. If the spontaneous acts upon consciousness through the whole period of history since His death in a way in which no other personality known to us has ever acted, then it will be clearly unscientific to apply to the record of His life the same axiomatic conclusion, as to what is or is not probable, that we are tempted to apply to the evidence as to the personality of ordinary individuals. This does not make any investigation into the life of Jesus useless, or lead us to accept as literally true anything that has been recorded about Him. The ordinary rules of historical investigation will apply in large part to the Gospels as to other ancient literature. But it will cause us to exercise caution in ruling out evidence that is not in line of resources of power over psychical and natural phenomena which we should reject in other cases.

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II. CRITICISM OF THE EPISTLES AND APOCALYPSE.—1. The Pauline Epistles.—The movement of criticism in recent years with regard to the Pauline Epistles has been in the direction of a return to tradition. With few exceptions, critical writers have returned to the Pauline Epistles, Gal., 1 and 2 Cor., Romans, Philippians, and Philemon. Of these, 2 Thess. is the most doubted. It is argued that, viewed as literature, it reads like an imitation of the First Epistle, whilst from a theological point of view the second chapter presents us with an eschatology different from that found elsewhere in St. Paul. Harnack\(^1\) has recently attempted to meet this second objection, and to preserve the letter for St. Paul by the novel argument that the First Epistle was written to the Gentiles converts at Thessalonica, whilst the Second was written for the Jewish converts there.

The Epistle to the Galatians has been the subject of much controversy with respect to the date of writing and the people addressed. The theory revived and advocated by Ramsay, that the Churches addressed are to be found in the southern part of the Roman province of Galatia, would make it possible to date the letter at any time after St. Paul's visit to these Churches on his second journey. Thus Zahn\(^2\) dates it from Corinth on the second journey. Ramsay\(^3\) himself prefers a somewhat later date, from Antioch, between the second and third journeys. But, if genuine at all, the letter cannot be urged that St. Paul would probably have preferred to make a personal visit from a place so near to Southern Galatia as Antioch, instead of writing a letter. Others still prefer the older chronology, and place the letter in close connexion with 1 and 2 Cor. and Romans. A comparison of Ac 16\(^4\) with 18\(^5\) favours the view that the editor of the Acts believed that St. Paul visited the old kingdom of Galatia; but that does not, of course, settle the question of the locality of the churches to which the letter was written. The strongest argument in favour of the later date is the close resemblance in tone between Galatians and Romans.

The return to a traditional position spoken of above is illustrated by the present state of critical opinion with regard to the Epistle to the Colossians. A generation ago it was assigned to the 2nd cent. by a majority of critical writers, the arguments alleged being that the Epistle contained a Christian theology too developed for the age of St. Paul, and that the false teaching was a 2nd cent. form of Gnosticism. But, although some of the more advanced critical writers still believe it to be post-Pauline, the view is gaining ground\(^6\) that the Christology is not necessarily un-Pauline, and that the teaching, if in any sense Gnostic, is an early form of Gnosticism, which has no reason to place outside the life of St. Paul.

The authenticity of Ephesians is more widespread. Its theology is said to be too advanced for St. Paul, especially in respect of the Person of Christ, and the doctrine of the Church; whilst the difficulty of reconciling the address to Ephesus with the entire lack of local colour has never been quite satisfactorily explained. But, if Colossians be admitted to be Pauline, these arguments lose their force. In view of the fact that all the elements of the Christology of these letters can be found in St. Paul's undoubted Epistles, it is quite arbitrary to argue that he would not have written them, if the circumstances necessary to the writing of his letter had not these lines had arisen. And to argue that they could not have arisen is mere dogmatism about the unknown.\(^7\)

1 The Pastoral Epistles are regarded as post-Pauline by a number of critical writers, on the following grounds:

(i) The style and language are not those of St. Paul. This is true if stated in the form that style and language differ from those of the other Epistles. But, if genuine at all, the letters clearly date from a later period of St. Paul's life than any other of his extant writings. It is not at all clear why changed circumstances should not have caused a corresponding change in the Apostle's expression of his thought.

(ii) The nature of the false teaching combated is said to be that of a period which lies outside the probable limits of St. Paul's life. This is pure conjecture. There can be no evidence that teaching of the kind presupposed, whether it be an early form of Gnosticism or a debased Judaism, had not begun to affect the Churches at a very early date.

(iii) The Church, as described in these letters, has developed an organization. The main point here is the status of the 

2. The Catholic Epistles.—Here, too, opinion is divided into two main classes. On the one hand there are the writers who defend the authorship of most of these documents, on the ground that they can find no reason for rejecting it. On the other are the critics who seem to be possessed at the outset by the feeling that it would be treasonable to admit that tradition can ever be right in its ascription of these writings to Apostolic authors. And yet, how little probable it is that none of the earliest Apostles except St. Paul should have left behind them any written record! How very probable it is that other historians besides St. Paul should have written letters! How improbable it

1 The authenticity of Ephesians is denied by the majority of German writers and by Moffatt, but is asserted by Abbott and Peake; Harnack and Juliuscher think the question an open one.


3 German, p. 17.

4 An intermediate position is taken by those who believe that genuine Pauline fragments have been combined with more genuine Epistles by a later writer. So Harnack, Meiffert, Moffatt, Knox, Peake.

5 De Paulin. 20. So recently Weiss, Bartlet, Ayres, and Dibelius (Der Verfasser der Herricksbriefe, Strassburg, 1910), who regard the Epistles as originally a Scornus, not an Epistle.

6 Ewarr. in Gen. 46, 39.

7 ZTl. [1900] 10-11.

8 Side Letters to the N. T. Research, Lond. 1908.

9 On the N. T. Research, Lim. 1908.

10 The Pastol Epistles, Lond. 1898, p. 301. Philip is regarded as representing the position of the Church.

11 Interpreter, Apr. 1909.
is that the Church should have failed to preserve some such writings and should rather have let them slip into oblivion, and preserved instead 2nd cent. writings which went by false names! There is an *a priori* probability in favour of the traditional authority, and something approaching to over-whelming evidence from literature which is required before it can be set aside. From the perusal of the objections repeated, with as much certainty as though they were axioms of Euclid, by successive critics of the advanced type, the candid reader rises with the feeling that the argument is based on dogma, and that from evidence which is capable of more than one interpretation, 'If there were no tradition as to authorship,' he will say, 'I could only conclude that these writings were composed within the first 150 years of the existence of the Christian Church. But within that period I find no reason why some of these writings should not have been written by the men to whom tradition assigns them. On the other hand, I do see reason to suppose that the early Church would have preserved Apostolic rather than later documents.'

Apart from 2 Peter, where the argument from literary dependence on Jude seems fatal to the Petrine authorship, the arguments against the authenticity of the other members of this group seem insufficient to outweigh the tradition in their favour. They are of the following nature:

(a) Against James. — The writer is arguing against St. Paul's teaching as laid down by Jude, and is not a corrigenda in his form of it; the Greek of the letter is too good for St. James; the writer does not refer to early controversies such as that about the adiaphorism of Matthias into the Christian Church; he makes no reference to, or use of, cardinal doctrines of the primitive Church, such as the Messiahship of Jesus, His death and resurrection; the reference to healing through the 'elders' is a mark of late date; the condition of the Christians addressed is quite that of Christianity.

(b) Against Peter. — The chief question here has turned on the nature of the persecution implied in the letter and the bearing of that upon the date of the authorship. Ramsay has tried to show that the references to persecution imply a date about A.D. 80. Others place the reign of Trajan (?) on the ground that the references to persecution in the Epistle accord well with the account given by Pliny to Trajan. But there is really no ground for so pressing the language of the letter as to make it impossible to suppose that it was written during the Roman persecution. Thus, as afterwards, there may have been reason to urge Christian converts to let it be known that they were suffering as Christians, and not for money, from the persecutors; and we might perhaps even discover a group which has been incensed against the pagan profession. The other main ground for rejecting the Petrine authorship of the letter is its alleged Paulinism. But we may adopt a certain amount of Pauline influence in the writer of this letter without necessarily denying that St. Peter can have been the author of the Epistles. That there is a certain amount of his and other letters seem to be capitole and arbitrary, such as 'This is unlikely,' or 'That is improbable in the case of St. Peter.' After all, there is too little evidence of the Apostolic life after A.D. 44. And how are we to determine what he may or may not have written, or how much, after he may have seen of St. Paul in the later years of his life?

(c) Against 2 Peter. — The dependence of the writer upon Jude is really fatal to the authenticity of the letter. The case is parallel with that of the First Gospel. The composer of that book has carefully worked over the Second Gospel in such a way that it is little likely that Matthew or any other Apostle can have written it. So in the case of 2 Peter; if it is dependent on Jude, it is improbable that Peter or his companions can have penned it. (Attempts have been made to save the rest of the letter by supposing ch. 2 to be an interpolation dependent on Jude.) Further arguments against the authenticity of the Epistle are found in its late attestation, and in its reference to St. Paul's Epistles.

(d) Against Jude. — The reference to the Apostles; the reference to 'the Father;' the supposed similarity between the teaching of the Epistle and the teaching of the 2nd cent. Corporation.

(e) The question of the authenticity of the Johannine Epistles

is so closely connected with the complicated question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel that it is best to pass them over in a cursory survey of NT criticism as the present. They are widely regarded as among the most critical writings altho. some would separate the Second and Third Epistles from the First, and attribute them to a different author.

These arguments may be divided into two classes:

(1) literary, and is required before it can be set aside.

(2) The date. Was the book written in the reign of Nero, or of Domitian? The majority of recent writers favour the later date.

(3) Dependence upon earlier literature. Attempts have been made to show that the book in its present form is a Jewish Apocalypse re-edited by a Christian, or a composite work into which fragments of Jewish Apocalypses have been loosely incorporated. These attempts at analysis are very few, and have not been unsuccessful. The unity of purpose and idea is too obvious. No doubt, the writer was deeply read in the OT, and very probably also in current Jewish Apocalyptic literature. But the book is no mere combination of fragments of earlier writings. In another form, however, attempts to prove dependence of the writer upon the past have met with success. Since the publication of Gunkel's *Scho£yling und Chana* (1896) it has become increasingly clear that the writer has made very large use of ancient myth, and of language and symbol long current in Apocalyptic writings. Not, of course, that such borrowing is peculiar to him. The long stream of Prophetic and Apocalyptic authors and writers from Isaiah onwards, not excluding our Lord Himself, have this in common, that they do not entirely create a new language as the vehicle of their teaching, but largely adopt and borrow the words and symbols of an earlier age.

To take a simple example against an earlier date are equally balanced. He suggests that the Epistle may have been written by St. James, but that it was originally a great deal shorter than now is.

2 Church in the Roman Empire, Lond. 1897, p. 285.
3 See Thackeray, Anti-Osee, and other works.
4 See von Soden, Haseck, and recently Gunkel (Die Schriften des NT, 1909).
5 1st cent. 150 years later.
6 The latest commentator, Oesterley (Expositor's Gr. Text, iv. 1912), and the same, earlier commentator, with whom I agree, supposing that the 4th and 5th members of the group of writing Jews are equally balanced. He suggests that the Epistle may have been written by St. James, but that it was originally a great deal shorter than now is.


8 That the author may have employed and worked into the scheme of his book various sources of earlier writings, is, of course, quite probable, but difficult to prove.
CROSS

from Daniel. That, of course, will be readily admitted. But modern investigation has penetrated behind this simple handing on of phrase and symbol from writer to writer, and has sought to show that much of the common symbolism so transmitted goes back to a primitive mythology, the origin of which is hidden in the speculation of peoples whose history lies on the border line where history fades into the obscurity of legend. This is, no doubt, largely true, and, if true, is of great importance for the right interpretation of the Apocalypse. If the author is making use of an ancient myth, which has passed through a long course of transmission, it is probable that much of the detail which forms part of it will be repeated by him because it is already there, and therefore, it has no particular significance for him. We shall, therefore, look for the outstanding ideas behind his pictures, and not seek to press a historical allusion, or a forecast of some detail of future history, out of every phrase and symbol.

Summary.—If we turn now from this survey to a forecast of the future, there is reason to think that the NT criticism of the days to come will, if we may judge from the general tendency of the more recent writings, more and more emancipate itself from those prejudices which have made it a byword in the past. There is much that is hopeful. On the one hand, there is a readiness to admit that the larger part of the NT writings have quite correctly been assigned by tradition to the 1st century. On the other, there is not the same eagerness to maintain the correctness of tradition in all its details that once inspired writers of the conservative school. Such a popular Introduction as that of Peake (1869) may be taken as a good example of the newer spirit, which is anxious neither to affirm nor to deny traditional positions, but only to come to the conclusions to which the evidence points, and to keep an open mind where the evidence is inconclusive. Of course, prejudices die hard, and the determination to keep the Catholic Epistles out of the 1st cent. has still much life in it in Germany. But, speaking generally, there seems to be growing up a school of critical writers who are freeing themselves from the axiomatic dogmatism, whether theological or anti-traditional, of the past century. As this school increases, it may be hoped that, even with regard to the Gospels, something like a really scientific method of inquiry may be reached. At present, it must be said, that the Prolegomena for such an inquiry have yet to be written.

Literature.—This is given in the footnotes. J. Moffatt’s Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament (Edinburgh, 1911), which appeared too late to be used in this article, should be specially referred to, as the most complete survey of the field of NT criticism. See also reviews of the book by the present writer in Exegetical Literature, May and June, 1911.

W. C. ALLEN.

CROMLECH.—See Death and Disposal of the Dead (European).

CROSS.—The cross (Lat. crux) is the figure produced by two lines intersecting one another, usually at right angles. This figure gives rise to numerous variations according to the direction of the limbs and the form of their extremities. W. Berry in his Encyclopedia Heraldica mentions no fewer than 385 different crosses, but the greater number have scarcely any interest except for decorative art and the science of heraldry. From the point of view of religious symbolism the only important types are the following: the equilateral cross, called also the Greek cross (a in illustration); the so-called Latin cross (crux truncata or capitata), in which the lower limb is longer than the three others (b); the Tau-shaped (paternoster or commissa) cross (c); the crux anastata or handled cross (d); the crux decussata or St. Andrew’s cross (e); the gammate cross (f); the Maltese or rayed cross (g); the Lorraine cross, with double or triple traverse (h); the cross perpendiculée, that is to say, mounted on steps (i).

I. Non-Christian crosses. — 1. The equilateral cross.—The equilateral cross, like the straight line, the curve, the circle, the crescent, the triangle, etc., forms so simple and natural a geometrical figure that in many instances it could not fail to present itself spontaneously to the imagination in quest of a sign to indicate anything that extends in the principal directions of space—the sky, the earth, rays of light, the wind-rose, etc.—and, by an extension of meaning, to stand for the abstract notion of space itself. It is easy to understand how, in the symbolism of some peoples, the cross may have served as a conventional representation of certain material objects whose contour it suggests—birds on the wing, men with outstretched arms, a double-headed hammer, the bow and drill apparatus for producing fire, etc.; and, everywhere, it may be said to have been used, above all, to represent radiation or space.

Thus we find that the equilateral cross was adopted by the Chaldeo-Assyrians as the symbol of the sky and of its god Anu (see fig. 2, a). The same peoples represented the sun and its eight regions by a circle from which eight rays pro-

ceeded (2, b). By coupling these rays in pairs there was produced the radiated cross which the king of

At the same time it must not be forgotten that the cross, like the triangle and other geometric figures, is sometimes merely ornamental in origin, with no symbolic significance whatever.

2 See Parrot-Chipiez, i. 308; cf. Layard, Monuments of Nineveh, 1849-53, pl. iv.


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Assyria wore suspended round his neck, like the cross worn by a Commander in our orders of knighthood (see fig. 3).

Schliemann has noted the presence of the cross upon the pottery and the wheel of the Trojans. The solar meaning of this symbol is attested by its alternating with the rayed disk. At times the two emblems appear in juxtaposition (see fig. 4, a).

Among the Greeks the sceptre of Apollo assumes at times the form of a cross (cf. coin of Gallienus reproduced in Victor Duruy's Hist. des Romains, Paris, 1885, vol. viii. p. 42), fig. 4, b. The cross is associated with the representation of Castor and Pollux, perhaps in order to emphasize their stellar character (so on coin of Caracalla).

In India likewise the equilateral cross alternates with the rayed disk. On an ancient coin reproduced by General Cunningham (Bhilsa Topes, 1854, pl. xxxi.) the branches of the cross terminate in arrow-heads (see fig. 5).

Among the Gauls, as well as among the peoples belonging to the Bronze period, the cross appears frequently on pottery, jewels, and coins (see G. de Mortillet, Le signe de la croix avant le christianisme, Paris, 1866, p. 44 ff.). Here again the emblem is clearly solar (see fig. 6). On the statuette of a Gaulish deity, discovered in France in the department of Côte d'Or, we see the tunic covered all over with crosses. The god, who is Sucellus (on whom cf. Renel, Religions de la Gaule avant le christianisme, Paris, 1906, pp. 252-257), holds in one hand the mallet which symbolizes the thunderbolt, and in the other a jar or olla (see fig. 7).

The cross is found in like manner in Mexico, in Peru, and above all in Central America, where its presence upon religious monuments did not fail to astonish the companions and the successors of Columbus, who saw in it a trace of a visit paid by St. Thomas, the apostle of the Indies (see Congrès international des américanistes, vol. 1, Brussels, 1879, p. 301 ff.). We know nowadays that these crosses are designed in allusion to the four quarters from which rain comes, and consequently to the winds that blow from the four cardinal points (see G. Mallery, in 10 Revue, 1893). The cross of pre-Columbian America is a veritable 'wind-rose,' and we can perceive how it thus became, among the Toltecs, the symbol of the god who dispenses the celestial waters, Tlahoé (see A. Réville, Religions du Mexique, Paris, 1885, p. 91 [also in Eng. tr.]). According to Réville, the Mexican cross was called the 'tree of fecundity' or the 'tree of life.' There has been found in the ruins of Palenqué a bas-relief representing persons in the act of adoration before a cross, on which rests a fantastic bird, more or less resembling a parrot. Perhaps this was the symbol of the god Quetzacoatl (the feathered serpent), who himself also, according to Réville, stands for a god of the wind (op. cit. p. 82; see also Thomas Wilson, The Securitika, 1896, p. 333 ff.). For a cross, representing the four winds, as thought of by the Dakotas, see fig. 8.

The arrow at the top of this cross marks the piercing blast of the north wind. Once the north wind is located at the head of the cross, the east wind will be symbolized by the heart, which in the human body is placed under the left arm. The south wind is pictured by the sun, as it shines from the region of light and warmth, and the west wind by a star, as it blows from the region of the night.

But the American cross may have assumed also a solar or stellar character, if one may judge from

The above figure (9), which has been met with on shells found in the mounds of New Mexico; and from those, not less significant (10), which have been found among the Dakota pictographs. See, further, following article.

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1 See Flouest, Deux états de territoire, Paris, 1855, pl. xvii.
2 See Revue Celtique, 1870, p. 5.
3 See Revue Celtique, 1870, p. 5.
4 See Flouest, in 5 Revue, 1855.
Among the Chinese, the equilateral cross inscribed within a square, \[ \begin{array}{c} \hline \\ \hline \end{array} \], stands for the earth.

According to Samuel Beal (Indian Antiquity, 1881, p. 67), it is found in China even the dicum God fashioned the earth in the form of a cross. It is curious to meet with an analogous symbolism in a Church Father. 'The aspect of the cross,' writes Jerome (Con. in Marcem), 'what is it but the form of the world in its four directions? [Apud species crucis, quid est nis forma quadrata mundi?]. The cross is represented by the top, the north by the right limb (looking from the cross), the south by the left, the west by the.

2. The handled cross and the cross potencée.—The potencée form \[ T \] produced by suppressing the upper limb of the Latin cross, is called also the Tau cross, because it reproduces the form of the Greek letter \[ \tau \]. The magical virtue which down to our day has been attributed to this sign owes its origin unquestionably to the veneration paid by the Egyptians from their pre-historic days to the handled cross, or key of life, represented by a cross potencée surmounted by a handle (see fig. 11). This cross, which is met with on the most ancient monuments of the Egyptian monarchy, is frequently to be seen in the hand of a god, a priest, or a king. Archeologists have maintained by turns that it represents a Nilometer (Pharaoh), the key of a canal-lock (Zeus), a jar upon an altar (Ungarelli), a degenerate form of the winged globe (Layard), a phallic (Jablonski), the loin-cloth worn by the Egyptians (Sayce). In the paintings on the tombs it appears to be employed by the divinities to awaken the dead to a new life. The following inscription may be read upon a bas-relief of the 12th dynasty, where the goddess Anukit is seen holding the extremity of the handled cross to the nostrils of the king Pepy II: 'I give thee life, stability, purity, like Ra, eternally.' Elsewhere the ideogram formed by the handled cross in the hieroglyphic script \[ \top \] (pronounced ankh), signifies 'life,' 'living' (E. M. Coemans, Manuel de langue égyptienne, Ghent, 1887, pt. 1, p. 40). Whatever may be the material object of which the handled cross is the representation, its abstract sense is not doubtful: it is a symbol of life, of the vital germ, and it is not without reason that it has been called the key of life.\[1\]

From Egypt the key of life, now become a magical and propitiatory sign, spread to the Phenicians and then to the whole Semitic world.

\[ a \]

\[ b \]

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In a Maya manuscript two persons appear to be in the act of adoration before a tree which affects the form T, and where a parrot-like bird has taken the place of the upper arm of the cross (see fig. 16).

3. The gammaate cross, or gammation. — This cross derives its name from the fact that it can be resolved into four gammaes joined at right angles (see fig. 17). In spite of its apparently complicated structure, it is, next to the equilateral cross, the form most widely diffused throughout all antiquity. It has been met with on terra-cotta articles at Hissarlik, from the tomb of the second or burnt city. In Greece proper and the islands of the Archipelago it makes its appearance first upon articles of pottery with geometrical ornaments, which form the second period of Greek ceramics. It is frequent upon the ancient vases of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Athens. Upon an Athenian vase, in a burial scene, it appears thrice repeated before the funeral car. Upon a vase of Thera it accompanies the image of the Persian Artemis. Elsewhere it adorns the statue of an Asiatic goddess. Upon a vase now at Vienna it appears as an ornament on the breast of an Apollo standing upon a quadriga (cf. Goblet d’Alviella, The Migration of Symbols, London, 1894, pl. 1). It became a favourite symbol on coins, and passed along with the other monetary symbols of the Greeks into the numismatic art of all the Mediterranean peoples.

This cross is also found engraved upon those hut-shaped funeral urns which have been dug up in the terrasses of N. Italy. It likewise appears on the jewels and the weapons, not only of Gallic, but also of German and Scandinavian peoples. In company with the wheel and the thunderbolt, it adorns the votive altars of the Gallico-Roman period, from Aquitaine to Great Britain. In the Caesars it has been noted upon weapons and jewels which go back to the Bronze period. In Lycaonia, on a Hittite monument, it is introduced as an ornament on the border of the robe of a person engaged in offering sacrifices.

In India, where it bears the name of swastika (from svu, 'well,' and asti, 'it is') when the limbs are bent towards the right (fig. 17, a), and savastika when they are turned to the left (fig. 17, b), it is already found upon the domino-shaped ingots of silver which preceded the use of coins, and then upon the coins themselves. The Buddhists employed it largely. A notable instance of its use, along with other symbols, is in the classical representation of the Buddha (see fig. 19), among the bas-reliefs of the famous stūpa of Amaravati. It passed, with no doubt, along with Buddhism, into the iconography of China and Japan, where it occupies a pre-eminent place on the pedestal of Buddhist statues, and even at times adorns the breast of Buddha and the Bodhisattvas.1 In China, moreover, the swastika found a place among the written characters, where it conveys the notion of 'plurality,' and, by extension, of 'abundance,' 'prosperity,' 'long life' (Thomas Wilson, The Swastika, p. 799). The same is the case in Japan, where, according to de Milloné, it represents the number 10,000, and consequently the idea of abundance and prosperity (BS:L, 1881, p. 191). The Empress Wu (684-704) of the Tang dynasty decreed that it should be used as a sign for the sun (Yang y Yu, in Wilson’s Swastika, pl. 2).

Even at the present day the Hindus make frequent use of this figure, which they may trace in their account books and, on certain occasions, on the threshold of their houses. According to Sir George Birdwood,2 they distinguish clearly between the swastika and the saumadika, the first representing the male principle and the god Ganesa, the second the female principle and the goddess Kôtì. In an extended sense, the first stands for the sun in his diurnal course, or for light and life; the second for night and destruction. The sect of the Jains in India has chosen the swastika as the emblem of the seventh of their twenty-four saints, or Tirthankaras (Colebrooke, On the Jaines, in Asiatic Researches, Calcutta, 1788-1836, p. 308).

The gammate cross has been met with sporadically also on bronze articles among the Ashantis of Africa; and also on native implements from Paraguay, Costa Rica, and Yucatan. In the ancient Maya city of Mayapan it adorned a stone slab which bore also the image of the solar disk, exactly as in Gaul, India, Asia Minor, East India. In N. America it is seen among the crosses engraved on shell and copper ornaments from the mounds, and the Pueblo Indians still use it to decorate their trinkets, bead necklaces, baskets, and rugs.3

From the circumstances in which the gammate cross has been traced or employed, it follows that, in every instance in which a symmetrical meaning has been attributed to it, it is a sign of good omen.

1 See J. REEW, 1884, p. 32.
2 See Wilson’s Swastika, pl. 1.
3 See d’Alviella, À travers le Far West, Brussels, 1896, p. 160.
of propitiation and benediction, an emblem of prosperity, of life, of safety (the stouwostika, where a distinction is drawn between the two forms of the gamma-cross, is an exception which proves the rule). But whence comes this general function of luck-bringer and talisman? There is scarcely a symbol which has given rise to so diverse interpretations. Men have seen in it, e.g., running water (Waring), the air or the god of the air (R. P. Greg), fire or the bow and drill apparatus for producing fire (Emile Burnouf), the lightning (W. Schwartz), the female sex (George Birdwood), the union of the two sexes (J. Hoffman), a Futhark monogram (General Cunningham), the reminiscence of the four castes of India (Fred. Pictet), the nautillus [Gr. ναυτης, cf. the fylfot] (Frederick Hossayy), cranes flying (Karl von den Steinen), the primitive god of the Indo-Europeans (de Zmigrodzki), the sun in its course round the heavens (Ludwig Müller, Percy Gardner, Edw. B. Thomas, Max Müller, Henri Gaidoz, Goblet d'Alviella).

It might even be maintained, on the strength of the monuments, that, after having served as a symbol of the sun in motion, the gammate cross came to symbolize astronomical motion in general, and thus to be applied to the moon, the stars, the sky itself, and to everything that appears to move of itself—water, wind, lightning, fire, etc. In this way it would readily become a sign of prosperity, fertility, blessing, or the apparence of such deities as secured the development of man and of Nature (see figs. 20, 21).

The question may be asked whether the gammate cross can be assigned to a single birthplace. Its two most ancient known habitats are: the one in the burnt city of the ruins at Hissarlik, the other among the accounts of N. I. It can hardly be supposed that both of these districts borrowed it from the valley of the Danube during the Bronze age. From these two centres it may have spread—while retaining its double significance as a solar symbol and as a sign of life or of blessing—on the one hand, towards the west, to the extremities of the Celtic and German world; on the other, towards the east, by way of the Caucasus, India, China, and Japan.

Again, has the gammate cross of the New World an independent origin? The supposition is by no means inadmissible that it arose spontaneously. But the answer to this question depends in some measure upon whether infiltrations of Asiatic iconography did not make their way across the ocean during the era of pre-Columbian civilization. And this is a problem which appears to be yet far from being solved.

II. The Christian cross.—The cross in the Christian sense is the χρισματις or хрисма инфилиз, a wooden post surmounted by a cross-beam, to which the Romans, following the example of the Greeks and the Easterns, nailed or attached certain classes of condemned criminals till they died. The fact that Jesus suffered death on the cross has converted this innocuous figure into a symbol of resurrection and salvation. ‘I determined to know among you nothing save Jesus Christ and him crucified,’ writes St. Paul (1 Co 2). The early Christians saw the cross as the all the intersecting lines which presented themselves to their view in ordinary life, in art, in Nature. The ‘sign of the cross’ was their favourite symbol. ‘At every step, at every movement, at every coming in and going out,’ wrote Pertinian at the beginning of the 3rd cent., (de Corona, 3), ‘in putting on our clothes and our shoes, in the bath, at table in the evening, lying down or sitting, whatever attitude we assume, we mark our foreheads with this sign of the cross.’ Moreover, Christians had to defend themselves against the charge of pagans that they paid adoration to the cross like an idol. ‘Crucis non collimus nec optamus,’ wrote Minucius Felix. ‘But it is plain that the great mass of Christian people received a new, and a magical value to this sign. At all events they used it as a form of exorcism, a means of warding off unclean spirits. One of the most ancient portable crosses, found in a Christian tomb at Rome, bears the inscription: ‘Crux est vita mia; mortis iniqua tua.’ (The cross is my life; death, O enemy [the devil], to thee).’ Soon the cross came to work miracles of itself. People went the length of marking cattle with it to protect them from disease.

The cross has been called the ‘cross of Christ’ by Roman Catholic archaeologist, P. Didron, more than a figure of Christ; it is in iconography Christ Himself or His symbol. ‘Thus a legend has been created around it as if it were a living being; thus it has been made the hero of an intrigue germinating in the Apocalypse, growing in the Golden Legend; unfolding and completing itself in the works of sculpture and painting from the 14th to the 16th century.’ This is an allusion to the celebration of the mystical period of Giacomo da Varaggio (13th century), where it is related how, after the death of Adam, Seth planted upon his tomb a branch taken from the tree of life. When the slip had grown into a tree, Moses obtained from it his magick wand; he took from it the wood for his temple. Finally, the executioners of Jesus cut from it the materials for fashioning the cross. This cross, buried upon Golgotha, was disinterred in the time of the empress Helena; and the Church spread its discovery commemorating the 3rd of May (13th Sept. in the Eastern Church) as the annual festival of the Inventio Crucis. Carried off by Chosroes, it was miraculously recovered by Heraclius fourteen years later, in honour of which the Church instituted another annual festival on the 14th of Sept., the Exaltatio Crucis. Lost once more after the Muslim invasion, it is to reappear finally in the sky at the end of the world.

The Holy Cross had its special churches as it had its festivals; not a few cities even were named in its honour. Thus Roman Catholic writers admit that the cross has become the object of a veritable cult. ‘The cross,’ writes Didron (loc. cit.), ‘has received a worship similar, if not equal, to that of Christ; this sacred wood is adored almost equally with God Himself.’ Many churches possess, amongst their miraculous relics, alleged fragments of the cross. A legend, intended to explain their abundance, relates that these fragments had the miraculous prerogative not only of healing diseases, but even of reproducing and multiplying themselves indefinitely.

Strangely enough, the early Christians, in spite of the importance they attached to the cross, refrained from reproducing it in their iconography.

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2 From a Cretan coin (Numismatische Chronik, vol. xx. [No. 3] pl. ii. fig. 7).

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1 Nigle, P.L. iii. 546.
2 De Rossi, Schede di Arch. Cristiana, 1872, p. 123; see further, Art. Charms and Amulets (Chr.), vol. iii. p. 406.
3 P. Didron, Histoire de Dieu, 1843, p. 561.
During the first three centuries (with possibly a single exception, that of the equilateral cross cut on a sepulchral inscription, which de Rossi believes may have been assigned to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd; see also the cross of Christ is invariably to be associated with an object which recalls its image: a trident, an anchor (see figs. 22, 23), a ship with rigging; or under the forms of the cross already employed by other cults, the cross potent and the gammate cross. The cross potent, according to certain archeologists, is, by the way, the form which most accurately recalls the instrument of crucifixion employed by the Romans.

At the dawn of the 3rd cent. the Christians designated Jesus Christ by a monogram composed of the first two letters of *Iwov χριστός*, or of *XP*XPotos, R. The addition of a transverse bar, χ or ρ, exhibits the cross or, better still, Christ upon the cross, especially when, by an after process of simplification, the chi-rho becomes χ or ρ. Further, the Latin cross already appears upon certain coins of Constantine, although this emperor, i.e., in this policy of religious eclecticism, shows no scruple about introducing on the same coins representations of Mars or Apollo as gods. Julian, of course, suppressed both cross and chi-rho. But, after his time, the cross finally takes its place upon coins and even upon the Imperial diadem. At the same time it asserts itself under its proper form in funeral inscriptions, upon altars, reliquaries, lamps, jewels, and even upon the façades of houses and the tops of basilicas, where it takes the place of the monogram; and before long it may be seen furnishing the ground plan of churches. In the 5th cent. the employment of the cross potent becomes rare except in Celtic countries, where it continues to show itself in inscriptions. In like manner the policy of religious eclecticism, the cross now appears only sporadically, in the west and the north of Europe, upon tombstones and sepulchral vestments.

The so-called Latin cross and the equilateral crosses were at first employed without discrimination. Only gradually did the equilateral come to be the specialty of the East, and the form with unequal limbs that of the West.

As to the crucifix, i.e., a cross with the body of Jesus nailed to it, this representation does not make its appearance till the 7th century. The art of the Middle Ages was not slow to heighten its realism still more. But at the same time a distinction was drawn between the cross of the Passion, which is accompanied by all the implements of crucifixion, and the cross of the Resurrection, with which Jesus ascends to heaven.

The first is painted sometimes green, because it was seen on the ground, sometimes red, because it was stained with the blood of Christ. The second is painted sometimes blue, the colour of the sky; sometimes white, as symbolizing the invisible Divinity. It is this last which is carried at the head of processions.

The cross became a hierarchal symbol in the Church. Thus the Pope has the privilege of having carried before him a cross with three bars, while cardinals and archbishops have to be content with two, and bishops with one.

Finally, the cross served as a symbol in the primitive of the Middle Ages as a symbol of certain religious rights. Such were the market crosses in Germany, which implied the municipal jurisdiction; the perrons, or crosses mounted upon a column, which in certain towns of Belgium and Germany were regarded as an emblem of jurisdiction, and even as the palladium of local liberties. When Charles the Bold wished to punish the inhabitants of Liége, he carried away their perron and set it up for six years at Bruges. For a number of centuries the phrase 'to take the cross' meant to devote oneself to fight the infidels. Hence the orders of knighthood and the crosses of honour, the bestowal of which has now nothing to do with religion.

After all that we have said, it is needless to stop to examine theories, ancient or modern, which seek to claim a pagan origin for the Christian cross, on the ground that earlier cults had cruciform signs among their symbolism, while others would discover points of analogy between the crosses of ancient civilizations and the votations of the Crucifixion. We must content ourselves with referring the reader to the respective supporters of these theories (e.g. Emile Burnouf, Gabriel de Mortillet, Mourant Brock, Abbé Ansaull, etc.).


**Goblet d'Alviella.**

**Cross (American).**—The appearance of the cross symbol among the semi-civilized and savage peoples of America in all probability admits of a genuine two-fold interpretation. It amalgamates in all likelihood two cognitive ideas: (1) that of the cross as a symbol of the Passion, or emanating from the four cardinal points; (2) that of the 'world tree,' 'tree of life,' or 'tree of our flesh' (Mexican *Teonagualquihuitl*), analogous in some ways to the Scandinavian *Yggdrasill*, or cosmic tree, whose roots surrounded the universe. The first, in its pictorial and mural form, was probably evolved from the second as an art convention. There can be no question of the genuine aboriginal character of the cross symbol as found in America. Its origin appears to have to do with the adoption in use in the Old World—evolution from a symbol of the four cardinal points; but any hypothesis of its importation from Europe

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or Asia would require much weightier proof of European or Asiatic colonization than has yet been advanced, and is easily discounted by the unanswerable signs of its widespread aboriginal use throughout the American continent.

On the discovery of Yucatan, where the lieutenants of Cortes found crosses at Cuzamul and elsewhere, the wildest theories were propounded to account for their appearance in the New World. These crosses were about 3 ft. in height, and were usually found in an enclosure called teopen, or the buildings surrounding a temple. The Spanish missionaries believed that they had been introduced by the apostle St. Thomas; or that early Spanish colonists, driven out by the Moors, had sought refuge in America, and had brought with them the sacred symbol. The missionaries then proceeded to inquire after representations of the Cross in Mexico, and it was discovered that one had existed in pictorial form on a manuscript which had been buried to prevent its destruction by the invaders, but which had subsequently rotted underground. This figure undoubtedly represents an ancient symbol of the Sun, always intended in Mexico when the word ‘God’ (Teotl) was employed, as in the present instance, without any indication of the particular deity which the figure represented. Thus it was that the Aztec goddess of rains, Chalchihuitlicue, bore a cross in her hand, as most of the principal deities of Egyptian mythology carry a cognate symbol, the hand, at the foot of the pyramid. It was a fact well known to the Aztec, that the feast celebrated in her honour in the early spring, victims were nailed to a cross and shot with arrows.

2. As a symbol of the four winds.—As a symbol of the four cardinal points from which the winds, and therefore the rains, came, the cross was well entitled to the designation of ‘tree of our life’ in the arid climate of Yucatan. To each quarter of the heavens a quarter of the ritual year belonged. The Aztec goddess of rains, Chalchihuitlicue, bore a cross in her hand, as most of the principal deities of Egyptian mythology carry a cognate symbol, the hand, at the foot of the pyramid. It was a fact well known to the Aztec, that the feast celebrated in her honour in the early spring, victims were nailed to a cross and shot with arrows.

The Mayan designation of the cross was indeed Vahom che, ‘the tree erected or set up.’ In the Palenque cross, at the ends of the branches, which are probably intended to indicate leaves or fruit, on the summit is perched a bird, probably a turkey, decked out in the brilliant plumage of more brightly-feathered fowl. The cross in question was probably regarded as in some measure the pedestal of the quivering turkey-feast. The flesh of the turkey was a staple of Mexican diet, and in this way, it may be, the bird had become associated with the idea of subsistence and the ‘tree of life’ itself. In any case the cross of Palenque was known as teqnoqualtun che, or ‘tree of the plumed turkey.’ A priest stands on the proper right of the base-relief, offering as a sacrifice a small human figure made from maize paste, and not a newly-born child, as some authorities state. On the proper left stands an acolyte, offering up a stalk of maize. At the roots of the cross a hideous head appears. It is that of Chichamocahuatl (female serpent), or Tonantzin (our Mother), to give her her Mexican designation—the earth-goddess, the mother of the earth people, extending ropes across a lake, thus forming a gigantic cross, at the point of intersection of which they cast in offerings of precious stones, gold, and odorous ols. In the State of Wisconsin many low cultic mounds are found, exactly of this form. These were probably altars to the four winds. In the mythology of the Dakotas the winds were always conceived as birds; and the name of the cross in the Dakota language signifies the mosquito-blown spread out.

2. As the ‘world tree.’—In those Mexican and Mayan pictures which deal with cosmology the world tree is depicted as standing in the centre of the universe, with its roots deep in the earth, its branches among the clouds, as if in search of rain. The Mexicans worshipped the tree as Tota (our Father), whom they further described as ‘god of the waters and of vegetation,’ although he also appears to have been the god of fertility, the tree of life, the source of the waters of the Kiche (or Quiché) of Guatemala, women desirous of children sought out a tree overhanging a pool, to which they prayed as the emblem of fertility; and this indicates the possible phallic origin of the tree of life. The root, or trunk, of this tree, is still an object of veneration in many hamlets of Central America. The sacred pole of the Omahas typifies the cosmic tree, the centre of the four winds, and the dwelling of the thunder-bird; and tree-burial and the celebration of the funeral of an American is the custom of Mexico. There are many other tree myths, and the sacred tree also appears symbolically throughout America in the form of the poles and stakes which surround the prayer-houses and kivas of many American tribes.

Lewis Spence.

CROSS-ROADS.—Cross-roads are very generally regarded as the dwelling-place or resort of evil spirits, ghosts, etc., and have been considered unlucky or even dangerous, while various precautions are resorted to in order to ward off their dangers. On the other hand, they are sometimes associated with a divinity—probably, in the first instance, because images of the divinity were placed there to counteract the powers of evil, and a cult of the divinity was observed at the cross-ways. Or they may be regarded as sacred in themselves. Thus in the Avesta a formula reads: ‘We sacrifice to the divinity of the meeting of the roads’ (SBE xxvi. [1887] 290). In ancient India they were not to be defiled or obstructed (ib. xxii. [1884] 182, xxxii. [1889] 158). But the reverence for such a divinity of cross-roads was soon mingled with the fear of the demonin-
CROSS-ROADS

influences, and we find the divinity often regarded as sharing in the characteristic evil and horrible traits of the very demoniac beings which he or she was supposed to hold at bay. The association of the beings or of a divinity with cross-roads is an extension of their association with roads in general, and is already found among some lower tribes in connexion with the rough paths leading through forests. The association is likely to be widespread.

1. Burial at cross-roads.—(a) There is evidence that the dead were sometimes buried at cross-roads, and this would be one reason for their being regarded as particularly ghost-haunted places—a belief which, with certain exceptions, is held by many people. Among the ancient Hindus there was a practice of erecting a dāgoba or stūpa (a mound in which bones and ashes were placed) at cross-roads. These were to be erected there in honour of the divinity, with a stake driven through his body. nibbāna Sutta, v. 26, vi. 53—SBE xi. [1881] 93, 125 ; cf. Oldenberg's remarks, Col. des Veda, Berlin, 1894, p. 562.

In Slavie lands, caims and tumuli are often found at cross-roads, and the older literature on burial refers to a cult of the dead there (Grimm, Kleines Schriften, Berlin, 1865, ii. p. 283). Other instances are reported among the Greeks, Germans, etc. (Lippert, Ed. der europ. Culturphänom. p. 100). Winternitz, Deutsche Volkenkgr. der Gegenwart, Berlin, 1900, § 105 ; Winternitz, Denkshr. der kais. Akad. der Wissensch., Vienna, xi. [1892] 68).

In Hungary, persons believed to have succumbed to the malice of a witch or demon were sometimes buried at cross-roads, to deliver them from this influence, as witches had no power there—an unusual belief (FLJ ii. [1894] 101). This is an instance of the riddance of evil at cross-roads (see § 5). It is not improbable that certain places were holy burial places at cross-roads was the desire for reincarnation. Among the Mongols, among many N. American tribes, and in W. Africa, children are often buried by the side of a path or road, in order that the ghost may be enabled to follow them. FLJ v. viii. 93—SBE xxx. [1892] 40. Among the Muhammedan peoples, cross-roads are one of the numerous resorts of the jinn (Lane, Arabian Society, 1885, p. 37).

(b) But in the case of persons whose ghosts are malicious, e.g. witches, it is held that they must be buried at cross-roads must be sought. Among such persons are those who have committed suicide, and occasionally murder. Custom and law in England prescribed that the suicide should be buried at a cross-road; or if no such place could be found in the county, at the middle of the grave should be covered with a stone (Stephen, Hist. of Crim. Law, 1883, iii. 105 ; FL vii. [1897] 199). The custom was abolished in 1823. Criminals also were executed at cross-roads, e.g. Tyburn, the most frequented place of execution in England. Stake and stone were intended to prevent the restless ghost from wandering and troubling the neighbourhood. It has also been suggested that the constant traffic over the grave would help to keep the ghost down, or that the number of roads would confuse it, and so prevent its finding its way home, or that the cross would act as a disperser of the evil energy concentrated in the body or the ghost, or that sacrificial victims, killed with their hands upon the cross, were formerly slain on the altars at cross-roads, which were therefore regarded as fitting places for the execution and burial of criminals, after the introduction of Christianity (FL viii. 264 ; Westermarck, MII, 1908, ii. 298 ; EHR vii. viii. 510). To this it should be added that suicides were generally buried in out-of-the-way places; and the cross-roads, being a place of evil repute, would naturally be selected for the grave of such people. The underlying thought is that riddance of the contamination of evil, and in no better place could this be effected than at the cross-roads (see § 5). A parallel custom of burying at the cross-roads the bodies of children still-born or born deformed, and criminals considered unlucky is found in Uganda, where also the bodies of suicides, with the tree on which they hanged themselves or the hill in which they took their lives, were burned at cross-roads. And it is noticeable that women who pass that way throw a stone or, stones, on the grave to prevent the spirits from entering them and being re-born (Roscoe, Manners and Customs of the Baganda, JAI xxxxi. [1902] 30, and Frazer, Totemism and Exogamy, 1910, ii. 567, iii. 125). In America, the mother, brother, or child were slain at a place outside the walls where three roads met, and their bodies were exposed naked (Plato, Leg. ix. 873).

2. Ghosts, spirits, and demons at cross-roads. —Cross-roads are places of evil, or evil sources, and the common resort of evil spirits. As places of burial, cross-roads would naturally be haunted by the ghosts of the dead; but also, as ghosts would be often passing along the roads, the crossing of them by burial at their former homes, they would be more numerous at cross-roads. The ghostly train is often seen on roads, but more particularly at their intersections; hence, to see them one would naturally go there, as in the Abruzzi, where at the festival of the dead, the thronging ghosts can be seen at the cross-ways by any one standing there with his chin resting on a forked stick (Finamore, Credenze, usi, e costumi abruzzesi, Palermo, 1890, pp. 150-2).

But, besides ghosts, they must be regarded on the cross-ways. This is a wide-spread belief in India, one particular class of demoniac beings—bhuts—being usually found at cross-roads, while other 'waylayers' lurk there also (Oldenberg, 267 ; Crooke, F E v. 1890, 269—SBE xxx. [1892] 49).

Among the Muhammedan peoples, cross-roads are one of the numerous resorts of the jinn (Lane, Arabian Society, 1885, p. 37). In Russia, vampires are thought to lurk by night at cross-roads, ready to attack the passer-by (Russ. Folk-Tales, 1753, p. 311). In Europe generally, witches were associated with the cross-ways. There they gathered up money scattered by the devil; there, too, they met, and, in some cases, the devil himself took part in the meeting, i.e. the witch was betrayed on Walpurgis night, when they might be seen by him who put on his clothes inside out and crept backwards to the place; while the ringing of consecrated bells on that night hindered their dancing with the devil at cross-roads (Grimm, Tent. Myth. [Eng. tr. 1880-8], 1074, 1115, 1799, 1805, 1824 ; Stewart, Superstitions of Witchcraft, 1865, p. 128). On the other hand, witches are occasionally regarded as having no power at cross-roads. In Naples it is held that witches cannot go round them on their way to a meeting, as they cannot pass them; and in Hungary cross-roads are believed to neutralize their evil powers (FL viii. 3 ; FLJ ii. 101). Here, probably, the form of the cross acts as a prophylactic. Sprites, kobolds, and fairies are also sporadically associated with cross-roads (Grimm, 838, 1115 ; Geethe, Feust, iii. i. 40). In medieval superstition there was no better place than a cross-road for the purpose of evoking evil spirits, especially the devil (Pliny), who (with a devilish or unholy) is found with them. The magical treaties then current explicitly set this forth ; thus the Clavicula Solomonis says : ' For magical operations a secret, remote, deserted, and uninhabited place is necessary, but best of all are the cross-ways.'
The origin of the belief in the presence of evil agencies at cross-roads may be found in the simple fact that, as people were more numerous at cross-roads, so naturally would all evil powers be, such as any misused habit or vice. The same is true of roads leading to cross-roads. Men always fear demons and spirits which they believe lurk on the edge of the forest path or rude roadway, ready to pounce on the belated traveller, and in many cases roads are believed to be infested by them (Mommsen, WILLIAMS, 1863, i. 94). For these reasons they take precautions at cross-roads. In India, mantras must be said; e.g. at a bridal procession the bridegroom had to say, 'May no wayfarers meet us!' They should not be stopped at, and the traveller should pass with his right hand turned to them (SBE ii. 229, vii. 350, xxv. 135, 150, xxx. 49). Similarly, in Sweden, no bridegroom will stand near a cross-road on his wedding-day—a precaution against 'envy and malice' (Chambers, Book of Days, 1893, i. 45). See also § 5.

The cross-roads is found in the 6th cent. story of Theophilus, and in the old tradition it was a cross-road near Wittberg that Faust sold himself into immortality to. The custom was to go to the cross-way by night, and there make a magic circle in which cases for them were inscribed, and then to call up the dead. Similarly, witches made their compact with Satan at cross-roads. In the case of the Swedish witches in the 17th cent., they first put on a pair of suspects and danced round a cross-road. Then, going to the cross-road, they thrice called on the devil to come, and when the latter was about to appear, they promised to serve him body and soul, and he then conveyed them to the Seaborg (Grimm, 1874; Faring-Gouria, Curious Myths, 1888, p. 25). This custom still lurks in the trees of the cross-ways. In India, mantras must be said; e.g. at a bridal procession the bridegroom had to say, 'May no wayfarers meet us!'

'Whenever from the Root-country, the Bottom-country (= Hades), there may come savage and unkindly beings, commit not and partake with them, but, if they go below, keep watch above; if they go above, keep watch below, protecting you against pollution with a night guarding.'

'Three of these are mentioned in 1 norte—Yachimata-hiko, the Eight-road fork princess, Yachimata hiko, the Eight-road fork princess, and Kurando, whose name, 'Come-not-place,' is suggestive of his functions as a repeller of evil beings. The first two are represented as huge naked figures with sexual organs. The last is as a simple phantom. Another phantom god, Sakuta hiko, dwells at the eight cross-roads of Heaven, and is said to have acted as guide to Ninkiku on his coming to earth. He is also called Dassibi, or 'Road-ancestor deity,' and is found at cross-roads for the securing of his benediction. His abdomen is stretched a rope supported by bamboo sticks. Jizo, the Buddhist children's god, now occupies his place at cross-ways (Aston, Shinto, 1890, pp. 130, 197, 198, 199, 219, 250).

The phallic origin of these gods, in accordance with the well-known property ascribed to the sexual organs as warders of evil spirits, their protective powers; and as instigators of devital influences, and their ultimate position as gods of travellers recall the position of the Greek Hermes and the Hermaphrodite (cf. p. 333).

Among the Teutonic peoples occurred a yearly procession of the image of a god or goddess (Frey,
Nerthus, Holda, Berchta, etc.) round each district, for the purpose of promoting fertility (Tac. Germ. 40; Grimm, 213, 251, 256, 257). The roundABOUT of this procession was mingled with the myth of the FuRious Host or the witches' jaunt, headed by one of those divinities—a myth which in pagan times told of an aerial course of the god or goddess with a large retinue, spending part of the course of their images followed by the jubilant crowd on earth. It was connected with the latter, and perhaps in part originated from it, as an archetypal myth (cf. Grimm, 1655-56). At cross-roads, the waggon surrounded the boundaries, and the divinity would then be associated with boundaries, and so with roads and cross-ways. In some of the later traditions, cross-roads appear to be unlucky to these wandering hosts, now become demoniac and associated with sorcery, with the devil and witches. Berchta's waggon breaks down at the cross-roads, so also does that of Frau Gauden, and the help of a mortal is necessary to repair it (see the traditional tales in Grimm, 273, 926). Perhaps there is here a distorted reminiscence of a halting of the procession of the image and waggon at cross-roads, either for a sacrifice to the divinity, or for the performance of some rite by which his or her protection would be secured against the sway of demons. Later, when the divinity became a more or less demoniac being, the folk-memory of the halting of the waggon produced the story that the waggon broke down. The divinity no longer repelled evil influences at cross-roads, but was powerless to influence the cross-roads being unlucky to him or her, as in the case of witches (cf. § 2). On the other hand, it is not impossible that offerings were laid at cross-roads for the divinities to partake of in their aerial waggon. The divinity of Hekataeus also, as her images stood there, so probably images of some of these Teutonic divinities may have been set up at cross-roads. This is suggested by traces of a cult to gods or ghosts of the dead at cross-roads (the haunt of souls), santhematinc, i.e. in the Church. Prayers, offerings, and the consumption of such offerings, votive offerings (vota; pedum similitudines quas per biennium ponunt), and the ritual lighting of candles and torches at cross-ways (biesta, triewa) are all recorded; they are probably applied to Celtic as well as to Teutonic custom (S. Eligius and Burchard, in Grimm, 1738, 1744; de la Saussaye, Religion of the Teutons, Boston, 1902, p. 290; Grimm, Kleinere Schriften ii. 298). Sitting on a bull's hide at night is a newly born god (in order to console himself, according to Arist. Plut. 50 f.; Lucian, Dial. Mort. i. 1; Athenaeus, viii. 123, xvii. 57, xiv. 53; Porphyrius de Abstin. ii. 25). Travellers also deposited offerings at cross-roads. An etiological myth told how Hecate, as a newly born infant, lived in danger and was rescued and brought up by shepherds (schol. on Lycophron, 1189). This probably points to an actual custom of exposure at cross-roads (found also in Chaldea), made use of to explain Hecate's connection with them.

Hermes, as god of roads and boundaries, and of travellers, was also associated with the cross-ways as an averter of ill. On roads and boundaries, but especially at cross-roads, stood a heap of stones with a pillar, a rude shape of Zeus (Hermes). The passer-by added a stone to the heap, as a rite of riddance and in order to avert the evil influences associated with the place. These became the more sacred as more boundary and mile and direction posts, and placed at cross-roads as well as on streets, roads, and at doors. The phallos was a prominent object among them (Herod. ii. 51), in accordance with the belief in phallic emblems as averters of ill. As in the case of the Hokatai, these Hermes had often several heads, and for the same reason. Offerings were made to them, and were sometimes eaten by hungry wayfarers. Theophrastus in his Charact. describes the pious man pouring oil on the sacred stones (Hermes) at cross-roads, falling on

Christianity replaced the divine images at cross-roads by frescoes or images and shrines of the Madonna. At the latter, especially, flowers and candles are offered and prayers said, exactly as in the case of the Hermas and Hekataios (Tredo, *Das Heidenthum in der rom. Kirche*, Gotla, 1891, i. 334, 398).

An example of a cult of a divinity at cross-roads from a lower level of civilization is found among the Yos of the Shire Highlands who, when on a journey, call little shrines to the god Mulungu, a place where two ways meet, exactly as in the case of Greek and Roman travellers, to Hecate, Hermes, or the Lares (see vol. ii. p. 358). 4. Omens at cross-roads.—The connexion of omens, divine or demoniac, with cross-roads caused these to be regarded as places where omens might be sought. In East Central Africa a traveller who comes to a cross-way lays two stones for the purpose of divination, against the blade of a knife laid horizontally. He points to one saying, 'Shall I take this one?' If the roots remain still, he takes it. If they fall, he takes the other (Macdonald, *Africa*, 1852, i. 215). The deliberate making of cross-ways in India is probably to discover whether he should proceed on the way to Jerusalem to attack it. He 'stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination: he shook the arrows to and fro, he consulted the teraphim, he looked in the liver' (Ezk. 21). In Germany it was a custom to listen at a cross-way on Christmas or New-Year at midnight. In this way the seeker heard or saw what would befall him during the year. Or, if he heard leaves shake or saw a man go barefoot, then on the cross-way, he went back to his home, (Grimm, 1113, 1812, 1819). The listening was intended to catch what the spirits were saying as to coming events. In Japan a method of cross-way divination (tenji-umi) was used by women and lovers, is to place a stick over the ground, and to interpret the words spoken by passers-by as an answer to the question put by the inquirer. Another method is to sound a comb three times at a cross-way by day or night, and whipping the back of the comb, sahit-no-kami, to say thrice, 'O thou god of the cross-ways-divination, grant me a true response.' The answer is found in the words spoken by the next or the third passer-by (Aston, 346). With this method of Peking divination, there would be a way to cross-ways by night and applying to oneself as an omen of good or evil all that is said by passers (J. Atkinson, *Women of Persia*, 1882, p. 11). In Germany a girl went to a cross-way to discover whether she would be married during the year, or she shook out a table-cloth there. Then a man appeared and saluted her. The future husband would be of the same height and appearance (Grimm, 1115, 1757). An old Hindu custom for a man to discover whether his wife will give a good or bad child, is to let her choose one of several clods taken from lucky and unlucky places, one of the latter being a cross-way (Oldenberg, 510). In India the balance for ordeals was erected at a temple or in a cross-way—a favourite abide of Dhammaraja, the god of justice, when he appears on earth (SBE xxxiii. [1889] 104).

5. Magical rites at cross-roads.—The sinister character of cross-roads made them particularly common ground for magical rites, especially of aversion or riddance or demoniac influences (cf. p. 331, bottom: 'best of all are the cross-ways'). 1 Evil powers, or perhaps the divini-

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1 Kosma is of the opinion that the use of the sign of the cross in charms has no reference to Christianity, but to the form of ways whose images stood there, lent their influence to the success of the rite. A few examples of general magical rites first be cited for the working spells at cross-ways was used among the Teutons as an evil kind of magic, for raising tempests, etc. The details are not known (Vig-fusson-Powell, *Corpus P. t. B. Oxon.*, 1883, 415). In India a Hindu girl goes on a cross-way at twilight, lighting a fire there, offering rice and repeating charms, together with other ritual observances, is recommended to those who desire gold, or companions, or a long life, or who wish to be rich, etc. (SBE xxix. 431, xxx. 119, 124, 125). A charm for recovering lost property is addressed to Pushan, the son, who watches over the ways, and the rite includes placing 21 pebbles at a cross-way. They are symbolical of the lost property, and counteract its loss condition (Atharva-Veda [SBE xlii. 159, 542]). In Kuna, to cause rain to cease, a harrow is fixed perpendicularly at a cross-way. The god of rain, seeing it in this unusual condition at such a place, learns that injustice is being done, and makes the rain cease. Or sugar, rice, and other objects used in ritual are placed at a cross-way and defiled, till the rain is ashamed to fall on them (PB. i. 75-77). At Naples, to detach a husband from his mistress, a wife goes barefoot, and there throws a pebble (Muller, *Grimm*). There she takes a pebble, places it under her left armpit, and repeats an incantation. This is done at a second cross-way, with the pebble under the right arm, and at a third, having it between the chin and breast. In the latter case, she throws it into a cesspool (Andrews, *Fl. viii. 7*). This is an example of the belief that all things at cross-ways are charged with the magic or evil energy concentrated there, or are unlucky. Plants growing on boundaries or by cross-ways are believed to possess magical power (see Reiss, 'Aberglaube,' in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 47). In Bombay a charm against the evil eye is to carry seven pebbles picked up at the meeting of three ways (Campbell, *Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, Bombay, 1885, p. 208). In the case of rites of riddance and aversion the underlying idea is that the evil powers lurking at the cross-ways are compelled to take over the evil (disease, ill-luck, or misfortune) and so possess the one or is impure and a source of danger. In some of these cases the powers of the cross-way are propitiated by an offering. Or the rite takes place there, because the place is one where the contagion of evil is more likely to settle (see Oldenberg). The latter, however, he throws it into another, while Oldenberg suggests (p. 287) that the cross-way was used because, after the rite, the performer would go one way, the evil or unlucky influence the other. A simple example of riddance of fatigue is found among the Guatemalan Indians, who, on passing the usual pile of stones at a cross-way, gather grass, rub their legs with it, spit on it, and then lay it with a stone on the pile, thus recovering their strength (Frazer, *GP* i. 4). Rites for riddance of disease at cross-ways are believed to be widespread. To rid themselves of any disease of demoniac origin, hill-natives of N. India plant a stake in the ground at a cross-way and bury some rice below it. The rice (prob. the rite of transference) is dispersed and eaten by crows (PB. ii. 290). In Bihar, during sickness, certain articles are placed in a saucer and set at a cross-way (Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, Calcutta, 1855, p. 467). Similarly, in ancient India, such rites were commonly performed at cross-ways, as specific instances in the sacred books show. A patient possessed by demons was to be anointed with the cross-ways (FLJ. ii. 101). It would thus be used as an act of imitative magic, producing the effect obtained by the cross-way itself. 2
remains of a sacrifice of ghṛ and fragrant substances (probably because the latter are obnoxious even to demons) and placed on a cross-roads. A wicker basket with a cool-pot was set on his head, and some of the sacrifice was sprinkled on the coals (Ath. Veda (SBE xli. 32, 519)). In another charm for riddance from hereditary disease, the patient is laid on a cross-road and the toasts and the spirit is sprinkled. The charm includes the words, 'May the four quarters of heaven be auspicious to thee!' (ib. 292). In other cases not only riddance but the transference of disease to another person is effected. Thus to rid one village of smallpox, a pot of the image of the goddess of smallpox, are offered to the cross-roads of two villages connected. Any one touching these or meeting the priest who carries them out will take the disease and die at once. The goddess receiving the offering passes on to the next village. Here offering and vehicle of aversion are combined, and the thrice called mūṣṭi, 'averters.' Probably the poor, in eating Śākra ḍabīras,—at once an offering and a vehicle of aversion,—ran the risk of transference of evil to themselves rather than starve. In Bohemia, to get rid of fever, an empty pot was carried by the patient to a cross-road, and thrown down. He then fled. The first passer who kicked it would get the fever, and the patient would be cured ( GB p. 22). In Sinfolk a cure for plague is to lay by night to a cross-way, turn round thrice as the clock strikes twelve, drive a tompenny nail up to the head in the ground, and then retire backwards before the clock is done striking. The next person passing over the nail will be the aggressor. (Country Folk. Custom, 1905, p. 14). For other European instances, see Uttke, op. cit. passim.

Lustral rites of riddance at cross-ways are also common. In India one who had committed a crime an ancient Hindu ritualist would go to a cross-way and repeat the formula, Śaṅkhe maṇyeśu. Then he was free from all crime (SBE xiv. 230). In E. Africa, when a child is able to speak, it is taken to a cross-way, washed and rubbed with oil, and given to the father, who may then, but not till then, cohabit with his wife, else the child will die (FLR [1882] v. 168). Riddance of the contagion of death is also effected at cross-roads, by carrying there the thing or things which have suffered impurity. In India, at a death, the fire became impure, and with the receptacle was carried out and placed on a cross-way with the words, 'I send far away the flesh-devouring Ágni.' The bearer then walked round it three times, keeping his left side towards it, beating his left thigh with his crook, and his right hand, and his left hand may be turning home without looking back (SBE xxix. 247). In the orthodox death-rites of modern Brahmins, lamps are set at cross-ways (Colebrooke, Life and Essays, 1873, iii. 180). All over E. Africa, at a death, the water used in washing the body, the ashes of the fire, the thatch of the hut, and the remains of the dead man's food, are buried at a cross-way (mālakone), or deposited there with broken pots, egg-shells, etc. (Macdonald, Africana, i. 109; FLR v. 168). Other rites of riddance or purification also occur at cross-roads. In Siberia, the Siberian plague is kept off by stakes driven into the ground at a cross-way (Rabston, Songs, 395). In Bali, at the periodical expulsion of devils, offerings of food are placed at a cross-road for the devils, who are summoned to the road, and then go out of the houses to this feast (GP iii. 80). In Bohemia, in order to get rid of witches, youths meet on Walpurgis night at a cross-way and crack whips in unison. The witches are thus driven off (ib. ii. 92).—Richter. The monthly purification cruades in Greece (§ 3) may be compared a custom in Gujarāt of sweeping houses and laying the refuse at a cross-road as a rite of riddance of evil (Campbell, 329). For other rites at birth among the Chames, see vol. iii. 347, 590.

The custom of burying suicides at a cross-way has thus in all probability some connexion with rites of riddance at cross-roads. The danger brought to the community was in this way got rid of. Images of diseased limbs hung at cross-ways were perhaps less votive offerings than magical means of ridding the limb of the disease by transferring it to the spirits of the cross-way or to a passer-by.

6. Cross-roads and the four quarters.—Not improbable the cross-roads are connected in some cases with that of the four winds, coming from the four quarters of the heavens or the four corners of the earth, which were worshipped as gods and creators, and gave a sanctity to the cross-ways. The names of the points are often connected in North America (see art. AIR). Hence ceremonies for scaring evil spirits were efficacious at cross-ways, because they looked approximately to the four sacred quarters. Thus, in the Gujarāt marriage-rite, the four corners are hung to the four quarters as a charm to frighten off evil spirits (BG ix. (1901) i. 290). In Peru a yearly rite of riddance in connexion with the four quarters took place at the square of each town, out of which ran four roads leading to the four cardinal points. Four Insects of the blood royal, with lance and girded mantle, stood in the great square, till another ran down from the temple of the Sun, carrying a message that the Sun bade them as his messengers drive all evils from the city. They separated and ran down the four roads to the four quarters of the world. Relays of runners received the lances from them, and finally set them up at a boundary, which the evils might not pass (Gare, de la Vega, Bogotá, 1825, ii. 175).—Cross-ways and Laws of the Yacans, Hakuyt Soc., 1873, p. 206; cf. vol. iii. p. 308). The Yorubas have a cult of the four winds, and a figure with four heads called Olori merin is usually found on a mound near the centre of the town, so that each head faces one of the four points. Thus he protects the town, and no pestilence brought by the four winds or hostile force arriving by the four roads can attack it. Formerly these roads passed out of the city by the four chief gates of the side (Dennett, African Studies, 1910, pp. 70, 55). This connexion of cross-ways with the four quarters does not universally hold good, more especially in the case of the meeting of three roads, and only forms one of many reasons for the superstitious connexion with cross-roads.

LITERATURE.—This is mentioned throughout the article. There is no special work on the subject.

CROSS-ROADS (Roman).—It was a custom of the Roman peasant, in order to ensure the prosperity of his crops, to make a procession round the marches of his land, praying the while to Mars for protection against visible and invisible disease, raving, and storm (Cato, de Agricult. 141). In ancient times these various evils were regarded as
demons who gloated over suffering, and this explains why Fever (Fèbris) was worshipped in Rome as a goddess (G. Wissowa, Rel. u. Cult. d. Römer, Munich, 1882, p. 197). But, if suchinous spirits were prevented by the invocation of Mars from intruding upon the tilled land, they would tend to haunt the boundaries; and, as the latter were often formed by roads, it came to be believed that they were traversed, at least, by ghostly beings. Now, the place where several roads converged—whether by the bifurcation of one thoroughfare (ambivium, biuviu., or by the intersection of two quadrivium or trivium, according as the way was quadrivium, trivium, or triuviu—was counted or not; see H. Usener, *Dreiheit*, in *Reihau, Mus.* viii. [1903] 339)—was naturally a focus of human intercourse; as every one must pass the trivium, *trivialis* came to mean ‘common,’ known to all. For governed by the road Codes as the special resorts of demons. The Romans believed that things connected with the cross-ways had magical powers, and this superstition doubtless rests upon the idea that demons haunted the spot, and infected the surroundings with their supernatural influence. Thus, for instance, frogs boiled at the cross-way were a cure for fever (Pliny, *H.N.* xxxii. 113); a person who by night had mistaken one road for another was thereby bewitched (Pothinus, 134); while the porosity and anxiety which fall upon the traveller in a strange district as he comes to the cross-roads, and hesitates as to the way he should take (Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 2; Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, xvi. 2), would be ascribed to the haunts of demons, as would also the actual choice of the wrong way (Roscher, vol. i. p. 1890). Again, the cross-way was occasionally the site of the special object revered by the fetich-worshipper; more travelled cross-roads were in trivio florda sertis lapis. The fetish was decorated with wreaths; and by such homage, as also by prayers and votive offerings, it was hoped that the demonic powers would be induced to refrain from preventing the devotees from acting as the dispensers of grace and sure guidance.

Anthropomorphic deities of this character had likewise a place in the Roman religion, but the cult was not indigenous. Some of the deities were single from its sources, others, while of native origin, became the tutelary spirits of cross-roads only at a later period. To the former group belongs the goddess Trivia, who, from the time of Ennius (Scol. 121 [Vahlen]), is often mentioned in Latin inscriptions. More travelled cross-roads are inscriptions (CIL x. 3759 [Capua]: *Diana* Tifatinae *Triviae sacrum*). She was in reality the Hecate Trioditis of Greek mythology, and, like the *trivium*, was of triplu form (Usener, loc. cit. pp. 167, 183). Hecate was gloomy and malicious goddess, and, in order to propitiate her, recourse was had *Graco ritu* to every possible expedient, such as loud nocturnal invocations (Virgil, *En*. iv. 690; *nocturnisque Hecate trivialis ultrala*) and offerings of food at the cross-roads. One fact explains why the *trivium* was a resort of dogs (Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 140) and famished people (Tibullus, i. v. 56, with the comments of Dissen). In the Imperial period we find quite a system of goddesses of the cross-way, all of non-Roman origin, and for the most part linked together in groups as Bivie, Trivia, or Quadrivia, especially in Upper Germany. They were apparently indigenous to that region, and their cult forced its way thence into Lower Germany. The women of the Danube (M. Huin, in Roscher, i. 1ff). In some districts we find also male deities of the cross-way (CIL xii. 5621 [Gaul]; *deijs dea/bus Bivis Trivis Quadrivis*; vili. 163 [Britain]; *Deo Trivii Bellus* Ronavit aram).

Our knowledge of these deities is derived from votive offerings, principally small altars with inscriptions, which throw no light, however, upon the character of the unainted cult. In many cases the dedication was made in fulfillment of a vow, and the donors were mostly soldiers. The vow would, no doubt, be made for the purpose of winning the protection of the deity during a journey, or for other reasons as well. But for this purpose the deities were regarded, not merely as local guardians of particular cross-ways, but as divine patrons of all roads. Similar ideas were prevalent regarding the genuinely Roman deities to whom the hedges and cross-ways belonged; the tutelage of the cross-roads. These were known as the ‘Lares compitales,’ and were worshipped mainly at the place ‘ubi vile competunt’ (Varro, *De Ling.* Lat. vi. 25; G. Wissowa, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, iv. 792 ff.), i.e. the cross-way. But the word *compita* must have had a further meaning, for Cicero (de *Lege Agr.* i. 7) explicitly distinguishes between it and *trivium*; as is rightly observed by Wissowa (Rel. u. Cult. d. Römer, p. 148 f.), it also signifies the precinct or the point at which the boundaries of the fields converged. The worship offered to the Lare at the *compita* was an expression of the belief that they were the guardians of the soil (Tibullus, i. 809): *agnosco viam: 'nomenque vitae, alvorum* (Ambintus, 71). The Lares were invoked as patrons of field-boundaries, while their association with cross-roads was a later development, due to the circumstance that boundary and path frequently coincided. In this acquired character they had been known to us from such dedications as are found in CIL xi. 3079 (Falerii): ‘*Laribus compitales vivulis semitubulis,*’ and xiii. 6731 (Mainz): ‘*Laribus compitibus vivulis quadrivialibus saecrum.*’ The next stage was that the *Lares* became the gods of roads in general, as likewise of travellers, who therefore made to them the same kind of dedications as were offered *Decabus Quadriviris.* The dedicated objects were placed in shrines, and, as these shrines of the Lare were set up at the cross-ways, they too bore the name *Compita* (Persius, iv. 25).

We must not confound such erctions at the cross-way with fabrics reared over the cross-way. The rectangular towers which we find surrounding the cross-roads are simply wayside shrines, the thought that they were originally built over cross-ways. Of such towers, nine in all are known (Baumsteiger, *Denkmäler d. klass. Alterthums*, iii. [Munich, 1889] 1867). The most famous of them is the *Janus Quadri* in the *H. Jordan*, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. ii. [Berlin, 1853] 471; but its original purpose was that of a monument of honour, and it is impossible to say whether the ancient Roman ideas regarding cross-roads were present to the minds of its builders. In any case, these ideas were by no means extinct at that time, for, even as late as the Middle Ages, it was still frequently necessary for the preacher to castigate the sinners in the cross-ways. The latter were some of the stations on the circuits at the cross-roads (see, e.g., C. P. Cäsar, *Kirchenhist. Anecdota*, Christiania, 1883, i. 172, 175, 199)—a practice which is undoubtedly a vestige of heathen, in some cases perhaps of Roman, ritual. Even at the present day, in Italy, the cross-way is the favourite site for the churches of patron saints (Th. Trede, *Das Heidenthum in der römischen Kirche*, Gothu, 1891, iv. 260).

**Literature.**—This has been given throughout the article.

**CROWN.**—As a preliminary to this article it may be advisable to cite Selden’s words distinguishing between ‘diadem’ and ‘crown’:

> However those names have been from ancient times confused, yet the diadem strictly was a very different thing from
CROWN

what a crown now is or was; and it was no other than only a fillet of silk, linen, or some such thing. Nor appears it that any other kind of royalty, than that—which is so commonly, in some kingdoms of Asia, but this kind of fillet, until the beginning of Christianity in the Roman Empire (Titules of the Empire, vol. iv. c. 5). The Gr. δακτυλια, Lat. diademum, was a fillet of linen or silk, sometimes adorned with precious stones, or occasionally a flexible band of gold. This was the true emblem of royalty, the dariekits ywepmna (I. Kings, ii. 19, 35), or tēgum regium (Tac. Ann. xv. 29). On the other hand, the Gr. στέφανος, Lat. corona, a wreath or garland of real or artificial (usually gold) leaves, was not a distinctive royal emblem, and was applied to the vertex of the bride’s, or the bride’s, the festal ‘crown’ (see also Trench, Synopsis of the NT, s.v. στέφανος, δακτυλιος). The same distinction occurs in other languages, e.g. German Krone, the royal crown, Krone, a garland. The English word ‘crown’ is old, and comprises all kinds of coronal head-dresses, royal and other.

1. Coronal head-dresses.—A distinctive head-dress of persons of high degree, but especially of kings and princes, originated from the custom of wearing various kinds of head-dresses, coronal, etc., on festal or other occasions, or by particular classes of people—men as contrasted with women, or, vice versa, as contrasted with priests, medicine-men, members of a mystery society, and the lowest and of a superior class (cf. Abbott, Macedonian Folklore, Camb. 1903, p. 31), or, again, from royal personages wearing a more ornate and valuable form of the customary head-dress. The crown, therefore, might be traced back to very early times. Following upon elaborate methods of dressing the head, such as are found among Polynesians and African tribes, the next step is to decorate the hair with flowers, feathers, shells, etc. (see § 2), or other ornaments. Or a band or fillet of fibre, skin, leather, ivory, or metal serves to prevent the hair from falling over the face. This is found among the lowest tribes (Andamanese, Bushmen, Fuegians, etc.), but, from being merely useful, it soon becomes also ornamental or has ornaments of various kinds affixed to it—tufts of feathers, fur, or wood shavings, teeth, shells, etc.; or it may be worn only on particular occasions, holidays, etc., or bound or worn on the forehead and nape of the neck by Makamba youths at dances (JAI xxiv. [1904] 134). The fillet, thus widely worn, would have a distinctive character, or would have more decorative or festive value, when worn by persons of higher rank; and it is a direct forerunner of the royal fillet or diadem worn by kings as an emblem of sovereignty, either with or without some other distinctive head-dress. The gold tīcūwē with the characteristic chevron decoration of the Bronze Age, found in the Celtic area, may be classed with ornaments of this kind, and were perhaps worn by chiefs (Déchelette, Man, d'arch. pré-hist. coll., Paris, 1910, p. 353; Homilly Allen, Celtic Art, London, 1894, p. 39 f.). More elaborate crowns are derived from the simple fillet or diadem by the addition of decorations around its circumference, as, e.g., by fixing upright feathers in it (Fuegians, American Indian, etc.), or by forming a diadem, combining the fillet and crown, or evolved from the former, are often worn by special classes or at special times.

Thus a Tibetan female head-dress (chief’s wife) consists of a crown-like diadem, in each of which is a coral band with similar ornaments on saline bands, holding the hair plates together (Kockelhini, Land of the Lamas, 1894, p. 184). Among the Tiv, a richly adorned crown, combining the fillet and diadem, of the highest permanent court of the head-dress of highly ornamental open metal work, with numerous pendent ornaments and chains; and a female head-dress in Java consists of a richly adorned head-band with star-like ornaments stuck round the upper edge (Hutchinson, Living Races of Mankind, vol. iv. 22, n.d. i 78, ii. 393-4, 399). A circle of jewelled gold, the upper edge heightened to four or more points, forming a jewelled crown, was formerly the head-dress of the Akkadian high rank (Lamb, Arab. Society, 1888, p. 218). A Samoan head-dress worn by chiefs, and by young girls at certain ceremonies, consists of a bronze band with fearers, of fish teeth, or dog’s teeth corolets, or the dōn, a fan-shaped arrangement of the white feathers (Abercrombie 339). Among the tribes of Brazil the men at feasts wear a crown of bright red and yellow toucan’s feathers, disposed in regular rows and attached to a head-band, or diadem, of gold. These feathers, being specially prepared, are very rare, and the corolets are never parted with (Wallace, Monkeys, &c., 221). Chiefs in Egypt wore a gold girdle similarly decorated (Stech, Geschlechtsleben in der Völkerwych, Leipzig, 1883, p. 457; and, for a similar head-dress worn by chiefs among the Lacandones, NR. n. 701).

As an emblem of royalty such a crown was worn by the Persians. It consisted of a turban with a tasseled fringe, in which were set upright two feathers of a very rare bird, the peculiar emblems of the Inca, which no one else might wear. This head-dress was buried with him, and two new feathers had to be procured for each coronation. The heir-apparent wore a similar crown, of a yellow colour as his insignia (Trescot, Peru, 1890, p. 111; Stoth, 407). Among the Mayas the king’s crown was a golden diadem worn in front, surmounted by a plume of feathers which no one else might wear under pain of death (NR. ii. 635). Mexican kings were crowned by the king of Tocona with a diadem, or head-dress, in gold, and surmounted by a gold torus. In Peru, the diadem was made of thin gold plates or woven gold thread, and is hung down behind the neck. Notwithstanding the name of it, the diadem consists of many head-dresses of set in gold fillets (ib. ii. 188, 375-6, 465, 441). All such crowns are followed by the emblem which has produced the European crown from the diadem (§ 8). For savage head-dresses, see Spencer-Gillen’, 651; E. Grasse, Anleitung der Kunde der Völker, 1894, ch. 6, who says that the Ugandas Proheritance, 1902, pp. 729, 787, 843, 888, 896; Deniker, Races de Man, 1900, pp. 178, 371, 562, 571; Mary Kingsley, Travels in W. Africa, 1897, p. 597; and for the head-dresses peculiar to the higher classes in Bab, Assiya, and Persia, see Basilion, Ann. Anthr. Soc. London, 1872, pp. 593-4, 597.

The huge or elaborate masks and head-dresses worn at the performance of tribal ceremonies or in mystery-dances by Australians, Melanesians, Africans, etc., sometimes assuming a form more or less coronal, need only be referred to here as decorations reserved for certain periods or on special occasions, at no other time. They are insignia of office, or form part of the necessary costume, sometimes symbolic or representative. See Spencer-Gillen’, 651; Deniker, 179; Brown, 607; JAI xlix. [1898-99] 260).

2. Chaplets.—From the custom of decorating the hair with flowers on festive occasions as a method of showing the use of chaplets or wreaths (στέφανος, corone), though these may be also connected with the simple fillet or hair-band into which flowers are sometimes stumped. Among savages, it is with Polynesians, especially those of the Melanesians, that the general wearing of flowers or regular chaplets is found most extensively. Among the former, at dances wore wreaths interwoven with their hair, and garlands and wreaths on forehead and arms. It has been largely brought up since the introduction of Christianity (Elli, Polynesides, Researches, 1831, i. 134, 216; cf. also Brown, 317; Hutchinson, i. 6, 9, 11, 17, 18; and, for a similar practice of wearing wreaths of grass and leaves among the Naskis, ib. 18). The custom was sporadic in America; thus the Nahua wore garlands at banquets and dances (VR ii. 284, 290). Among peoples of antiquity the wearing of wreaths on festive occasions was widespread. In Greece, and perhaps in Egypt, the (much) of lotus, myrtle, etc., were worn by the guests at banquets (Wilkinson, ii. 38, 330), and the custom was also in use among the Greeks and Romans. Perhaps under the influence of Greek usage it spread to the other nations, and was taken up as a common practice at times of rejoicing, especially in the Apocryphal books (Wilis 24; Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds’; Ezek 25, 6, Caesar 3, 7; Jih 55, Sir 32, 2 Mac 6; 3 Mac 24; cf. Acts of Thomas, crowns of myrrh and incense, recorded by Reade, in W. Wright, Apoc. Acts, Lond. 1871, i. 149). Wreaths and crowns were also worn ritual at festivals of the gods and at sacrifices (see next art.; cf. 2 Hen 4, 2 Mac 6).

Fertulian writes that, besides the wreaths offered to the gods or their
images, 'the very doors, victims, altars, servants, and priests are crowned' (de Cor. 10). The sacrificer wore them (cf. the wreaths worn by Persians over their ears at sacrifices [Herod. 1. 192]), and they were placed on the heads of the victims (Teistons [de la Saussaye, Rel. of the Teintos, Boston, 1902, pp. 368, 377]). Hindus [Monier-Williams, Rel. Thought and Life, 1883, p. 247], Mexicans [Xer. iii. 338]; and, in both instances, see Tert. de Carth. 67. Garlanded, diadems, crowns or chaplets (Frazer, Adonis, 1907, p. 229); and in the Mathritic initiations one of the rites was the presenting of a crown on the point of a sword to the candidate, who put it on, on which the head was transferred to his shoulder with the words, 'Mithras is my crown' (Tert. de Cor. 15, de Præsc. Herr. 40). Wreaths were also worn by those initiated into the mysteries of Isis (Apul. Mela, xi. 24). In the baptismal ceremnies, as do also the May or Witches' queen, and the May king or Jack-in-the-Green, besides being dressed in or adorned with leaves, these chaplets are an important part of the symbolic wreath fared in anthranean representations of the vegetation spirit (Fl. XI. [1909] 210; Wilde, Anc. Cars, Charms, etc., 1890, p. 101f.; Frazer, G.P. i. 1906, p. 213f.; Early Hist. of the Kingship, 1905, p. 166f.).

The Bridal chaplets and crowns.—These are already found in antiquity worn by the bride or bridegroom, or by both (Tert. de Cor. 13). They marked an occasion of joy, but may in some cases have had a magical purpose, in warding off evils from the head. Being used by pagans, they were at first rejected by the Church, as it rejected generally all wearing of flowers on the head. But the custom was already found among the Jews, the bridegroom wearing a garland of flowers and a crown of laurel in Ca 3rd), the bride a 'beautiful crown' (Ezk 16). The custom was in abeyance from the time of Vespasian, but was resumed later. Among Christians also it became usual, the bridegroom wearing a garland of flowers and a crown of laurel with that of the Virgin (Stl. Apoll. Carm. 2, 'Aud Animam'; and it was regarded as improper for the unchaste to wear them (Chrysos. Hom. 9 in 1 Tim.). The wearing of bridal garlands and crowns is still customary over a great part of Europe—Switzerland, Germany, Russia, and in the north.

In the Greek Church ritual of marriage the bridegroom crowns the bride as Nomion, and the bride the bridegroom, while the priest blesses them, and says, 'O Lord, crown them with glory and honour.' The service is hence called ονομαντία τον νυμφόδοτον. In Macedonia the bridal wreaths are made of red or artificial flowers, or are silver garlands belonging to the church (νυμφόδοτον). They are exchanged in church at the crowning ceremony (ονομαντία) applied to the whole wedding rite (Abbott, op. cit. p. 168, 173). Ralston (op. cit. p. 279) describes a local ceremony in Russia. In church, over the heads of the bride and groom, a wreath is placed on the forehead of each, while in the church, a wreath is placed on the forehead of each, while the bridal wreath is held by the bridegroom. The wreath is of the old ritual of the 'death-wedding' (Ralston, 310; see O. Schrader, Totenhochzeit, Jena, 1904, and Artsk. Religion, vol. 12, p. 272). Ralston and Neuwirth (1903) hold that the whole arrangement of myrtle is made by the bridesmaids, but occasionally elsewhere more elaborate crowns are worn, formed, for instance, of diminishing circles, one above the other, to which are fixed flowers, beads, figures, in metal, some of which are probably intended as amulets to ward off evil spirits. The wreath, as already existente (see Stoll, 453f.; 458f.; Kossmann-Weiss, Mamm. and Vogel, Stuttgart, 1890, 6, 184, 185). Among the Leits the bride wears a crown of gold paper and silver wire and postcard. She receives it from an honourable matron, who0 and who is thought to act for the use of a mummy (ib. 6. 100). The elaborate Norwegian bridal crown is handed down as a heirloom in well-to-do families, but in each village it, as well as a set of bridal ornaments, is kept for the poor bride's temporary use (Chamber, Book of Days, 1853, p. 739, 732; Hutchinson, op. cit. 779). Among the Hindus, from Vedic times, the custom of wearing garlands or crowns of precious metal or tissued at marriage has been common, and they are also to have a protective efficacy against evil spirits which might enter by the head. They are worn both by Hindus and Muhammadans (Crooke, JR. 1: 230; Kossmann-Weiss, 6, 184, 187; ERE iii. 463). Among the Mahomedans of Egypt the bride wears a postcard crown, and at the decease, the deceased, the deceased is crowned. For Chinese bridal crowns, see Hutchinson, i. 140; and for Persian and Indian bridal crowns, ib. 1, 19, and Letourneau, Evol. of Man, p. 134.

4. Funeral chaplets and crowns.—Among the Greeks and Romans the dead were crowned with chaplets, or these were placed as offerings on tombs (Lucian, de Leucta, 11; Tert. de Cor. 10; see next art. 2). In Egypt it was customary to place chaplets of flowers or leaves on the head of theummy at the funeral ceremony, and these sometimnes remained on the head in the coffin. They were called 'the crown of the true vole,' and referred to the deceased, the deceased, the deceased of Thoth, the right intonation, without which the magic formula were useless, or perhaps signified that he would be crowned triumphant and justified in the other world. Special gardens were set aside for the flowers used for the purpose. The statue which represented the mummy was raised with flowers, and the funeral ritual concluded with a prayer in which it was said of the deceased, 'Thou art nearest the crown among the gods.' Paul wrote, 'Therefore the ritual also concluded with placing the archikon over the statue, and repeating a formula, part of which ran: 'Nut has raised this head; Horus has taken his diadem and his powers, Set has taken his diadem and his powers, then the diadem has come out of thy head and has brought
the gods to thee.' This referred to the myth of Nut raising the head of Osiris, and the gods Horus and Set placing the crown of the dead on the south, upholding it. This was done to the dead, and the magic virtue in these crowns, or in the wreathe which adorned them, would bring the gods into his power. Garlands and wreaths decked the tombs, just as the tomb of Osiris was said to have been entered with wreaths; and wreaths were also worn by guests at feasts in honour of the dead before the final burial (Maspero, Études de myth. et d'arch. Égypt., Paris, 1895, 218, 306, 316, 318, 355 ff.; Fiey, La Couronne de Justice, Inverse et Comme, 1884, pl. vi. 1—30; Wilkinson, i. 403, iii. 396, 430, 432; Plut. de Isid. 21; see CHARMS AND AMULETS [Egypty.], vol. iii. p. 431, on models of diadems of Osiris buried with the dead, which assimilated to the god, would wear those crowns in the other world. 166. Flowers and garlands are also carried to the graves in modern Egypt.

In the Brāhmānic funeral ritual the bodies of the dead are decked with wreaths and flowers. Wreaths are also offered in the funeral rites and given to Brāhmans (Colebrook, Life and Essays, 1873, ii. 175, 175, 193; cf. SBE xii. [1900] 137, xi. [1900] 95, 122—3). Among the Nahuas, a statue was placed beside the body of a dead king, with a garland and a crown. Garlands and crowns also were used in Polynesia and Melanesia to decorate the dead, or the altars in the houses used as depositories of their bodies (Brown, 387; Ellis, i. 404). The early Christians refused to make use of funeral chaplets (Tert. de Car. 10; Min. Felix, 12, 37; Clem. Alex. Paed. ii. 8), but it was not long before the prejudice against them was overcome. As a symbol of the martyr's death a crown is found among the emblems on tombs, and chaplets or wreaths took the place of such chaplets as adornment of Christian funerals. In modern Greece dead maidens and children even are crowned with flowers (Abbott, 198).

5. Crowns and chaplets as offerings. — Crowns and garlands being so intimately connected with cult, they are a common species of sacrificial offering, besides being placed on the heads of victors (see next art.). Pausan. ii. 17, 6, v. 12, 8; Lucian, de Deo Syr. At the feast of Ceres women gave garlands as offerings of firstfruits to her (Ovid, Met. x. 431 ff.). In India, wreaths, garlands, and flowers are offered in most sacrifices. The Egyptians offered chaplets and wreaths to the gods and laid them on the altars of Isis, and chaplets or wreaths were the crowns of the gods, assigned also to the gods, or a second kind of mitre, or occasionally a horned cap. The head is usually represented veiled in sacred clothing in the art of the Greeks (cf. ii. 438). Among the Hebrews the priests' mitre or head-dress, הַנּוֹקָרָה (nokhrah), AV 'bonnet,' RV 'head-tire,' Ex xix 29 299, I.e. 299, was made of white linen embroidered with the name of God embroidered thereon, and bordered with a crown of fine linen, and sat on the head of the high priest. It was embroidered with the sacred characters of the crooked cross, and bound by a blue ribbon. The description suggests a headdress like the royal Persian khohtaran, a crown swelling outwards above the eyes, and extending over the forehead. Possibly it resembled the Assy. and Babylonian royal crown, or the one worn by the high-priest of the Syrian goddess at Baalbec, or the Greek diadem of a crowned god (cf. ii. 438).

The high-priest of the Syrian goddess at Baalbec wore a golden tiara, the lesser priests a hat (�לך, lukan, de Deo Syr. 43). The ancient Assyrians wore a headdress composed of the three species of native corn (or barley), and a mitre of imposing appearance, or sometimes a richly ornamented fillet (Hawkins, ii. 28). The priests wore an elaborate hat, the mitre, assigned also to the gods, or a second kind of mitre, or occasionally a horned cap. The head is usually represented veiled in sacred clothing in the art of the Greeks (cf. ii. 438). Among the Hebrews the priests' mitre or head-dress, הַנּוֹקָרָה (nokhrah), AV 'bonnet,' RV 'head-tire,' Ex xix 29 299, I.e. 299, was made of white linen embroidered with the name of God embroidered thereon, and bordered with a crown of fine linen, and sat on the head of the high priest. It was embroidered with the sacred characters of the crooked cross, and bound by a blue ribbon. The description suggests a headdress like the royal Persian khohtaran, a crown swelling outwards above the eyes, and extending over the forehead. Possibly it resembled the Assy. and Babylonian royal crown, or the one worn by the high-priest of the Syrian goddess at Baalbec, or the Greek diadem of a crowned god (cf. ii. 438).

6. Priestly crowns. — The practice of special head-dresses being used to mark off certain classes led to the use of those by medicine-men or priests, and not infrequently they took a coronal form, or, as in Greek and Roman ritual, chaplets were worn by priests.

Among the Buruts the shaman formerly wore a crown consisting of an iron ring with two iron convex arches crossing it at right angles—an elaboration of the simple fillet or band (ERE 169). In Mexico the chief priest of the gods wore a crown of green and yellow feathers, his assistants merely having their hair platted and wound with handkerths. The priest of Tula in the festival of the dead wore a crown of closely fitting bird and spreading out above, with many garlands of flowers. From this climax the sacrifice to the Mother-goddess, had a square crown, wide above, with banners at the corners and in the middle (Mod. Ger. Reichsmitte, iii. 314, 556). In the reliefs part of the Shinto priest is a black cap (toshii) round head the round head with a broad white fillet (Ashton, Shinoto, 280, 288). Among the Teotonos the Golden Head-dress of the goddess, the priestess, those wearing a cap, as compared with the common people, the capitelli, with yellow hair; garlands being tied with ribbons (McEwan, 360; Grimm, Tent. Myth., 1890—91, pp. 91, 90). Tibetan priests at their ceremonies wear a species of helmet mitre, fitting over the head and crossed with a red or yellow color, according as the wearer belongs to the one or the other great Buddhist sect (Rockhill, op. cit. p. 854.). Sculptures in Cappadocia show the ancient priest or priest-king of that region wearing a round high head-dress encircled with fillets and ornamented in front with a rosette or bunch of jewels; the god beside him wears a high pointed head-dress (Frazier, Atlantis, 140 ff.). The priests of Sandro (Hermes) at Yamna were called 'crown-wearers' and were dedicated to that office. One of them, Lyndas, wore a golden laurel wreath (Atben. v. 54; Frazier, 111). The high-priest of the Syrian goddess at Baalbec wore a golden tiara, the lesser priests a hat (יוֹם, lakan, de Deo Syr. 43). The ancient Assyrians wore a headdress composed of the three species of native corn (or barley), and a mitre of imposing appearance, or sometimes a richly ornamented fillet (Hawkins, ii. 28). The priests wore an elaborate hat, the mitre, assigned also to the gods, or a second kind of mitre, or occasionally a horned cap. The head is usually represented veiled in sacred clothing in the art of the Greeks (cf. ii. 438). Among the Hebrews the priests' mitre or head-dress, הַנּוֹקָרָה (nokhrah), AV 'bonnet,' RV 'head-tire,' Ex xix 29 299, I.e. 299, was made of white linen embroidered with the name of God embroidered thereon, and bordered with a crown of fine linen, and sat on the head of the high priest. It was embroidered with the sacred characters of the crooked cross, and bound by a blue ribbon. The description suggests a headdress like the royal Persian khohtaran, a crown swelling outwards above the eyes, and extending over the forehead. Possibly it resembled the Assy. and Babylonian royal crown, or the one worn by the high-priest of the Syrian goddess at Baalbec, or the Greek diadem of a crowned god (cf. ii. 438).
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was at first an Eastern head-dress, especially characteristic of Thyrsus, and hence formerly called ‘Thryginn.’ It is rarely alluded to before A.D. 1000, but in 1049 Leo IX. placed a mitre on the head of the Pope, in the form of the Thryginn (P.L. cxliii. 300). From this time the references become much more common, showing that the use was spreading. The mitre is usually made of fine or rich material, embroidered, and often studded with gems. From the back depend two fringed bands hanging over the nape of the neck. It is unknown in the Eastern Church, but is worn by all Roman Catholic bishops and by abbots exempt from Episcopal jurisdiction and others privileged to wear it. Its use is denied to all other members of the Anglican Church, but it is now commonly worn by bishops, and has always been a symbol of their office (see W. H. Marriott, Festäctorium Christianum, Lond. 1805, p. 239 ff.; Hefele, ‘Inful, Mitra, and Chaplets to the Kirchenrecht.’ Tub. 1864, ii. 292 f.; DCA, s.v. ‘Mitre’). In the earlier centuries, virgins assuming the veil wore a head-dress called a mitre (Bingham, Ant. vii. iv. 6; Isidore, de Eccl. offic. ii. xviii. 11). The Papal tiara (a word of Punic origin, signifying ‘a head-dress’ is a swelling pointed and closed head-dress, which has varied much in shape (in the 14th cent. it was dome-shaped and oval). To this was added, at some date unknown, a single crown (symbolizing the divinity of the Popes) encircling the lower part, and, probably, in the 12th cent., a second crown was set above this. The third crown was added by Urban v. (1359-70). At the top is fixed a small ball and cross of gold, and, as in the case of N. Didron, two bands hang down behind (Hefele, op. cit.).

7. Divine crowns and chaplets.—As various plants were sacred to the gods, chaplets of such plants were often associated with them. Tertullian (de Cor. 7) cites a work on crowns by Claudius Saturninus, which described how every flower, branch, or shoot was dedicated to the head of some divinity. Hence the custom of offering chaplets to the gods, of crowning their images with them, or of representing them wearing chaplets. They also wore crowns (Pansanii. ii. 17, 4, 6, v. 11. 1; Granger, 251, 305; see next art.). In many cases the crowns with which images are represented are replicas of the earthly crown, or, where a king was held to be divine, the head-dress peculiar to the god with whom he was identified. The god was naturally regarded as a heavenly king who wore the royal insignia; and conversely, the divine king wore the insignia of the god.

In Mexico, at the festival of Huitzilopochtli his image was crowned with a paper crown, wide at the top and set with plumes. Many other Mexican images were crowned, or were adorned with them at festivals, and crowns were also worn by their human representatives (Av. II. 322, 337, iii. 34, 392, 328, 334). The images of the snake-goddess found in the Aztec area wear a high tiara, over which a snake roars its head (see fig. in vol. i. p. 143). On the head of the god sculptured on the rocks at Tzintzin is a high pointed cap adorned with a fillet and several pairs of horns, and the goddess of the Huitzli sculptures at Tezcaloa has a flat round head-dress with ribbed sides; this is also worn by her female worshipers (Frazer, Ethnol. 100, 106). The goddess Cybele wore a turreted crown, and so also did the Syrian goddess, Artemis (Luce, Ad Theor. xi. 31). Persian divinities wear a tiara like that of the kings or that worn by court officials (Ravavin, iv. 335), and on the monuments of the Mitanni it is frequently represented wearing an Oriental tiara (Tontani, ‘La Legende de M.’, Etudes de la mythe, 1904, p. 223 f.). The crown of gold and precious stones which David captured and placed on his head belonged to an image of the Ammonites (2 Sam. 12. 30). This, and Assyry, divinities are usually represented wearing the characteristic head-dress of the monarch—a rounded cap with parallel horns enclosing it from behind, and curving upward towards the front (see fig. in Ethnol. 100, 106). This head-dress frequently symbolizes a crown on the astrological tablets (Ravavin, ii. 244, iv. 334; Monier-Williams, Babylon, 1904, p. 89). Bab. divinities are also said to have been crowned with golden crowns (Sp. Jer. 2). In the Decret of Hier at the first gate of Hades the keeper
depives Litor of ‘the mighty crown of her head.’ In Egypt the statues of the gods were often crowned with chaplets and ornaments, but, unless this, they are adorned with some symbolic head-dress—the sun, horns, or plumes, or the ureus and disk, etc. But they frequently wear the crowns and chaplets characteristic of their origin, or are crowned with the red crown of the north, or both together, enclosed or side by side, just as the kings wore their own crowns. As Ammon wore the tall hat, with long plumes, of the god. Osiris is frequently represented, e.g. in the small golden images of the god as a mummy used in the festival of the mummy ships, with the judgment scenes, wearing the white crown flanked by two plumes, or with the ureus, worn also on the crown of the sun. The crown is also worn by some of the sacred dancers of the Budge, Gods of the Egyptians, 1903, passim. Book of the dead, ivii. 21. Images and pictures usually show them wearing simple or elaborate crowns or tiaras, sometimes with a nimbus. Or separate crowns form part of the decoration and are not considered distinct. These are often of great value and are encrusted with precious gems—diamonds, pearls, rubies, etc. The myths and sacred books of ancient Egypt refer to these crowns of the gods (Wilkins, Hindu Myth. 2, Camden, 1632; Monier-Williams, 219, 449). In Buddhism the figures of Budhha, of Bodhisattva, and (in Tibet) of the divinities of the Buddhist pantheon are frequently represented with crowns or coronal head-dresses or tiara-like structures (Wilkins, 225; Rockhill, 103, 129, 225, 228). In later Hellenic art, God the Father is represented with the current regal or imperial crowns, or with the Papal tiara encircled, according to the case, with a cross, a crown, or a diadem. They are sometimes, as if to show His superiority to the Pope, with five crowns. In later art, Christ is sometimes represented with the brow encircled by a diadem, and later with the regal or imperial crown or with the tiara, as when the head of the Virgin is crowned with the crown of thorns, which, by itself, is figured in many other representations, especially of the Crucifixion. Where the Trinity is represented as one Person with three faces, the head is often adorned with a single crown or tiara (A. N. Didron, Chr. Iconography, Lond. 1886, passim). The Virgin is also represented with a crown, or is depicted in the act of being crowned by the Father of the Son or the Trinity with the crown of a queen or empress, as in the case of the crowning of the Son by the Father after the Ascension. This was in accordance with the legend of the Virgin’s coronation in heaven after her Assumption. Angels and Christian virtues, and even the Judge of Death, are often represented with a crown (Didron, passim). Some of the Gnostics crowned their sacred images (the Car- porcations [Iren. adv. Haer. i. 25. 6]), and from this or from the similar pagan practice the custom may have passed into the modern Christian Church. Many pictures were crowned with special ceremonies when they were dedicated (Trede, Das Heidenthum in der rom. Kirche, Goth., 1891, i. 283, ii. 343 ff., iv. 145-48, etc.) for the modern Roman image, see Cath. Imag. vii. 675. In the image of the Madonna on waysides are also crowned with chaplets (Trede, iv. 208).

8. Royal crowns.—We have seen (§ 1) that the royal crown originated from the wearing of a special head-dress by special classes, or it is a specialized form of the ordinary head-dress. Among the higher savages, some such head-dress is worn by chiefs, like the band of cloth worn round the temples as a kind of crown by some chiefs in E. Africa, or the frontlet or crown with a wig of woman’s hair worn by chiefs in Samoa (Macaulay, Africiana, i. 16; Brown, 316; cf. also the other instances in § 1). We turn now to the higher nations of antiquity.

In Assyry, the king’s crown sometimes adorned itself; of felt or cloth, shaped as a cone rising in a gracefully curved line, and truncated at the apex. The upper part receded into the lower, so that the top alone was visible and projected above the forehead. It was ornamented with broad bands with embroidery or plates of gold. Round the lower edge was a band or diadem rising in front with a large rossette, with the ends hanging down behind the ears to the shoulders. Sometimes such
a fillet, higher in front or uniform in width, is worn alone, and in the earlier sculptures the tiara is lower than in the later. The queen wore a diadem with turrets like the crown of Cybele (Rawlinson, ii. 106, 108; Stoll, 210, 459, 463). In Babylon the king was crowned with diadems—called tiaras (Khirbatatir (= Elekhatar)). a kind of rounded cone with a double pair of horns surrounding the sides and front, or a tower- shaped head-dress with or without these horns, terminating in a crown of feathers. The lower part was ornamented with green fillet, which was made of richly coloured felt or cloth. The higher classes, both in Assyria and in Babylonia, wore a distinctive head-dress (Rawlinson, i. 133, iii. 433; Maspero, 719; Stoll, 459). The royal crown of Persia, the Elekhatar, was a cap of bright coloured felt or cloth, swelling out slightly towards the flat top, and terminating in a projecting ring. Round the bottom ran a fillet or ‘band of blue’ spotted with white—the diadem strictly so called. It was adopted by Alexander and his successors.

In some cases the kings are represented wearing more or less ornamental diadems or radiated crowns, or a head-dress resembling that of the Medes—a high-crowned hat with rounded sides, called tiara (Khirbatatir (= Elekhatar)), the latter word being applied to the royal tiara (Rawlinson, iii. 86, iv. 155). In Egypt, diadems were worn by priestly personages, but that peculiarly symbolic of royal authority was the crown, whether of metal or gilded wood, the coiled body forming the diadem, and the head poised above the forehead of the monarch. It was also affixed to other head-dresses worn by the king in common with the gods. Of the diadems of Upper Egypt, a tall conical head-dress swelling out slightly in front and terminating in a rounded knob; and the red crown of Lower Egypt, cylindrical in form but widening out upward, and with the back part carried higher than the front. The crown was probably not a diadem, though the white wool worn within the red was called phahet. They were put on at the coronation, and on bas-reliefs, female figures symbolical of the two Egyptians, each crowned with the respective crown of her district, stand on either side of a king wearing the phahet. In other cases, Nubi or Setos crown the king, and goddesses invest the queen with her tiara—two long feathers and the globe and horns of Hathor. These crowns were also worn in battle and on other occasions, and they, with other forms, were common to gods and kings. Thus the king is described as ‘son of the Sun, decked with the solar crowns’ (Wilkinson, ii. 257, iii. 361; Maspero, 203; M. Brinemer, Egypt, Camb. U.S.A., 1890, p. 152; A. Moret, Du Caractere rel. de la royauté pharaonique, Paris, 1892, p. 310).

In funereal ceremonies the king wore a striped linen head-dress, descending in front over the breast, and terminating in a queue fastened by a ribbon. Filllets of gold and, occasionally, radiated crowns were worn, and also, as in the case of the diadems, phant. In Greek and Roman, the crown is of silk (the latter finally disappearing in the time of Justinian (Latarte, ii. 39)). The diadem is sometimes worn alone, or it surrounds a cupola or jewelled cap, the combination of cap or tiara and diadem resembling that of the Persian kings. In antiquity the diadem was formed by adding over it, upon a crown, by the addition of a row of ornaments or symbols to the upper edge of the circumference of a metal diadem. This is already seen in the corona muralis, muralis, corona muralis, etc., or in the radiate or crescent crowns of the Persian kings, those of the Ptolemys, Nero and later Roman emperors. The form of these radiate crowns is also connected probably with the radiate nimbus with which kings were often represented and which was the symbol of the sun-god as well as of other divinities in art. Such crowns were thus a symbol of the monarch’s divinity (Dietrich, Nektaria, Leipzig, 1893, p. 419; Diod, i. 34 ff.). Crowns, as distinct from diadems, appear in early medieval Egypt. In England the diadem soon gave place to the crown. William the Conqueror and other Norman kings wore diadems ornamented on the upper edge with trefoil uprights, and the crown form soon became more elaborate. The English crown, diadem, first arch crowned with the crown dates from the reign of Henry iv.

The coronets of English peers are circles of gold, variously ornamented according to rank (like the crowns of Continental nobles), and enclosing a crimson, velveteen ring. The most important is the ducal coronet, 1362; the latest that of barons, 1690 (see Legge, English Coronation Records, 1901).

9. Sacred and magical aspects of the crown.

We find, sporadically, medical or magical virtues ascribed to wreaths and chaplets (Athen. xv. 16, and cf. the magical efficacy attributed to bridals and to funeral wreaths in Egypt, §§ 3, 4). This would be a natural result where garlands were made of the flowers or leaves of sacred plants or trees. Wherever the king is honoured as divine, the crown, as the peculiar symbol of royalty, will have a magical character, more particularly as it is so frequently worn also by the gods.

The golden wreaths and chaplets of oak leaves worn by early Greek and Italian kings, as well as by other persons in later times, are supposed to have originated the wreath as vice-gerent of a god of whom the oak was the sacred tree, and in which as well as in the wreath of the wreath he was supposed to be incarnate (Cook, P.G., xlii. 1900, p. 190, n. 13). The emperor Hadrian’s wreath is probably a Roman modification of the Greek form. The emperor Constantine’s wreath, worn by the emperor Constantine, is probably that of a Roman emperor, and the emperor Constantine’s wreath is probably that of a Roman emperor. The emperor Constantine’s wreath is probably that of a Roman emperor. The emperor Constantine’s wreath is probably that of a Roman emperor. The emperor Constantine’s wreath is probably that of a Roman emperor. The emperor Constantine’s wreath is probably that of a Roman emperor. The emperor Constantine’s wreath is probably that of a Roman emperor.

The regalia of kings tend always to be regarded as peculiarly sacred. In some quarters possession of them ‘carries with it the right to the throne,’ and they have wonder-working properties, as among the Malays (Frazer, Kingship, 121, 124; Sket, Malay Magic, 1909, pp. 23, 59). Generally speaking, the word ‘crown’ comes to be used figuratively for all that the monarchy implies. In Egypt the crown, emblem, symbol of sovereignty, has a magical power, and could execute the king’s secret purposes or inflict vengeance. It is said to ‘burn his enemies with its flames’; it throw itself upon those who approached it, and drive them into the earth.

The supernatural virtues thus communicated to the crown gave it an irresistible force, and the royal crown was also regarded as having divine power (Ermahn, Die mytholog. Rel., Berlin, 1905, p. 40; Maspero, 205; Etudes, i. 78; cf. also Etudes, ii. 134, for other magical crowns; and for the magical powers of the crowns of the dead, see §§ 4). Crowns may have been occasionally used as instruments of divination, e.g. in the choice of a king. In a Transylvanian folk-tale the crown is
laid before the assembly on a hillock. It rises, floats in the air, and lights on the head of the destined king (J. Halftich, Deutsche Volkszsurnen, Vienna, 1885, p. 195). The Yorubas of W. Africa look upon the royal crown as possessing magical powers, and are said to have sacrificed to it by the king himself (MacGregor, Jour. Afr. Soc., no. 12 [1894], p. 472). Crowns are sometimes mythically said to have descended from heaven upon the king’s head (Bousset, Gnosis, Göttingen, 1907, p. 137). The Greek also have another idea that the life of a king depended on the safety of his crown. In the Mandaean myths of the conquest of the dark powers Ur and Ruhā by Manda d’Hajji and by Hīlīd Ziwa, Ur is deprived by both heroes of his crown “of living fire,” in which his strength lies, and in this way he loses all his might (W. Brandt, Mandaitsche Schriften, Göttingen, 1893, pp. 131, 175, 178). These myths are certainly based on some current belief in the magical virtue of the crown.

10. The crown in early Christian thought. In the NT the victor’s crown at the games (στέφανος) is used symbolically of the reward of a faithful Christian courser, the incorruptible στέφανος being contrasted with the corona and the circlet (cf. Rev. 2:10; 3:18). It is a “crown of righteousness” (2 Th. 2:10), the “immortal crown of glory” (1 Cor. 9:24; 2 Cor. 10:4), the “crown of life” (Jas. 1:12, Rev. 2:10; cf. 3:11). Hence in visions of heaven the crowns are prominent. The elder of the seven received crowns (στέφανος) of gold; in the Ascension of Isaiah the prophet sees crowns laid up in the highest heaven for the saints; in Barlaam and Josaphat, Josaphat sees the people of the heavenly city with crowns in their hands (J. F. Robson, Ancient Greece, Paris, 1829–31, iv. 360). Christ has on His head “many diadems” (διαδήματα τῶν ἁγίων στέφανος, 1 Pet. 5:1), one fillet bound above the other, signifying different sovereignties (cf. 13:12, where the dragon has ten diadems). This conception is already found in later Judaism; the faithful receive crowns and palns (2 Es 26:1–5). The wearing of garlands and crowns on earth being obnoxious to the early Christians on account of pagan associations, stress was therefore laid on the worth of the symbolic heavenly garland (στέφανος), and especially the immortal crown of martyrdom (Mart. of S. Polycarp, 17; Tert. de Cor. 15, 1 “Why do you condemn to a little chaplet, or a twisted head-band, the brow destined for a diadem?”). Laactantius (De mort. bestr. 46) describes the martyr’s garland of victory as “an unfaiding crown laid up in the kingdom of the Lord.” In Hermes (Sin. viii. 2) the angel commands garlands of palms to be brought out for those in whose rods he found branches with fruit (cf. also Euseb. HE v. 1 [Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons]). Such references to the crown of immortality or joy or to the martyr’s crown are copious in early Christian literature, and the symbol of the crown also appears in Christian archeology. Hands stretched out in heaven presented crowns to the martyrs, or angels descend and crown them (Didron, i. 95). The crown by itself, or with a palm branch or other symbols, is also symbol of the eternal reward in heaven offered to the victor.


J. A. MACCULLOCH.

CROWN (Greek and Roman).—The words στέφανος, corona, and their variants are used by Greeks and Romans of circular ornaments that could be placed on the head, carried in the hand, or hung up as decorations; or decorative, either made of, or artificially representing, or by their decoration more or less remotely suggesting, flowers, leaves, or fruits of the field. The origin of the custom of wearing such ornaments lay probably in the mere instinct of decoration rather than in any notion of a symbolical significance in the plants used. Such decorations are a natural expression of the love of adornment, found among all primitive worshippers. Attributes to his deity feelings like his own, they would be considered acceptable to the gods. As expressing joyfulness, they would in time become customary or de rev名叫on or all festal occasions. Under sacred or profane, the use of crowns for religious purposes is not mentioned in Homer; nevertheless the use of crowns for dedication purposes seems to have prevailed very early in the Egyptian; at Croesus was found a spray of foliage hung on thin gold plate and wire in a flat bowl (BSA viii. (1891–92) 25), and the employment of natural sprays probably preceded that of metal imitations by long ages. Now the most convenient and decorative way of carrying and flowers or instead of wreaths, to cultus-figures, was to twine them into wreaths, which could be worn on the head of the worshiper or placed on the figure of the deity.

As early as the 7th cent. such garlands as essential in practical life were carried (cf. J. d’Hajje, op. cit., plate 29). In Aristophanes (Thesm. 446 ff.), a widow who had supported her five children by sacrificing wreaths considered that, since her business has gone since Euripides persuaded people that there are no gods.

Being part of the furniture of cultus, the wreath imparted a joyfulness to the wearer for the time being; the slave in Aristophanes considers that, while wearing a wreath, he cannot be beaten by his master (Plaut. 201). The essentially joyous associations of the wreath are given by the fact that mourner did not wear them at funerals. Xenophon, while sacrificing, heard of the death of his son; in sign of mourning he took off the crown that he was wearing. When he heard that his wife had died like a brave man, he resumed his crown and proceeded with the sacrifice (Val. Max. v. 10). At mournful ceremonies, such as the Spartan Hydrainthia (Athen. iv. 139), the crown was not worn; the Sicelians girded flowers instead of wreaths, in sacrificing to the Eumenides at Titane (Paus. ii. 4). Where we see wreaths, fillets, etc., deposited at a tomb, these are brought as offerings to the spirit of the deceased, not as tokens of mourning. Such crowns the Christians used as essentially offerings to a deity, and therefore to be condemned (cf. Justin Mart. Apol. i. 24: ‘The Christians do not worship the same gods as the heathen, or offer up libations or incense, or bring them crowns; but sacrifice;’ see supra, Minucius Felix, p. 43, ed. Onzel, 1652, ‘see mortuos coronatum.’) Typical of the Greek custom is the beautiful Attic lekythos (JHS xix. (1889) pl. 2), showing a taoic tied round the tombstone, oil-flasks and wine-jugs, some with wreaths laid over them, ranged on the steps, and a woman bringing a tray full of wreaths and taoic. Sometimes tombstones were made with a receptacle suited for holding a crown of leaves (Arch. Zbl. 1871, pl. 49). The body itself was crowned (στρεφεῖν τὸν κεφαλὰς, Eur. Phæ. 1632), as part of the last honours, in keeping with the washing and anointing of it, and dressing it for its last journey (Lucian, de Lucta, 11). Members of some associations, such as the Iolani, were entitled to a crown at their death, provided out of the common funds (F. S. Roberts, Intron. Gr. Epigr. ii. Cambridge, 1905, pp. 91, 160). Inscriptions of the Phrygian Hierapolis often mention the στρεφεῖν τριατος, a sun left by the deceased. The interest on which was devoted to the annual renewal of wreaths on his tomb (Hummel, etc., Altertumk. Hieropilis, Berlin, 1898, p. 129). At a Roman funeral there
were carried not merely crowns offered by the mourners, but such as the dead might have won by his own deeds. In later times, the idea of the possession of the dead gradually dying out, the wreath came to be laid on the tomb merely as a mark of honour; but it would be hard to say where the primitive significance of the usage merged into the modern. By far the greater number of crowns now observed could be traced back from tombs; but this is only because the conditions in tombs are more favourable than elsewhere for the preservation of them, as of other antiquities.

3. In ritual the use of wreaths was manifold. They were worn, as terata, to decorate the image of the god (see Schreiber-Anderson, Atlas of Classical Antiquities, London, 1894, xiv. 3). They could be worn by those who performed the sacrifices. They could be offered up (Daremberg-Saglio, fig. 1884). They could be used to decorate the victims (Lucian, de Streer, 12); thus was Iphigenia decorated (Eur. Iph. in Aul. 1477). The garlands brought by the priest of Zeus at Lystra of the kind sacred to the deity served, offerings to them or decorations for the oxen which he proposed to sacrifice. Garlands were used to decorate the shrine, the altar, sacred trees, and all sorts of instruments and vessels employed. The wreath of the latter feature was made of rushes, flowers or vegetable produce, the objects so adorned being brought into intimate relation with the god. Woolen fillets served the same purpose, whether made up into circular form, or merely hung on the victim or object, or throughout the life of the deceased.

The lover's practice of hanging garlands on the door of the object of his affections is explained by Athenaeus (xiv. 670b) as inspired by his desire either to honour the beloved one (just as the doors of temples were garlanded), or to honour Eros (the beloved being regarded as his image, and the house therefore as his temple), or as a symbol of the affection of his soul, to give to the robber his body's ornament in addition. In speculations such as these we see the idea that these garlands were, at any rate, a semi-religious kind of offering.

Probably the most important crowns from a ritual point of view were the 'priestly coronets' (cf. above, p. 339) worn by the officiating persons, whether professional priests or not. When the crowns were made of flowers or leaves, these were used to decorate the shrine, altar, sacred trees, and all sorts of instruments and vessels employed. The wreath of the latter feature was made of rushes, flowers or vegetable produce, the objects so adorned being brought into intimate relation with the god. Woolen fillets served the same purpose, whether made up into circular form, or merely hung on the victim or object, or throughout the life of the deceased.

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surround. One of the most widely distributed forms of crown in art is the crown of rays, which, like the nimbus, represents the divine light emanating from the deity's head. Such a halo was probably not represented by a concrete crown until comparatively late times.

5. The giving of crowns as prizes probably had a religious origin. The material rewards offered in heroic times seem to have been replaced at a fairly early date—in the 6th cent. at latest—by crowns of leaves, etc. (Paus. x. vii. 3, of the Pythian; Marmor. Par. 35 = 583 B.C.; note that the palm, being unsuitable for a crown, was carried as a branch). The crowns thus given were under the special patronage of the local deity, and the material for the crown would be gathered from the local sacred enclosure, although in the ease of the Pythia the laurel was brought all the way from Tempe (Fraser in Pauly). It was worn in later days that the crown of foliage—olive, laurel, pine, etc.—was replaced by a metal crown, so that in the 2nd and 3rd cent. of our era the decoration carried by the victorious athlete was an empty shell, studded with leaves or flowers in the bottom than anything else (Dressel in CIL xxv. 2, no. 7045). The crowns thus won were often dedicated in the temple; in the ease of a tie, which was for this reason called lopid, the crown remained the property of the procto (ib. 949). But the rewards might also be carried away by the winners, and the entry of such a winner into his native city was a solemn function, as when Pausamachus brought home to the Carian Antioch the crown of the Olympic victor (Ditzenberger, Gr. Gymnas. 234, 31). At Elea in Asia Minor, when Attalus III. (158-133 B.C.) was received in state by the citizens, he was met by all the state officials and by the winners in sacred festivals carrying their crowns in their own hands. (ib. 253, 12).

6. From the use of crowns as rewards in actual athletic and other contests, such as musical or literary (an ordinary term for being victorious with a tragedy is θρασδόρατος, e.g. Bacchylides, frag. 83, Jelle), is probably derived their use as marks of honour generally. They could be given as rewards for good service to the community; and decrees of Greek communities rewarding their officials or private members are among the commonest of extant inscriptions.

Thus the Athenian council and people in 151 B.C. vote a laurel crown to Ptolemaios the priest of Asklepios for his services to the shrine of the god (ib. 1046); at Leuce in Asia Minor in the 3rd cent. B.C. a similar crown is voted to Menesktes for his services to the city (ib. 288); at Athens in the 1st century B.C. to Frontius, son of Mnesikles, the artificer (ib. 34); at Leuce in Egypt the artist of the gold of Dionysus and the Brother Gods grants a crown of ivy, to be given at the Dionysia, to their life-president Dionysius, son of Museus (ib. 50). At Delphi services to the shrine and State are rewarded with a crown of laurel from the god's grove, according to the traditional Delphic custom (ib. 346; Sygoff's Leips. 1398, p. 210). An Athenian decree of 100 B.C. records the crowns conferred on the ephebi and their koretes by the Council and Assembly, and by the Salaminian demos, and on their kometes by the ephebi (Klosteri, Epigr. ii. 65). A list of the eighteen crowns (of gold or laurel) conferred on Casander, son of Menestheus, was inscribed on a marble slab in the temple of the koretes at the Dionysia (ib. 192).

Such honorific crowns in art, to which the term 'crown' is not merely to individuals or associations, but to a whole people or their official representatives; thus the Athenian people received crowns from various States, such as Caria, Andros, Kos, and others (IG ii. 700, 701). The mural, relief, and civic crowns of the Romans were special developments of the crown as reward for services to the State.

7. From employing the crown as a reward, it was but a step to presenting it as a tribute, often with a semio-secular or ceremonial function. Thus the crown of the emperor was given as a sign of alliance with Rome (Pint. Lucull. ii. 34), Simon the Hasmonean received a golden crown on being called to the Persians (4 Macc. 135), and Antiochus IV. was given a golden crown when he conquered the city of Gaza (1 Macc. 10). The crown of 'divine honor' was adopted to symbolize the king's sovereignty.

8. Thus the crown became the symbol of victory, even more than the palm-branched. It is the most common attribute of Victory in art; and Christian symbolism, in spite of certain protests (cf. Tert. de Corv. 34), adopted it wholeheartedly as a symbol of spiritual victory.

9. The crowns received as civic rewards or honours were, like athletic decorations, frequently used for the festal occasions (Rouse, Gr. Vot. Offerings, Camb. 1902, p. 266). At Athens those conferred by a foreign State had to be dedicated in the Parthenon, perhaps to prevent εφαρ (Eschin. i. cit. 46). Crowns of less importance were usually kept by the recipients. When the semi-barbarian princes Spartacus and Parisisades of Bosporus were voted golden crowns by the Athenians, the decree laid down the very form of words which was to be inscribed on the crown when dedicated (Hicks, Gr. Hist. ii. 2, 901, p. 140). To judge by the lists in inscriptions, vast quantities of such crowns must have been in the temples. Sometimes the lists record the terms of the dedication; e.g. from the Delian treasure-list (Dittenberger, Syg. 2588) the inscription:

'Publius son of Publins Cornelius consul of the Romans' (i.e. Scipio Africanus, who probably made the dedication in 194 B.C.).

9. The crown, being part of the apparatus of religious service, was worn not only at sacrifices, but also at other ceremonies, such as nuptial or literary contests, which were under the patronage of a deity. Such were the sacred contests at which Pindar says it was originally the custom to wear crowns of laurel, and the natural development of the use of crowns variegated with flowers being later, and the use of artificial crowns later still. Demosthenes (in Mid. 16) describes golden crowns among the 'sacred vestments' worn by the choras which he provided at the Dionysia. Musicians are often represented wearing crowns (Schreiber-Anderson, Atlas, vii. 9, Ixxviii. 7; Baumeister, Denkm., fig. 594). The use of crowns at bridal official was doubtless religious, and therefore condemned by Tertullian (de Corona, 1), where the bridal crown that is carried or worn by Eros and Hyomenes. Religious also must have been the origin of the decoration hung outside the house-door at Athens after the birth of a child: an olive-wreath for a girl, a golden one for a boy. On the other hand, we may well hesitate to see any direct religious significance in the use of crowns at banquets. They were connected especially with drinking, and were probably first used to promote cheerfulness. It may be doubted whether the theory that they mitigated headache (an ancient theory mentioned by Aristotle ap. Athen. xv. 674) was more than make-believe. Whatever may have been the original significance of the use of crowns on such occasions, it was doubtless included in the general condemnation of the custom of wearing crowns on the head which was uttered by more than one Christian apologist (Minucius Felix, Tertullian). The Christians used flowers both loose and in garlands, but not on their heads, doubtless because the wearing of them was so intimately associated with pagan cultus.

10. The diadem worn by monarchs, though possibly its resemblance to the τιματον with which the heads of deities were often crowned, suggested it was given a suggestion of Divine significance, was probably not religious in origin. In any case it was adopted by Alexander the Great from the Persian king, so that its original significance must
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be sought in the East. The plain round decoration seen, e.g., on the portrait-head in the Louvre called Antiochus the Great (Bevan, House of Seleucia, Lond. 1902, frontisp.), or on heads of Seleucids and Philiberus on early Pergamene coins, is probably not a diadem, but a sacred fillet. The laurel crown, on the other hand, represented on the portraits of living Greek kings worn by the dead and divinized Philiberus, sometimes interwoven with a diadem, on coins of Pergamum.

It was worn by Julius Caesar and by practically all the Emperors from Augustus onwards, while, until the time of Constantine, they concealed the royal diadem. It was a symbol, despite its origin, of honour, but not of divinity. Even the crown that is being placed on the head of Augustus by a female figure, herself wearing a walled crown and veil, on the famous Vienna cameo (A. Furtwangler, Ant. Gemmen, 1900, pl. 56) representing the Emperor's apotheosis, is a sign of honour merely, not of divinization. This crown is of oak leaves, when the early Emperors wished to express divinity by a crown, it took the radiate form. The sun-god could be expressed by placing a star over the Emperor's head. On coins struck after his death, Divus Augustus is frequently represented wearing a crown. By the use of coins, this radiant crown, properly the head-dress of the sun-god, is found on coins representing Ptolemy III. of Egypt (247-222 B.C.). In Syria it appears first on coins struck by Antiochus Epiphanes (175-161 B.C.), who preserved his godhead thus, as well as by placing a star over his head. It may be doubted whether this radiation, so far, represents any concrete crown, and not merely an imaginary halo. Nero was the first living Roman Emperor to wear it; but it was not until the time of Caracalla, who introduced a silver coin called the antoninianus, on which the Emperor's head is radiate, that the radiate crown became common in representations of menarchs. It was apparently not worn by the Emperors after Constantine the Great, obviously because of its religious significance.


G. F. HILL.

CRUCIFIX.—See Symbols.

CRUCIFIXION.—See Crimes and Punishments.

CRUELTY.—See Humanitarianism.

CRUSADES.—I. CAUSES OF THE CRUSADES.

The Crusades may be defined as the technical name given to certain special events in the long struggle between the Muslim and the Christian. For the immediate or special causes of any particular Crusade, see below. Of general causes, whether political or religious and ethical, the following may be noted.

1. THE DECAY OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE.—The reader even of liberal culture is often ignorant of the fortunes of the great Empire that continued at Constantinople after the fall of Rome. He fails, therefore, to recognize the debt which the common civilization and Christianity of Europe owe to it (cf. F. Harrison, Meaning of History, 1901, chs. 11 and 12). Charles Martel saved the West at Tours (Oct. 732) from the Saracen invaders, but his efforts would have been fruitless if not Constantinople for centuries presented a secure barrier against all attacks from the side of Asia. The East, indeed, was recovered by the Franks. Historians may speak of the Crusades, as the Eastern Empire recovered its strength (First Saracen siege of Constantinople, 674-8; 2nd siege, 716-8; deliverance chiefly through 'Greek fire'); but under the great Emperor Leo the Syrian (718, often mistakenly called the Fool) these wounds were sapped by the Byzantine minstrelsy of the Saracen. (749), the Eastern Empire recovered its strength (J. B. Bury, Later Roman Empire, London, 1889, vol. i. bk. 6). As part of his general programme for driving back the Saracens, Leo endeavoured to abolish the 'cicones' and tried to develop a strong vociferous by reforming the land laws and emancipating the serfs. As a result, the Basidian dynasty (807-1067) regained much lost territory in both Asia and Europe, through the conquests especially of John Zimianes (965-75; Antioch recovered, 969). But, with the close of the 11th century, the powers of resistance of the Eastern Empire were becoming exhausted. The Iconoclastic controversy and, above all, centuries of pernicious land laws had sapped its vitality. The provinces of Asia Minor consisted of vast domains cultivated by serfs under absentee landlords at Constantinople, or belonging to ecclesiastical corporations exempt from military burdens. Thus the Iwan the Great, the provinces which had hitherto been held by the Muslim succumbed. The respite which Constantinople had provided had been invaluable. The Greek Empire had saved Europe in her hour of weakness. But now the emperors had subdued the barbarians, and under Charles the Great had welded Europe, in idea at least, into one great Christian commonwealth, under one leader of the faithful at Rome (Xinas Day, 500). Whatever its internal weakness, the idea of the Holy Roman Empire was of tremendous power for defense against the Christian foe. The conflict between Crescent and Cross was bound to be renewed under a new form, with a new champion of Christendom, and in a wider arena, no longer as a frontier war, but one of inter-continental character. Thus the Crusades (upon the seven or nine divisions of which strength should not be laid) must be regarded as a new form of the old struggle. A clear recognition of this fact, and on the belief that fashionable the Crusades were in the 12th cent. outbreak of madness or chivalry, lies at the root of a right understanding of history.

2. THE RISE OF THE SELJUK TURKS.—In the 9th and 10th centuries, the powers of resistance of Constantinople had been protected by the Empire of the Seljuk Turks. There were rival Khalifates of East and West (Western Khalifate inaugurated by 'Abd al-Rahmân III., in 929); the struggles of Sunnites and Shi'ites (g.v.), and of the dynasties of the Abbasids, 'Abbasids, Fatimidg, Idries, etc. (see, for complete lists, S. Lane-Poole, Mahommedan Dynasties, 1894); and the revolts of the 'Carmathians' (g.v.) at Kufa under Hamân ibn Ashat or Qarad, and the pillage of Mecca by the Mahdís in 722. But, with the rapid rise of the Seljuk Turks, all this was changed, and Constantinople was separated from the Muslim merely by the Dardanelles, and threatened by a Turkish fleet constructed of Greek captives. So, in the spring of 1088, Alexius Comnenus put together by (Recueil, iv. 131 f., or, better, Hagenmeyer, Kreuzvögelbriefe, Innsbruck, 1901, p. 12) to Robert of Flinders besought the aid of the Latin.1

In 1089 the Turks defeated Fatimi, the Chamsaraz, at Damascus, subdued Persia, and elected as their head Aghk-Tughrul Beg, the grandson of Seljuk b. Takek of Samarqand

1 For the controversy over the genuineness of this letter, see Bury's Gibbon, vi. 361 n., or, more fully, Hagenmeyer, op. cit. pp. 10-44. The date is from Hagenmeyer, whose defence of its genuineness (against P. E. D. Rant, Alex. Com. Ep. Spuria, Geneva, 1879) may be accepted.
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The pilgrims and the Holy Places. — The influence of the Holy Places upon the Middle Ages was not due to historic but religious and psychological sentiment. The Middle Ages were powerless to realize an idea without turning it into the concrete. Of Christ and His Church there were visible images. By a sort of logical inversion they went one step further. Where the image was, there was the spirit. Thus the image, or material realization, became the vehicle of grace, possessing not only sanctity but life, while the historical constant was changing, assuming form and colour. Hence, to the medieval mind the Holy Places were far more than religious or historical memorials. They were themselves spiritual and essential parts of the spiritual provision of the age. The earliest pilgrim of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem is seen in the journey of Helena in 326, the foundation by her son Constantine of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Socrates, HE i. 17; Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 30, 34-40), and the record in 333 of the Bordeaux pilgrim (see Hist. Anon. Burgundice, in CSEL xxxix. 1 ff.; Eng. tr. A. Stewart (London, 1857)). On the conquest of Jerusalem by Omar (638), the Crusaders were assured of their religion. A quarter was assigned to the patriarch and his people and the Holy Places were left in their hands. The Abassid Khalil Harun-al-Rashid even presented Charles the Great (23rd Dec. 800) with the keys to the sepulchre (Eginhard, de Carol. Mag. ch. 10). On Jerusalem laying to the Fatimid Khalifs of Egypt (969-1076), special concessions were granted to the republic of Amalfi for the transport of pilgrims. But the era of tolerance was over for the Crusaders (al-Hakim, Ab-‘Ali-al-Mansur), the Fatimid Khalif (996-1020), burnt the Church of the Resurrection and destroyed the Holy Sepulchre (27th Sept. 1010; for date, see Röhrich, op. cit. 9 n.). On his assumption of the crown as this new hated dynasty of the Muslim al-Hakim once more granted toleration, and the pilgrimages recommenced, greatly stimulated by the new outbreak of piety in Europe which marked the 11th cent. and by the re-opening (see Röhrich, in Hist. Teutoburcbach, Leipzig, 1875, v. 5), though the conversion of Stephen of Hungary (907-1038), of the old land-route which was followed as early as 933 by the Bordeaux pilgrim. But under the rule of Orak the cruelties inflicted upon, and the exactions from, pilgrims, heightened at two gold pieces a head, became excessive (William of Tyre, Hist. i. ch. 10; Urban ii. at Clermont in Guibert, Gesta Dei per Francos, ii. 4 (Recueil, iv. 140)). Either a way of redress must be found, or the pilgrimages must cease.

The new Europe. — The wrongs of previous ages, including the desecration by al-Hakim, had appealed to a distracted Europe in vain. But by the close of the 11th cent. a new Europe had arisen, instinct with religious chivalry, conscious of its spiritual unity, no longer hampered by the heathen Huns and Northmen. By the recital of the wrongs of the pilgrims a nerve was touched of exquisite feeling; and the sensation vibrated to the heart of Europe (Gibbon, vi. 258). Politically Europe was re-united, and the papacy had arisen, the result of the continuing weakness and divisions, the Seljuk Selim Khan won Anatolia and Antioch, the Seljuk Sultanate of Iraq being established at Niessa (1077-1300). Moreover, in 1070-1, Jerusalem had been taken by a lieutenant of Malik Shah, Aliya bin Ark the Khwarazmian, who had taken the Seljuk Khalifs of Egypt, and its government handed over to the exactions of the Turkish Oktar b. Askab (see below). The Turks were expelled 30th May, 1099, by the Fatimids, and retired to the Euphrates.

3. The pilgrims and the Holy Places. — The influence of the Holy Places upon the Middle Ages was not due to historic but religious and psychological sentiment. The Middle Ages were powerless to realize an idea without turning it into the concrete. Of Christ and His Church there were visible images. By a sort of logical inversion they went one step further. Where the image was, there was the spirit. Thus the image, or material realization, became the vehicle of grace, possessing not only sanctity but life, while the historic constant was changing, assuming form and colour. Hence, to the medieval mind the Holy Places were far more than religious or historical memorials. They were themselves spiritual and essential parts of the spiritual provision of the age. The earliest pilgrim of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem is seen in the journey of Helena in 326, the foundation by her son Constantine of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Socrates, HE i. 17; Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 30, 34-40), and the record in 333 of the Bordeaux pilgrim (see Hist. Anon. Burgundice, in CSEL xxxix. 1 ff.; Eng. tr. A. Stewart (London, 1857)). On the conquest of Jerusalem by Omar (638), the Crusaders were assured of their religion. A quarter was assigned to the patriarch and his people and the Holy Places were left in their hands. The Abassid Khalil Harun-al-Rashid even presented Charles the Great (23rd Dec. 800) with the keys to the sepulchre (Eginhard, de Carol. Mag. ch. 10). On Jerusalem laying to the Fatimid Khalifs of Egypt (969-1076), special concessions were granted to the republic of Amalfi for the transport of pilgrims. But the era of tolerance was over for the Crusaders (al-Hakim, Ab-‘Ali-al-Mansur), the Fatimid Khalif (996-1020), burnt the Church of the Resurrection and destroyed the Holy Sepulchre (27th Sept. 1010; for date, see Röhrich, op. cit. 9 n.). On his assumption of the crown as this new hated dynasty of the Muslim al-Hakim once more granted toleration, and the pilgrimages recommenced, greatly stimulated by the new outbreak of piety in Europe which marked the 11th cent. and by the re-opening (see Röhrich, in Hist. Teutoburcbach, Leipzig, 1875, v. 5), though the conversion of Stephen of Hungary (907-1038), of the old land-route which was followed as early as 933 by the Bordeaux pilgrim. But under the rule of Orak the cruelties inflicted upon, and the exactions from, pilgrims, heightened at two gold pieces a head, became excessive (William of Tyre, Hist. i. ch. 10; Urban ii. at Clermont in Guibert, Gesta Dei per Francos, ii. 4 (Recueil, iv. 140)). Either a way of redress must be found, or the pilgrimages must cease.

4. The new Europe. — The wrongs of previous

1 For the battle, see Finlay, Hist. Greece, iii. 32-4; Oman, Hist. of the Art of War, 27-29.

2 For the treaty, see Johannes, Gesch. d. Kreuz., 233 n.; from Mujir-al-Din's Hist. de Jerusalem, in Arch. 1876, p. 69 f.

3 For the al-Khanss, see Al-Khayri, Le.


5 Of the battle, see Finlay, Hist. Greece, iii. 32-4; Oman, Hist. of the Art of War, 27-29.

6 For the treaty, see Johannes, Gesch. d. Kreuz., 233 n.; from Mujir-al-Din's Hist. de Jerusalem, in Arch. 1876, p. 69 f.

7 For the al-Khanss, see Al-Khayri, Le.

CRUSADES

1869, Peter is not mentioned by Guilbert or others as present at Clermont. Of Peter's preaching in Flanders and Flanders after Clermont, little doubt is possible. Guilbert, op. cit. ii. 8, Anna Comn. Lea., but Urban ii., a disciple of Gregory vi., would use rather than follow his preaching. For Peter, see the critical edition by Hageney, Peter Eremite (Leipzig, 1879), which traces the genealogy of the myth.

At the Council of Clermont (7th March 1095) the ambassador of Alexis Comnens perjured the peril of Constantinople (Mansi, xx. 802; Guilbert, op. cit. ii. 1), but Urban ii. postponed the decision until after a second Council at Clermont (18th-27th Nov. 1095; Mansi, xxx. 821ff.). There, amid cries of 'Deus vult,' the undertaking was commenced, a red cross (hence the 'Crusade') being sewn on the breast or shoulders. So far as the Muslim world was concerned, the times were opportune, the great Seljuk Empire of Malik Shah having broken up, at his death (1092), into four warring portions. Egyptians and Greeks, and in 1096 the Latin visier Aschël conquered Jerusalem from Ortuk. While the main expedition was preparing, a vast mob, chiefl y from the Rhine districts, under Peter, Walter the Flemish, and Walter de Poix, with a garrison at their head (Alb. Q. i. 30; Guilbert, op. cit.; Recueil, iv. 251), after massacring (May 1096) the Jews in Spires and Worms (Salomo bar Simeon, in Neubauer and Stern's Quellen zur Gesch. der Juden in Deutsch., Detmold, 1877, 1. 41), cut off the Rhine crossings, and, having reached Constantinople (30th July 1096). On crossing into Asia, they were overwhelmed (21st Oct. 1096), near the river Drac on and at Civitao, by Kilih Arsclan, the son and successor of Temur redan (see lists in Alb. Q. ii. 22. 3), with a vast host of barons, etc. Marching through Hungary, the various forces converging on Constantinople (Godfrey, 22nd Dec. 1097; Bohemond, 16th April 1097), and were carried over the Bozorus by the anxious Greeks. After Alexis had secured their homaage (Alb. Q. ii. 14, 15, 18), Peter reviewed the hosts (of whom Fulcher of Chartres enumerates seventeen nations, or about 60,000 armed horsemen [see Alb. Q. ii. 41] plus a vast mob of pilgrims and camp followers), they captured Nicaea, the capital of Asia Minor (29th July 1097), the town of Doryleum (Eeiki-Scheh, 1st July 1097), crossed the desert in a burning summer, captured Antioch after an exhausting siege of nine months (21st Oct. 1097-3rd June 1098), during the dire famine of which many deserted for home (Alb. ib. passim. 50-52, iv. 34) until stopped by the discovery of a Holy Lance, and defeated the vast relief forces of Kerbogha of Mosul (28th June). After ten months' delay, the remnant of the crusaders, reduced now to less than 40,000 all told (Kohrth, op. cit., 289), disbanding the proffered terms of the Egyptians, marched on Jerusalem (13th May-6th June 1099), the capture of which (15th July 1099) was followed by the massacre of 70,000 Muslims and Jews, which was witnessed by Peter of Prizien (Alb. Q. vi. 29-30). Eight days later Godfrey was elected king (real title, 'advocate of the Holy Sepulchre') of Jerusalem (22nd July 1099; William of Tyre, op. cit. ix. chs. 1-12). His overthrow of the Egyptians at Antioch (19th Aug. 1098) was followed by his death of his disaster of his death (18th July 1100). The two

1 For critical examination of this Council, see Röhrich, Erst. Kreuz., 225-3. For Urban's other Councils after Clermont, at which also he preached the Crusade (see Recueil, iv. 11), are 12th May 1082, 22nd Dec. 1097, 16th April 1097, and 3rd June 1098, each of which was followed by the death of his disaster of his death (18th July 1100). The two

2 On this incident, see Raynund of Agiles, Hist. Francorum, in Recueil, iii.
briefs (1058-1100), Innsbruck, 1901, with complete bibliography of all minor sources, magazines, etc.; R. Röhrich, Gesch. des Kreuz. Kreuz. in L. Hinsch, Innerkreuzz. (1903) (perhaps the best single work), and Bettelley z. Gesch. d. Kreuzz., 2 vols., Berlin, 1874, 1878. For the first edition of many of these works, they have done good work (cf. Renouf, v.). His Invent. crit. der lettres (668-719), Paris, 1880, is of value for advanced work.

2. The fall of Acre. — For many years the Latin kingdom had been threatened by the growing power of the Atabeg amir of Mosul, 'Imād-ad-Dīn Zengi, or Zanghis, thwarted by the Latins into Sanguinaires (1127-14th Sept. 1146), to whom must be ascribed the first stemming of the tide of the Latin conquest. His capture and massacre of Edessa (25th Dec. 1144) was followed by the successive marriages of his great sons, Nar-al-Din and Mahmod. The fall of Acre aroused the West, chiefly through the preaching of St. Bernard (see art. BERHNARD, vol. ii. p. 589), first at Vézelay before Louis VII. (31st March 1146), then later in the Rhine valley, where the persecution of the Jews which usually attended a Crusade had broken out. As a result of his meeting with Bernard at Spires (27th Dec. 1146), the Emperor Conrad III., with reluctance, took the cross (E. Canandard, S. Bernard, Paris, 1895, ii. 288 ff.). Conrad started from Bamberg (May 1147) by the overland route, with about 100,000 followers (London, many women, and after a disordered journey, reached Constantinople, followed closely by Louis, who set out from Metz (11th June 1147). An attempt of Conrad to push on was thwarted by the loss of 30,000 Germans, and he was forced back upon Nicea. The great Louis, from there the armies marched, though in two divisions, to Ephesus, whence the wounded Conrad returned, after Christmas, to winter at Constantinople. Meanwhile Louis, however, and a part of the Germans under Otto of Friesingen, continued their march. Otto's force was cut to pieces near Laudice, and Louis was disastrously defeated in the defiles of Phrygia (Odo, op. cit. vi.: a remarkable story), but the rout was that the diminished forces to reach Antioch (19th March 1148). Meanwhile Conrad set sail from Constantinople (10th March 1148), and reached Acre in April. The two armies mustered at Palma, near Acre (23rd June 1148). But the attempt was a failure (Bernhardi, op. cit. 563-78), and Conrad sailed home (8th Sept. 1148), followed by Louis (Easter 1149). Bernard and Suger thereupon planned a second expedition, and at a Council at Chartres (7th May 1150) Bernard suggested that his majesty was elected commander-in-chief—an office which he refused (Sieg. i. 236). The miserable termination of the crusade led to a reaction of anger against St. Bernard (de Consid. ii. 1). As an important episode in the Crusade we may note the undesignated conquest, by an English fleet, of Lisbon from the Moors (Bernhardi, op. cit. 579-90).

Literature.—For the Second Crusade the chief sources, in addition to William of Tyre (see below), are Odo de Deoğlu (Deuil, and de Profections Ind., vii. De Smyne, P., cx.xxx. 1220 ff.), and two anonymous writers, Gesta Ind. vii. For Conrad, see Otto of Freising, de gest. Fred., iv. 54-59, 43-50, 58-59 (in Parti, MGH xxxi). Of Greek writers, Nicetas Cenomanus continues the work of Anna Comnena from 1121 to 1139; Michael Psellos and John of Requesens (see Renouf, Geschichte, Paris, 1875). Of modern works, B. Kugler, Analekten z. Gesch. des zweiten Kreuzz., Tübingen, 1878, 1881, and Neur Analekten, Tübingen, 1885; W. Büsch, Gesch. der Ind. 3 Vols., Leipsic, 1883 (esp. pp. 591-684).

3. Third Crusade. —In 1161 and 1167 the Turkish Amir Shirkuh (Asad-ad-Din Abul-'l-Mirahim Shirkuh) attacked the Fatimids of Egypt and their Frank allies. But the treacherous designs of the advisers of Amalric of Jerusalem (1161-73) to seize Egypt led the Fatimids to turn the Turks for help. After the battle of Solothurn (Hist. H. F. Wallerstein, 12th Nov. 1165), Amalric was forced to return; but Saladin, at the command of Nar-al-Din, destroyed the Fatimid dynasty (Sept. 1171), restoring Egypt to the allegiance of the Abyduss (Khalif of Babylon) (William of Tyre, xiii. 5-7, 12-31, xx. 5-12). On the death of Shirkuh (23rd March 1169), his nephew the Kurid Saladin (Salah-al-Din; b. 1137) without delay (26th March) was recognized as his successor as vizier of Egypt. The dismemberment due to the death of the Sultan Nar-al-Din (16th May 1174) was not taken advantage of by the Latins, who allowed Saladin to extend and consolidate his dominions (Syria, 1174-6).

The inglorious expedition of Philip of Flanders (Aug. 1177-Easter 1178), and the great defeat of Saladin at Ramleh by 575 knights under Reginald of Châtillon (25th Nov. 1177), led in 1180 to a truce for two years. The violation of the truce by Reginald of Chatillon's seizure of Karak, and subsequent plunder of Alaraph, in 1180 (1186), and the rapid decay of the kingdom of Jerusalem through dissensions, finally issued in a determined attack by Saladin, whose soldiers were now trained in Frank methods. His great victory at Hittin or Haratun (4th July 1187) was followed by the siege (20th Sept.) and capitulation of Jerusalem on 2nd Oct. 1187. Saladin's siege of Tyre (Nov. and Dec. 1187) was thwarted by Conrad of Montferrat, but for the rest of the country was over-run, and a conditional promise was made of the surrender of Antioch if not relieved within seven months.

Meanwhile Europe once more armed, being terrified by the news which reached them from Jerusalem (20th Oct. 1187-91) (Giraud, Camb. de Princ. Instr., 2599) of the loss of Jerusalem. The first to move was the great Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, who as a young man had taken part in the Second Crusade. Starting from Regensburg (11th May 1189), Frederick crossed Hungary and Bulgaria, and wintered at Adrianople, sore harried, as usual, by the treachery of the Greeks. Soon after Easter 1190 he crossed the Bosporus, avoiding Constantinople, and struggled through the desert to Jerusalem, but on the 10th June 1190 in the Saleph (Genk Su or Calycedun, Hisc. Ric. s8), the Germans made their way in, part, to Antioch (June 21st), in part to Tripoli.


Richard of England (Nov. 1187) and Philip Augustus of France (Jan. 1188) had been the first to take the cross. But, owing to their quarrels, they did not start from Vézelay until June 1199. They journeyed together to Marseilles, and by separate fleets (Genoese and English) to Messina (23rd Sept.), where they wintered. Sailing in the spring, and on the way, they were carrying in Cyprus a fortnight (Hisc. Ric. 183 ff.). Richard arrived at Acre (5th June 1191), which Guy de Lusignan had sat down to besiege (25th Aug. 1191) and Saladin to defend, both sides passing through the extreme of pestilence. Before Richard's arrival, Philip (15th July) was preceded by Philip (20th June), and on 3rd July a united assault was made on the town, which surrendered on the 12th of the same month. The quarrels of Philip and Richard were, however, of no importance, for interesting narration. For the events of the years 1187-9, see R. Röhrich, Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Kreuzz. i. 115-286.
disastrous, and, on 31st July, Philip set sail home. Richard with 100,000 men marched down the coast to Jaffa, protected by his fleet, and on 7th Sept. in person led the main body of the Crusaders on a great drive upon Saladin's capital, Cairo (good narrative in Itin. R. p. 259). After six weeks' delay in re-fortifying Jaffa, Richard twice marched within sight of Jerusalem (Jan. and June 1192), but was forced to fall back on Ascalon. In the meantime, Saladin had already made a moray treaty with his chief (good narrative in Itin. R. pp. 254-5) among the crusaders, and trouble at home (ib. p. 334), led Richard to come to terms with Saladin (2nd Sept.). The Christians were to retain the coast from Tyre to Jaffa, and to have an annual respite of three months thereon. On 10th Oct. 1192, Richard left Palestine. Such small successes as this Crusade had accomplished were wholly due to his marvellous skill and daring (of the latter the most remarkable illustration is in Ralph Coggeshall, Chron. Rolls Ser. 1875, pp. 41-51). On the death of Saladin at Damascus (14th March 1193) his dominions were divided, and the Christians obtained a respite, a great victory being won by Germain crusaders in 1197, which led to the recovery of the coast towns.

LITERATURE.—For Richard's Crusade the following are the chief sources. (1) The anonymous Itin. Roris Ricardi (ed. by W. Stubbs, Rolls Ser. 1875, 2 vols.), a 13th-century Latin old ascension (due to Galis's ed. 1087) to Geoffrey Villeain is incorrect. Stubbs (latrod. opt. cit. ii. 16) authorizes the authorship of the poem of the knight of the Holy Blood in Athens, where it was published 1230-50 (ib. l. ixx). It is now generally agreed that it was a false Chronicle, i.e. p. xviii. (12) It is a free Latin translation of a French poem of a Norman knight called Aimbroise, the minister of Richard (ed. by F. Liebermann and K. Pauli in Paris, 1855, 2 vols.; ed. Canisius, Lugd. 1868, 2 vols.; ed. Stubbs, in Rolls Ser., 2 vols. 1875-77). (1) Matthew of Paris (ed. H. E. Liard in Rolls Ser. 7 vols. 1872-83) and Ralph de Diceto (ed. Stubbs in Rolls Ser., 2 vols. 1875). (2) Two contemporaneous narratives: the anonymous Libellum de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae (printed, with the Chronicle of Ralph Coggeshall, in Rolls Ser., 2 vols. 1873, p. 334) and also in Martine (Ampliss. Coll. v. 344, 1719), and the crusader's journal (Stubbs, Itin. R., intro. p. xxviii) in Benedict of Petrobrughe's Gesta Henrici II. et Ric. I. (ed. Stubbs, in Rolls Ser. 1877). (4) The great Arabic work of Bohadam (Bahá-d-dm, b. 1146, d. 1214), the friend of Saladin (ed. Canisius, Lugd. 1855, 2 vols.) with much tr. under the title 'La Vie du Sultan Yusuf' (i.e. Saladin), in Recueil des hst. des croisades [Hist. crit.] iii. (Paris, 1846); see also Schulten, Leyden, 1732. The tr. of C. W. Wilson, published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (London, 1857), is said by Lane-Poole to be unsuccessful. (4) Of modern works, S. Lane-Poole, Saladin, New York, 1898, is of special value. Lane-Poole speaks in high terms of F. L. C. Martini's Hist. de Saladin, 2 vols. Paris, 1875. G. L. Schimmel, Renard de Chatillon, Paris, 1896, may also be consulted.

4. Fourth Crusade.—As the so-called Fourth Crusade, in spite of Innocent III.'s intention, never became at all, but was only a succession of attempts by the Latins to seize Constantinople and the Eastern Empire, for our present purpose it may be dismissed. Note should, however, be taken of the ancient hatred thus accentuated between Greek and Latin; of the evidence the Crusade affords of the fatal disunion between the Eastern and Western Churches, the existence of which was one great cause of the failure of the Crusades (cf. below, p. 339) of the indifference of the great trading nations of Italy, especially Venice, to all motives except gain; and of the terrible weakening in powers of defence of Constantinople which the Latin conquest and pillage (12th-13th Apr. 1204) and the subsequent Latin rule (1204-61) produced.

For the Crusade, see the Introd. to the Crusades, ed. by T. Ernoul, 1240) by Richard, earl of Cornwall, who had taken the cross at Winchester (June 1236), and Simon de Montfort. Richard reached Acre on 11th Oct. (Matt. Paris, iv. 71), and by purchase secured the release of many captives (ib. iv. 143-3). Nothing, however, was accomplished, and on 3rd May 1241 he returned home (ib. iv. 144). In 1243, by negotiation, Jerusalem was once more restored. But the calling in of the Emperor Frederick II. by his absence during his crusade against him, Frederick returned from Acre and landed at Brindisi (10th June 1229).

In August 1229, on the appeal of Gregory IX., an abortive French Crusade, under Theobald, king of Navarre, set sail from Marseilles; followed (June 1240) by Richard, earl of Cornwall, who had taken the cross at Winchester (June 1236), and Simon de Montfort. Richard reached Acre on 11th Oct. (Matt. Paris, iv. 71), and by purchase secured the release of many captives (ib. iv. 141-3). Nothing, however, was accomplished, and on 3rd May 1241 he returned home (ib. iv. 144). In 1243, by negotiation, Jerusalem was once more restored. But the calling in of the Emperor Frederick II. by his absence during his crusade against him, Frederick returned from Acre and landed at Brindisi (10th June 1229).

LITERATURE.—For the Fifth Crusade, in addition to Ernoul, we have as special sources: (1) James of Vitry, Hist. Hierosolimitanorum; (2) T. Ernoul, Collection of stories (ed. T. Ernoul, 1838, Eng. Hist. by Contemp. Writers' series). (The Crusaders' poems can be corrected by the works of the Abu-Salih (1100-1225), History of the Ababqs (the enemies of Saladin) and Al-Kamil, or the Perfection of History (both in Recueil [Hist. crit.], ii. l. Paris, 1573-57).

1. The treaty is hinted at by Ernoul (Recueil, ii. 250).

2. There is an Eng. tr. by A. Stewart, London, 1896.
6. Sixth Crusade.—The fall of Jerusalem before the Crusaders led St. Louis IX. to take the cross. He sailed from Aigues-Mortes (25th Aug. 1248) with 1800 ships and at least 50,000 men, wintered in Cyprus, and reached (5th June) Damietta, which the Saracens abandoned. After six months' delay the French pushed on towards Cairo, but were almost annihilated (8th Feb. 1249) at Mansurah (see Oman, op. cit. 519-520). Compelled to retreat, Louis was captured (15th Apr.-6th May 1250), but secured his freedom from the Mamluks by a ransom of 400,000 livres and the surrender of Damietta. About 12,000 French and Provençal soldiers, spoiled by the fortification of the seaports, Louis departed without having reached Jerusalem, arriving home 11th July 1254.

Literature.—For this Crusade, see the narrative of the eyewitness J. de Joinville, Histoire de St. Louis IX. (most convenient ed. is that of Natalis de Waddyl with Fr. tr. (1839, 1874), or the Parkes, ed. (1874)); for Frederick II., we have Richard de Germano, Cronica (1190-1243), in Muratori, op. cit. v. 1005-13; Fertz, MGH xiv. 225 E. Of modern writers, for the Crusade of Alexander II., see H. B. de la Rue, Die Kreuzzfahrt, Stettin (1879).—For the Crusade of Louis IX., see W. B. de la Rue, Gesch. d. franzöf. Kreuzz., Innsbruck, 1891, ch. 2. For Frederick II., see C. R. von Stein, Die Kreuzzfahrten, IV. (1872) (printed also in his Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Kreuzz., 1874).

7. Seventh Crusade.—In 1263 the sultan B¯bars (Beybars al-Bundukdh¯ar) of Egypt began the systematic conquest of Palestine (1264), capturing Acre (1265), Safad (1266), Jaffa (1268), and Antioch (12th June 1268). In July 1270, Louis IX., provoked by the loss of Antioch, set out from Aigues-Mortes with 30,000 troops, but was induced to turn aside to Tunis, in the siege of which he died (25th Aug. 1270). Edward of England (afterwards Edward I.) reached Tunis (9th Oct.), and, after wintering there, reached Acre (9th May 1271) just in time to save the city from the Muslims. Owing to his father's failing health, Edward was driven to patch up a ten years' truce, and return (14th Sept. 1272). Throughout his life he, however, cherished the hope of further Crusades. Meanwhile the growing quarrels of the Military Orders, and the rivalry of Genoa and Venice, and the desperate measures of the Crusaders, in the strip of the Latin kingdom still left—by the capture of Tripoli (1289), and finally of Acre (18th May 1291), when the massacre of 60,000 Christians closed the 'World's Debate.'

In the Crusades, as in the other Crusades, as the struggle between Muslim and Christian, may be said to have been continued by the slow conquest of Spain from the Moors, by the wars of Sigismund with the Turks (1296), by Muhammad II.'s capture of Constantinople (1453), by the great naval victory of Don John at Lepanto (1571), and of John Sobieski at Vienna (Sept. 1683). But all motive of rescue of the Holy Sepulchre, etc., was now lost, and the sole idea was political—to roll back the invasion of the Turks from Europe.

Literature.—For the Seventh Crusade, the expedition of St. Louis is in William de Nangis (ed. H. Gérard, 2 vols., Paris, 1828-29), and for Edward we have T. Carroll, ed. in Armorial Monastici (Rolls Ser.) ed. Lord, vol. iv. (1890); and the Chronicon of Walter Gisburn or Henningsburgh (ed. H. C. Hamilton, 1846, vol. i. pp. 237-377). For the siege of Acre see the anonymous ed. Excidium urbis Aconis, in Mariana, Amphilochus, Chronicon, 265-524; and Abé-Fidé's account in Recueil (Hist. Fr.) vol. i.

III. CAUSES OF FAILURE OF THE CRUSADES.—I. Lack of sea-power.—This applied especially to the early Crusades. The long march overland from Germany or France through Hungary, the Eastern Empire, then across the deserts and mountains of Asia Minor, would have tried the ability of Alexander or Napoleon at the head of their seasoned legions. It was fatal to Godfrey of Bouillon, and Louis IX., and, of course, to the undisciplined thousands who followed Walter the Penniless.1 But sea-power, Barbarossa might have won. On the field of battle the crusaders were irresistible. But entangled among mountains and deserts their numbers became their ruin. The lack of sea-power, the possession of which would have led to success, was the effect of a still deeper cause—sea-power in the Mediterranean, in the hands of the Greek-Orthodox, or of the cities of Italy—Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. Of these, Venice, once the subject, was now the ally of Constantinople (see Burn's note, Gibbon, vi. 381), and Genoa was too entirely intent on guarding her trade with the Crimea. The sea-power of England and North Europe was used advantageously at Jaffa in 1102 and 1107, but was not available for the transport of the Continental crusaders. After the First Crusade the West woke up to the advantages of a sea-power. But the Greek Empire had now become bitterly antagonistic to all Crusades (see below, § 2), and so sea-power was denied by the Greeks and Venetians, except on exorbitant terms (cf. above, 'Fourth Crusade').

2. The division of Christendom.—But the chief cause of failure was undoubtedly the disunion of the crusaders, and the deep hatred between the Greek and Latin Churches. A united Christendom would have been invincible; it is now dispirited by its own divisions. The disunion was of a double nature—national and religious. Of the national dissensions the Third Crusade will serve as an example; or, better, the fact that at Acre, when the Greek was 'sick', there were more than seventeen independent commands. From the first the Crusades were a French rather than a German movement; and the Germans—the Empire, in fact—in consequence did little. Of the religious dissensions—largely also national—the antagonism between the Greek and Latin Churches and Empires was even more fatal. The Greeks after the First Crusade rarely did anything to assist the Crusaders, and often secretly thwarted them.

3. The bad organization of the Latin kingdom.—The conquests achieved by the First Crusade were organized on a feudal basis. Latin in character, by over-taxation and intolerance it hopelessly estranged the natives (H. G. Frucht, Kulturgesch. d. Kreuzz., p. 167), especially the native Churches (Nestorians, etc.). There is some evidence that Jerusalem was betrayed to Saladin by Christian Melchites (Recueil, ii. 85 n.). One result of the feudal system, when worked in connexion with a country of inhospitable climate, and in the climate of cross-country warfare, was the number of lieutenants, and, in consequence, of disputed and changing successions.2 The only sound element in the country in this matter was the organization of the Military Orders, with their constant succession of new blood from Europe.

IV. RESULTS OF THE CRUSADES.—I. Political.

—The immediate political effects have been dealt with under the several Crusades. Other consequences were:

(1) Increased importance of the Papacy, as the embodiment of the unity of Christendom, and the leader in the call to war, in spite of the fact that Urban II. (2) In his sermons left out those great ideas of military method and political-eclesiastical conquest upon which Gregory had impressed the stamp of his character. But the crusaders were the soldiers of the Pope, who, from his papacy began to re-establish the power of the Papal collars. The increased importance attached to

1 Oman (op. cit. 283) points out the geographical ignorance shown in these land routes.
indulgences through the Crusades, and the effect on the Papacy must not be overlooked. How completely the Papacy was identified with the conception of Crusades is seen in the disastrous extension of the idea to all the wars engineered or encouraged by the Papacy against its enemies, e.g., the armies of Frederick, and Manfred, or against the Hussites. In the long run this power of inaugurating a Crusade told by its misuse against the Papacy, and was one cause of its fall.

(2) 

Weakness of the Eastern Empire.—Unfortunately, the Western influence, especially after the fall of the Third Crusade, was the weakening of Constantinople,—this altogether apart from the fatal Fourth Crusade,—and thus of the barrier of Europe against the Muslim (see Pears, op. cit. ch. 2). Among the dominant assets of the Byzantine Empire, especially in the commercial field, the great ship-plaques at an early but unknown date.† On the institution of the Templars the hospital was turned into a Military Order. (b) The famous Order of the Temple was instituted about 1118. But its real status was not until Bernard the Stoudite of Troyes (Jan. 1128) lent it his advocacy. To Bernard was assigned the composition of its Rule, the greater part of which, however, is by a later hand.‡

(c) The Teutonic Order of Knights was founded in 1101 at the same time, but Crusading importance for European history by its conquest of Prussia from the heathen must not be forgotten. (d) There was a fourth Order, Knights of St. Thomas of Acre, of interest as almost purely English.†

1 The expenses of the crusaders led to the sale of estates, advowsons, town-rights, manorial rights, etc., to merchants, beggars, and others; and so to the growth of liberty. The sales to the Jews led by reaction to an outbreak against them (W. Cunningham, Growth of Eng. Industry and Commerce, vol. i. [5th ed., Cambridge, 1910] p. 265). In commerce we see the opening up of the East to the West (H. G. Prinz, Kulturgesch. d. Kreuzzugs, 1. A. 1897). For Venice and maritime trade (Cunningham, op. cit. 147, 198). As the monks did not go on crusade, the sales of estates ministered much to their wealth, and to that of the Church generally.

(2) 

Introduction of Aristotle to Europe.—The conquest of the East by Venice and the Fourth Crusade (Cunningham, op. cit. 147, 198). As the monks did not go on crusade, the sales of estates ministered much to their wealth, and to that of the Church generally.

(3) 

Theological.—Through the realization of the sufferings of the Saviour—powerfully aided by the Crusades the Saviour, 'Salvator caput cruciatum'—the idea of the historical but dying Jesus was formed side by side with the growing mediaval conception of the sacramental and eternal Christ. 'The primitive Christian intuitions were restored. The sacred places stirred the imagination, and led it to the Christ of the Gospels' (Harnack, Hist. Dogm., Eng. tr. vi. [1890] 9).

Literate—Original Sources.—The particular sources for the several Crusades have already been noted under each. It remains to add the more general works. The best work covering the whole period is William of Tyre. His intimate acquaintance with Palestine was supplemented by a knowledge of Marcellus' Hist. rerum gestarum transmittit gestarum (Recueil [Hist. occid.], i. [1844] is one of the great works of medieval history, and should be studied even by those who cannot afford to read it, of which there are many. The basis is of all histories dealing with the Crusades. Book 6, (to 1144) are indebted to earlier writers, esp. Albert of Aachen; XVI., xxi. (to 1160) is the only original observation in French by Ernoul, who was present at the battle of Hattin and the capitulation of Jerusalem, down to 1229. In the same history from 1099-1100 was found in Recueil [Hist. occid., i. 1988]

Modern Authorities.—Special monographs, including the valuable works of Hageney and Rohr, have been published under the general title of Crusades. The following may be noted: E. Gibbon (ed. Eury [new ed. in prep. 1911], with apparatus and corrections, and in the new edition of the work is valuable for the first Crusade, poor for the others, and misleading for the Fourth, on which, however, the main stress is correctly, and is full and good. As the general reader is T. A. Archer and C. L. Kingsford, The Crusades, London, 1898, but without notes. Complete surveys are found in Eng. by J. King, G. and the new ed. of the latter, London, 1899, and B. B., and the new ed. of the latter, Paris, 1899, and B. B., and a useful summary of the same year by L. Brehier, L'Essai et le moyen âge, Paris, 1917. The oldest and still the most important for European history by its conquest of Prussia from the heathen must not be forgotten. (d) There was a fourth Order, Knights of St. Thomas of Acre, of interest as almost purely English.†

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CRYSTAL-GAZING

not he or she has the faculty of seeing 'crystal visions.' The gaze should not be prolonged when the eye is looking for眼前的, or if it in a sense of soundness appears to be approaching. Solitude is here recommended, because the mind, though it may follow any train of thought, is not the better, in the experiment, for the irresponsible chatter of the frivolous. In the present writer's experience, it is very rare to find anyone who has the leisure and the resolution to make solitary experiments of the duration of ten minutes on four or five occasions. None the less, in spite of the scarcity of time, and the insatiable demands of society, it is now admitted, even by a number of orthodox students of experimental psychology, that hallucinations of sight really are provoked in some sane and honourable and educated persons, by gazing into a clear glass in the sun. These people see 'crystal visions' representing persons, events, and places, known or unknown, familiar or unfamiliar, to the gazer, and not summoned up by any conscious attempt to 'visualize.'

This set of facts is quite as certainly authentic as the coloured visions of arithmetic figures, which, as Sir F. Galton has convinced science, arise before the 'mind's eye' of many persons on the mention of numbers. In both cases, so far, the 'visions' are limited only by the numbers and personal character of the 'seers.'

A third kind of visionary experience is perhaps less common than we might suppose. Many persons are unacquainted with illusions hypnagogiques—distorted visions of faces, places, persons, and landscapes, usually unfamiliar, which flit before the closed eyes in moments between sleeping and waking. These pictures, like those of crystal vision, come unsummoned, and often repeat or persist, for which we do not remember ever to have seen. People who have no experience of these illusions are apt to disbelieve that other people have it. In short, all kinds of experiences of visions of numbers, of the mind's eye, illusions hypnagogiques, and crystal visions—are 'automatisms,' and are not produced by the action of the conscious intelligence.

Before the experiments of the Society for Psychological Research, in the epoch of 1890-1910, most persons believed that the faculty for seeing such hallucinations was a mere faculty of romance-writers, or a delusion of peasants. But, when many experiments had made it certain that the faculty is not so rare among members of both sexes, young or old, in all ranks and all degrees of education, attention was drawn to the use of crystal-gazing in many ages and lands as a form of divination. It was found that the pictures seen by the 'seer,' or gazer, were supposed to be sent by spirits, and to indicate events distant in space or destined to occur in the future; or they revealed persons guilty of theft or other crimes. Thus crystal-gazing got a bad name, and was associated with invocation of evil spirits, and even now the average man or woman thinks crystal-gazing synonymous with divination. 'Tell me what horse will win the Derby,' says the average man, 'and if you succeed I'll give you a thousand.' Another criticism is, 'What is the use of it?' Savage peoples, almost everywhere, and the people of Greece, Rome, Egypt, the subjects of the Incas in South America, and the magicians of the Middle Ages and later thought they found the 'use of it' to be the gaining of knowledge not accessible by any normal means.

Thus, in Polynesia, when any object has been stolen, the priest, after praying, has a hole dug in the floor of the house and filled with water. Then he gazed into the water, on which the god is supposed to place the spirit of the thief. 'The image of the spirit ... was, according to their account, reflected in the water, and being perceived by the priest, he named the individual, or the persons, who had committed the theft.' 1

1 From Lejeune, S.J., 1849, who has described the use of it.

In ancient times, and for at least a thousand years, the Indians of the New World were accustomed to invoke the spirits of the dead by means of visions, which, according to the belief of the tribes, were caused by the taking of lichens, or crystals or polished stones. 6

It is manifest, then, that the production of visual hallucinations by various modes of crystal-gazing is of world-wide diffusion and unknown antiquity; and that the 'use' of the practice has been the discovery of knowledge not ordinarily new to man, though knowledge of the future has not perhaps been much sought in this fashion, except in modern Europe, and in a well-known anecdote of the Régent d’Orléans told by Saint Simon.

Miss Goodrich, who may already have been cited, was (after W. Gregory [Animal Magnetism, London, 1851], and H. Mayo [Truths in Popular Superstitions, Frankfurt, 1849]) the first author to examine seriously the question of crystal-gazing. She herself performed experiments, and published the phenomena she observed in her own experience. She found that the visions represented (1) lost memories which thus arose into her upper consciousness; (2) ideas or images which might or might not be present in her normal consciousness; (3) visions, possibly telepathic or clairvoyant, implying acquisition of knowledge 'by supernatural means.' The examples of this last class which the author gave were not very striking; but the present writer has known her to have been far more successful.

It has been the writer's fortune to meet a large number of very normal persons of both sexes, and often of high intelligence and education, who, in making experiments upon them, exhibited the faculty in various degrees. In its lowest form figures of persons and objects were seen in black and white; not in the colours of nature. Letters in the printed Roman alphabet were also seen; but now and then the beholding of figures in the costumes of various nations, engaged in various ways, some of them romantic; in other cases they appear to represent some unknown incident in history. Personages known or unknown to the gazer very frequently occur. The figures, wearing the colours of nature, move about in a free natural way, and often remain long in view, even when the crystal, after being laid down, has been taken up again. In some well-attested cases two persons see the same vision simultaneously, or one after the other. But, in the second category, the writer has only once known the vision—novel to the gazer—to be fitted later with a real objective counterpart, discovered

1 W. Ellis, Polynesian Researches, London, 1839, ii. 240.


4 J. Fitzroy, Narrative of Voyages of H.M.S. Adventure, London, 1823.


6 De Flacourt, Hist. de Madagascar, Paris, 1691, ch. 76.


accidentally. What he saw actually existed in all its details, unknown to him and to the writer, who was looking on at the experiment, made in his smoking-room. In 1897, the writer met at St. Andrews a young lady who was visiting the place for the most countries and had heard saying she was a crystal-gazer. Being presented with a glass ball, she made a number of experiments. The method was that any one who pleased (and all were but very recent acquaintances of the gazer) thought of anything or anybody that he or she chose. The lady then looked into the glass ball and described what she saw. A dozen cases of her success (which included seeing persons unheard of by her, in places unknown to her, persons dressed and occupied as infancy might say that they had been clad and engaged at, or shortly before, the hour of the experiments) are published in the writer's The Making of Religion, pp. 90-112, from signed and attested recollections. Many other successful cases are known to the writer, and many of the writer's experiments already mentioned, it very rarely occurred that the gazer saw nothing, or something not consciously present either to the sitter's mind, or not by the giver of the crystal gazer of a spectator-looker-on, not the sitter. It hardly be the cause of such occurrences, they illustrate the casual and incautious quality of that agency. For example, in some experiments a lady in the sitter's presence has seen burial-places of evidences belonging to a gazer, who had never heard of her, in the north of Scotland. The message, of a very simple kind, did not arrive; what arrived was a vivid picture of certain singular incidents of a private nature which had much impressed the distant communicator, but which she had no intention of transmitting. As fortuitous coincidence could not explain so many successes in the experiments of 1897—the crystal pictures being full of minute details—the writer was unable to resist to transmit telepathy as usually defined, was at work. Many other curious examples of the possession of the faculty, apparently accompanied by telepathy, have occurred in experiments by friends and kinsmen of the writer, healthy, normal men and women. The gazers have never shown any traces of drowsiness or dissociation, or even any tendency to form theories about their experiences, except in one instance, when experiments designed the theory. In the writer's opinion experiments of the kind described are more trustworthy than investigations into the hallucinations of professional and trained female hysterical patients in French hospitals. Pierre Janet has published such experiments with professional neurotics at the Salpêtrière in his Névroses et idées fixes (Paris, 1898). His account of the experiences of Miss Goodrich Freer in her paper, already cited, is of the most fantastic character, as becoming manifest when her narrative is compared with the document which, in addition to his own imagination, is his source. In affairs of this sort few people who have not personal experience of unaccountable successes can be expected to believe in them; while few who have been present at such successes, and have had their own thoughts read (of course without physical contact—"nurse-reading"—between the sitter and the crystal-gazer), can persist in scepticism. It is plain that in most countries and ages crystal-gazing in one form or another has been practised, and successes would greatly increase the hold of priest, or witch, or medicine-man, over his patrons. Fraud would doubtless be made use of, wherever it was possible; knowledge normally acquired would be presented as of supernatural origin. When fraud is excluded, successful crystal-gazing offers a problem even more difficult than success with other automatisms such as the so-called "divining-rod" and the tilting table. These automatisms appear to present to the normal consciousness knowledge within the range of the sub-conscious mind, though we cannot tell how the sub-conscious mind in many cases obtains its information.

LITERATURE.—As this subject has attracted attention only in recent years, the literature of it is very scanty, and most of it has been cited by Miss Goodrich Freer (as "Miss X") in Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research, vol. iv., pp. 306-315, vol. viii, pp. 456-462, that reference should also be made to A. Lang, F. R. G. S., "Psychical Research," vii. 1897, and to his later editions, pp. 90-131; N. W. Thomas, Crystal-gazing, its History and Practice, London, 1896; E. W. Lane, Modern Egyptology, London, 1905; Le Handle, Commentaire, Paris, 1841; F. W. H. Myers, Human Personality, London, 1903.

CUCHULAINN CYCLE.—I. Cuchulainn, the chief hero of the Ulster cycle of romance, is regarded as a re-incarnation, or ascetic, of Lug Lainfhata, "the long-handed," the solar deity of the ancient Irish; he is considered in his birth-stories sometimes as son of Lug, sometimes as Lug himself re-born. His mother was Deichtir, sister of King Conor (Cnocbhabhar) of Ulster; and she and forty young maidens, her companions, were transformed into a flock of birds that disappeared for three years from the king's court, and were found in the neighbourhood of Brugh on the Boyne, where are tumuli traditionally believed to be the sepulchres of Deichtir and her companions. Here Deichtir gave birth to a babe; in one version of the tale it is revealed to Deichtir by Lug that he himself is her little child (i.e. that the child is a re-incarnation of himself); in another, Lug is the noble young warrior whom she has produced. The idea of re-incarnation is not unfamiliar in Irish literature. In the tale called "The Wooling of Emer" it is stated that the men of Ulster wished to provide a wife for a hero, knowing that his re-birth would be of himself, i.e. that only from himself could another such as he have origin; and in the tale of "The Generation of the Swions," which explains the origin of the Bulls who take part in the great mythological warfare of the Tain Bo Cuailnge, we find that these prodigious kine have gone through a series of incarnations before their final appearance as bulls.

Throughout his career, Cuchulainn is watched over by his divine kinsearch, Lug, and he points proudly to his connexion with Lug when questioned as to his origin. He has also a father, Sualtach or Sualltan (variously spelt Sualtainn, Soolta, etc.), to whom, according to one of the birth-stories, Deichtir was married by King Conor after her connexion with Lug. The stories are, however, confused, and there are suggestions in one of them of an incestuous connexion between Deichtir and her brother the king himself. The child is named Seianta by Lug's command. Little is known of Sualtach; though usually regarded as a human being, he is more than once called in Old Irish literature Sualtach sidi or Sualltan sidhe, i.e. "Sualltan of the fairy haunts"; and he is spoken of as possessing through his mother, who was an elf woman, the magical might of an elf (cf. Book of Leinster [LL], S. 24; Cuir Annmann, Tr. Texts, iii. sect. 282). Like all the personages of the cycle, he is clearly regarded as a mythological being. His name has become curiously mingled with the genealogies of Finn mac Cumhail (cf. Brit. Mus. MS Egerton, 1782, in which he appears as Finn's grandfather). In the Tain Bo Cuailnge he comes to his son's aid when he is exhausted by the labours of the war, and the battle of Bricriu; for his aid assistance. He is there called "Sualltan or Sualltan, son of Bealtach (Becofaltach) mac Mordaltach, father of Cuchulainn mac Sualltan" (LL. 938). He was killed by falling accidentally upon the rim of his own shield.

Although Cuchulainn is the prime hero of Ulster, and his feats of heroism are performed and his wars undertaken in defence of that province, he is
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nevertheless said in MS Harl. 5280, fol. 53 B. (P. Mus.) not 'to belong to Ulster' and when the whole of the male inhabitants of that province were overtaken by the physical weakness which reared among them at intervals, and which seems to have been the result of some sort of geis, or 'tuban', Cuchulainn and his family vanished without a trace and able to fight. Though usually and officially described as of splendid appearance and with ruddy and golden hair, Cuchulainn is sometimes spoken of as 'a dark sad man' ('Wooing of Elenne, [Annals Co. L. 793]), or 'a black-browed man' (Mesca Ulad, p. 29), which would not suggest descent from the Ultonians; in connexion with Cuchulainn's original name, Setanta, Rhiys points out that there was a district between the Mersey and Morecambe Bay then inhabited by a people called Setantii, and refers to Ptolemy's mention (II. iii. 2) of a harbour of the Setantii, the position of which corresponds with the mouth of the Rib (Ctes. Heopt. 435 and note). An obscure Irish poem relating to Cuchulainn alludes to a Setantian stream (curoch fri sruth Setinti, 'a cornade against the stream of Setanta') (Leabhar na hUidhre [L.U. 1256]).

Cuchulainn's precocity is abnormal; already at the age of seven years he performs his first feats, and can fight with and destroy warriors of renown; his lengthened war of the Tain Bo Cuailnge, sustained single-handed in defence of Ulster, was the climax of the combined efforts of Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, and continued during an entire winter, from before Samhain, or Halloween (Oct. 31st), till after St. Bridget's Festival (Feb. 1), is represented as having taken place when the hero was only seventeen and still a boy, and he is said to have died at the age of twenty-seven (Ann. Tighernach). Among his feats performed when he was a mere child is that from which he received his heroic title of Cuchulainn. (Cf. gloss Lic.) Baco was a title often bestowed to denote a hero of renown, in reference to the use of large hounds in battle and the bravery shown by them. Cuchulainn says of himself: 'I was a bound strong for combat, I was a bound who is near to the troops, I was a bound to guard Emain.'

He received this name from his combat with a fierce dog; said to have been brought from Spain (gloss in Lic.), which guarded the fort of Cualnge, smith of Ulster, and which was slain by the boy when he was scarcely six years old. The child himself took the office of the watch-dog until one of the dog's whelps was sufficiently grown to replace him. Henceforth the name of Connaught, 'Hound of Cualnge,' clung to him.

It is said in Mesca Ulad that a district extending from Usnech in Meath northward along the coast to Dún Diubh (Downland), and called Cosaille Muirthime and Ciúlaing, belonged personally to Cuchulainn (Todd Lecture Series, 1888, i. 2). It embraced the present county of Louth and parts of Meath and Westmeath. At that time the province of Meath, with its overkingship of Tara, had not come into existence, and Ulster extended southwestward to the province of Leinster and Munster at the Hill of Usnech in Westmeath. Thus Cuchulainn was owed on the hero by king Conor, and was not by his inheritance, but Cuchulainn's own forte was Dún Diubh (now Dundalk).

His wife was Euchar, daughter of Forgall the Wily, a landowner near Lusk, in the present county of Dublin. A special tale relates his wooing of Euchar. Though she appears to have been his only real wife, she had numerous mistresses, of whom the most formidable was Fand, wife of Manannán mac Lir, a goddess who jealously guarded the treasures of the man of the sea into which he was transformed.

3. The Red Branch.—Cuchulainn is the central figure of a group of champions commonly known as the 'Champions of the Red Branch,' so called from one of the three halls in the kingly palace of Emain Macha or Emain (now Navan Fort, S.W. of Armagh), which is reckoned to be the present day.

The history and feats of these heroes are described in a series of over a hundred distinct tales. There are, besides these longer tales, numerous detached episodes which fill up gaps, so that the career of each hero of importance can be traced from birth to death in a very complete manner. They form a connected whole in the mind of the story-teller and reader, much as the originally isolated tales referring to each of the Ulstermen and Súilchenn were, and I hope to form it into a complete cycle of stories. The three most prominent champions, who are frequently exposed to tests of strength or prowess against each other, are Conall gorm, the Victorians, and Cuchulainn; but Cuchulainn invariably proves himself to be the greatest hero of the three.

These tales seem to have originated in, and deal largely with, that eastern portion of Ulster which was evidently a late one and is west and the sea on the east. The capital was Emain Macha, and within this area lay the forts and dwelling-places of most of the chief heroes of the Ulster cycle. The king who appears in the tales as associated with these heroes is Aileach, Later Conchobhair, and his death is synchronized with that of our Lord in Jerusalem. The reign of Conchobhair and the exploits of the heroes are thus traditionally laid in the first century. Though King Conchobhair and all the characters are associated by R. O'Flaherty (Ogygia, Dublin, 1793, pt. iii. c. xlvii.—xlviii) as historical personages, there is no place found for them in the Annals, though Conchobhair, who is variously described as Fingiach, of Fachtna fathach, 'the Wise,' who, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, ascended the throne of Ulster in the year of the world 5042 (152 B.C.).

The entry runs:—'A.M. 5042, The first year of Fachtna fathach in the sovereignty of Ireland;' and fifteen years later we have the entry of his death: 'A.M. 5057. Fachtna fathach, son of Rossa, of Rondheigh, after which the sovereignty of Ireland, was slain by Eochaid fheidheach (i.e. the constant sithing).

But this attempt to connect king Conchobhair with a king of all Ireland was evidently a late one, and is the least to be taken into account as there is no sign in these tales that the central province of Meath, with its capital at Tara, had at this time been erected into a separate division, or that any other kings called Ireland Aileach, or High King, had as yet reigned over Ireland. Ulster is represented as haughtily independent, and each of the other provinces had its own king, who acted with perfect freedom independently of any central authority. The province of Connaught, or 'Four Great Kingdoms' were, at the time of which we speak, Ulster, Leinster, Connaught, and East and West Munster, Meath, the future central royal province, created for the support of the High Kings of Ireland who ruled from Tara did not then exist. Nor, considering that Fachtna died 137 B.C., could he have been father to Conchobhair, who reigned in the beginning of the 1st century. Another and probably older version makes king Conchobhair son to the druid and poet Cauthach by Nessa his wife, a woman warrior.

Though Conchobhair's death is synchronized with the moment of our Lord's crucifixion, the Annals of Tighernach date his death at 45 B.C. O'Flaherty, probably guessing some of these obscure sesticies, says that 'the king came near committing suicide, but lived fifteen years after.'

We may regard these attempts to fit the career of king Conchobhair and of the Champions of the Red Branch cycle into the actual history of Ireland in much the same light as the connexion of the heroes of the Nibelungen with the early history of the Teutonic peoples or of king Arthur in the Arthurian history of Britain. The tales sprang up at a time when the power of eastern Ulster was still a living tradition among the literary class in Ireland. The raths at many of the sites of the traditional forts, such as Erne, which have been named, is now dwelling in Ulster, and Rath Cruachan or Rathcroghan (Co. Roscommon), the fortress of Queen...
Meave of Connought, show that the legends were connected with known historical sites, but it is unnecessary on that account to consider the actual personages of the cycle or their correct historical placement. They are primarily regarded as mythological, and the chief events and wars in which they were engaged bear a mythological interpretation.

The tales have a close relationship to the legends of the race of gods known as the Tuatha Dé Danann; a few of them, indeed, both in style and subject, belong equally to both cycles. Such are 'The Wooing of Etain' and 'The Dispute of the Swineherds.' The pedigrees of the heroes of the Romances furnish the materials of the Tuatha Dé Danann, although, according to the Annals, there is a lapse of 1500 years between the two epochs. Rudhragh, or Rory, is the head of the house, and from him and from the goddess Maga, daughter of Angus na Bragh, by her marriage with Rury, come the Tuatha Dé Danann, the Red, and Cathbad the druid, all the chief heroes are descended (see genealogies in E. Hull's Cucullin Saga, Intro. p. Iv). The extraordinary feats and prowess of the champions are not a little enhanced by the placing of the Tuatha Dé Danann in the Isle of Man, and denies the statement that he 'was not of Ulster.' His father, the Hurrai, was merely an effort of the story-tellers to explain what they could not otherwise understand, viz. why Cúchulainn and his mortal father Sualtach or Sualtam were exempt from the curse which proscribed the whole male population of Ulster in sickness at a critical moment in the history of their province.

4. Cúchulainn as a sun-hero.—Cúchulainn was therefore, on the one side, directly connected with Lug, the sun-god, and, on the maternal side, with Maga, a Tuatha Dé Danann goddess. King Conor also is called a den talamde, or terrestrial god, in LU 1016; and Dechtire, his sister, the mother of Cúchulainn, is called a goddess: Cúchulainn son of den Dechtire, 'the son of the goddess Dechtire' (LL 125b).

The two marvellous Bulls for the possession of which the great war of the Tain Bó Cuailnge was undertaken and fought by the Ulstermen and the Connachtmen, and had existed under many different forms before they were re-born as bulls; they had been first swineherds of the gods of the under world, then ravens, warriors, sea-monsters, and insects. Under each of them the full sunshine of the past period of time; out of them they had come after a terrific struggle which shook the borders of Ireland, only to pass again through some new transformation (Irish Texte, III. i. 230-278). These struggles proved to be preludes to the war of the Tain, in which all Ireland was destined to engage, and to the gigantic struggle at its close between the two Bulls themselves, in which both were torn to pieces. The mythological warfare of these Bulls, the Fionn bennach, or 'White horned,' and the Dorn, or 'Dark' or 'Brown Bull,' belonging respectively to the East and West of Ireland (Cuilnge in Co. Down, and Rath Cruachan in Connaught), seems to symbolize the struggle between summer and winter or the struggle probably in day and night. The Dorn is a terrific creature in strength and in size. On his back fifty little boys could play their games. He moves about accompanied by fifteen (or fifty) heifers. His ferocity and violence are so great that, when he is driven into a narrow pass, he revenges himself by trampling his keeper to death and treading his body thirty feet into the earth. His bellowings strike terror into all who hear him, and those who meet him after his final conflict with the Fionn bennach are trampled and gored to death. This conflict, which lasted a day and a night, and during which the Bulls traversed the whole of Ireland, was ended by the Dorn tearing his adversary and returning, head in air, to his native home in Cúchulainn's province. In his madness of his frenzy, he placed his back to a hillock and 'vomited his heart up through his mouth with black mountains of dark-red gore,' and so expired. In like manner Cúchulainn is in every way abnormal. His rapid development and his prodigious strength and powers are everywhere insisted upon. When he is about to perform any special prodigy of valour, his whole person expands and undergoes several transmutations; so, too, do the monstrous, terrible, so that his own friends cannot recognize him; he is known as 'The Distorted' (riatserthach), or 'The Madman' from Emain Maela. When he puts forth his strength, his appearance is so terrific that to behold him; his very look destroys his foes, not by two or three but by hundreds; a stream like dusky blood, representing his energy, rises upward from his forehead, and over his head his 'bird of valor' and runners (cf. the drooping of the leaves caused by Athene, ll. xvii. 205 (Lutcher-Lang's tr. p. 372 f.)). His body gives off a heat which melts the snow around him, or raises to boiling-point three vats of water in which he is successively plunged. Yet Cúchulainn is insensible to all pain and injury. He is frequently derided by his enemies for the boyness and insignificance of his usual appearance. Prime heroes, until they experience his hidden powers, refuse to fight with him; Queen Meave is visibly disappointed when she meets the figure of the champion who has been holding her forces at bay through weeks of combat, and killing them by the hundred merely by his look; on one occasion he has to blacken a moustache with blackberry juice in order to present a more manly appearance.

If we regard Cúchulainn as the sun-hero, these indications of his unimposing appearance at ordinary times, succeeded on occasions by strange distortions and manifestations, seem aptly to represent the impression which might be produced on the savage mind by the contrast between the orb of the sun on ordinary occasions and its appearance in eclipse or eclipse. The head of Cúchulainn has the threefold hues of his hair, and the account of his splendour when he appears before the forces of Meave to display his person in its natural beauty, seem designed to illustrate the glory of the sun. Indeed, the 'sun-hero' is often personified as the sun himself, generated in his person, the energy of his movements, his wandering habits, and the destructive power of his look. We may also note that 'blindness befell all women who loved him'—which may possibly have reference to the difficulty of gazing directly on the sun. It is possible that Cúchulainn's fight, from which he so hardly escaped, with the twenty-seven sons of Calatin, hideous and crooked beings, who formed armies out of puff-balls and out of the foliage of the oak, and came furiously riding on the 'wind's swift clouds,' may symbolize the hiding of the sun's face before the 'armies of the storm,' i.e. the massive clouds, formed, as it might seem, almost out of nothing. (Cf. a similar sort of incantation in the poems of the Cúchulainn cycle. Eren, 'ROD xxii. (1902); the 'Battle of Kat Goden,' Skene, Four Ane, Books of Wales, i. 277 f., ii. 138; and 'The Mabinogion of Math, son of Mathwen,' Lady C. Guest's Mab., Lond. 1877, p. 410.) A remarkable 'tablet, or gae, of Cúchulainn' was to 'see the horses of Manannán mac Lir' (i.e. the billows of the ocean-god), which might be a reference to the apparent extinction of the sun's rays when he sinks down at night beneath the ocean waves.

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Cuchulainn possesses two magic steeds which rise out of the Grey Loch of Sneive Fhual and Loch Dubh Saingleann respectively, and which he tames by springing unawares upon their backs and wrestling with them. For a whole day they bear around the circuit of Ireland, the horses encouraging them to go lower and lower, till the minds of their riders are affected and they are obedient chariot-horses, a grey and a black, possibly symbolizing day and night. After his death they return into their respective lakes again (G. Henderson, Feast of Briocna, London, 1809, sec. 31, 32 [f])

5. The stories relating to Cuchulainn are of different ages, and often vary in different versions, the long tale of the Táin Bó Cuailnge, in particular, having come down to us in two (some critics would say many) forms—one set under the name of Conor Mais, the Táin Bó Cúalnge of Connacht (Ed. Codley), i.e. of Cuchulainn's country in Co. Louth and Down, and short stories describing the efforts of Queen Meave of Connacht to collect cattle and other property from Ulster. The former is characterized by the peculiarities of the epics and finally rises to that grandeur which makes it the_Táin Bó Cúalnge of Ulster_ (Ed. Conolly), giving a brief outline of the main epic. A brief outline of this composite tale is as follows:

The war was undertaken by the united provinces of Ireland, under the leadership of the Ancient Queen Meave (Meithe). Connacht, and the guidance of Fergus mac Ros (or Roe), a younger brother of Cuchulainn, who, after his birth was destined to possess, but which had been refused her. The romance takes the form of a number of separate episodes—usually combats undertaken by warriors from Meave's army contending with Cuchulainn, who, alone and single-handed, guards the borders of Ulster during the entire winter. The warriors and men of Ulster are all disabled from flight through a mysterious sickness brought upon them by the curse of Macha, one of the goddesses of war: and it is not until the close of the Táin that they arise from their lethargy and come down in force to fight the final battle. Meave is finally defeated and forced to flee into Connacht with her son Atholl, but the Bull, though captured by her and driven westward, finally goes to Bricriu's house, to the great distress of the latter. Meave is driven out of revenge, to lead the foe against her own people.

The main object of the war was the desire of the Ulstermen to take the capture of the Down, or Brown Bull of Cúalnge, which Meave desired to possess, but which had been refused her. The romance takes the form of a number of separate episodes—usually combats undertaken by warriors from Meave's army contending with Cuchulainn, who, alone and single-handed, guards the borders of Ulster during the entire winter. The warriors and men of Ulster are all disabled from flight through a mysterious sickness brought upon them by the curse of Macha, one of the goddesses of war: and it is not until the close of the Táin that they arise from their lethargy and come down in force to fight the final battle. Meave is finally defeated and forced to flee into Connacht with her son Atholl, but the Bull, though captured by her and driven westward, finally goes to Bricriu's house, to the great distress of the latter. Meave is driven out of revenge, to lead the foe against her own people.

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CULDEES

destroy them by persuading them to enter an iron house encased in wood, which had beneath it a subterranean chamber filled with inflammable materials (c.t. Ermen, daughter of Lir, in the Mahonethis, cit. to the Destruction of Deirg Righ, ed. Whitby Stokes in EcP iii.). The warriors escape by Cuchulain's impossible means, as he can apparently lift them out of the ground (Meana Udá, ed. W. M. Hennessy, Roy. Tr. Acad., Todd Lecture Series, i. London, 1859).

See further, E. H. Blair, CELTS AND ETHICS (Celtic).

LITERATURE.—A large number of the tales will be found with text and Eng. or Ger. tr. in Windisch-Stokes, Irische Texte, Leipzig, 1888 i., ii.; and in the Journal of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xiv. A.D. 1866. H. O'Curry, in the Kilkenny Archery Journal, which contains some tales edited by O'Beirne Crowe; Proc. Royal Ir. Acad., Irish Series, vol. xi. 1889. The following are全文版的 sources, and lists them only as 'Irland.

The Tilis Beo Cuilthe, which has been from the Book of Leinster version by E. Windisch, with Germ. tr., Leipzig, 1906; text (only) of version by the Yellow Book of Lecan and Lethard on Beo Cuilthe, in Ern., vol. i. pts. 2 and 3, ed. by Strachan and O'Keefe, Dublin, 1901, etc.; tr. (only) from MS by W. O'Kelly, in The Celtic Raids of Cashel, London, 1901; Eng. tr. from Add. Ms 18748, Brit. Mus., by S. O’Grady in Eleanor Hull’s The Cuchulain Saga, London, 1885, 366 p.-227.


ELEANOR HULL.

CULDEES.—The Culdees belong to the later history of the ancient British Church (see art. CILDEES, vol. ii. p. 621), more especially in Ireland and Scotland. The mystery in which they were enveloped has been to a great degree removed through the researches of Dr. William Reeves, published as an Essay 'On the Célde, commonly called Culdees' (Trans. Roy. Ir. Acad. xxv. 1873). The term 'Culdees' has grown out of the form Cúchulainn, first coined by Hector Boece in his Scotorum Historiarum, 1526 (for word 'Culdees', see O'Dr., etc.). The name of the Irish name corresponds with the probably Irish origin of the Culdees. The primary meaning of the common word céile is 'companion', from which secondary meanings are derived, such as 'husband', 'sacred Céile', 'Céile Coire', or Cùchulainn, found in the texts of the old heroic tales of Ireland, mean 'faithful follower or personal attendant of Conchobhar, or Cúchulainn' (see H. Zimmer, Celtic Church, Eng. tr., London, 1902, p. 289 ff.). This, therefore, will mean 'companion or faithful servant of God.'

The special difficulty is to account for the restriction of a term having this meaning, and obviously applicable to all monks and anchorites as servants of God, to the institution only this is found.

There is no mention of the céile de in the historians Adamnan, Cumin, Eddi, or Bede; and the inference is that the use of the term was unknown to them. Reeves says we may safely regard céile de as meaning 'a member of the Order de,' which came to be an ordinary term in Church writers for monks, and became known to the Irish through the writings of Gregory the Great, who was a favourable author in Ireland. Scène (Celtic Scott. iv. 1905) endorses this view to prove that Dalcud had the express meaning of an 'anchorite, that the céile de were anchorites, and consequently

that the Irish name was the direct derivation of Deicolae or Cúilede. The objection to both of these theories is the specialized use of the term céile de; had it been applicable to monks and anchorites, why is it only found in the pages of the 8th cent. historians, whose concern was with a monastic Church?

There is no contemporary account preserved of the rise of the Culdees, or sources are incidental and of late date.1 According to the Books of Leinster and Lismore, St. Moling, who founded the monastery of Tech Moling in County Carlow, entered a society of Culdees. He died c. A.D. 700; and, if we credit the Culdees, we have in St. Mocheods, among the earliest whose names are on record. In the manner of the Iro-Scottish Church, the Culdees societies were often composed of thirteen members—the Prior, or Head (O'Beó), or Abbot, with twelve others, on the analogy of Cîthreid and his disciples. In very late times we find in Armagh a Prior and nine brethren (probably a diminution in number, due to hostile pressure).

The Culdees, throughout their history, are connected with the CéliDé of the Celts, their analogous civilization, in spite of some evidence the mere mention of the name in the charterology of a monastery. At first taking the marks of anchorites, they gradually take on the appearance of secular canons. The Rule of Maelbran, or the Rule of the Cæled (Cúile de), here begins the Rule of the Cæle de. It is preserved in the Leabhar Bracan. As it stands, its orthography and grammar prove it to be centuries later than the 8th cent., but its original may go back to Macluir's or Mell. Canons (see i. A.D. 747), Chrodegang composed at Metz the Rule which formed his clergy into canons; and this Rule may have been brought into Ireland from Irish establishments on the Continent, such as Hosian in Cluni. The Culdees certainly develop the appearance of secular canons; we find them filling a subordinate 'Levitical' position in cathedral establishments, chiefly engaged in the choral parts of the worship; they became especially known also with charitable care of the sick and poor, and the distribution of alms. The latter seems to have been one of their earliest and most characteristic traits.2 The endowments for these purposes may have proved a means of their later acceptance. Their affinity to the regular monastics enabled the latter, with the support of powerful patrons, to outstrip them from their positions. Finally, they disappeared; in St. Andrews, e.g., they are named for the last time in 1532.

The only mention of the Culdees in England is in connexion with Athelstan's visit to York in A.D. 936 (Codicel); there is also a possible reference in the cultes clerici of a Privilege by King Ethelred granted to Canterbury (Cotton MSS). In Wales they presumably appear once in a reference by Giraldus Cambrensis to the 'Corieles vel Culdeies' of the Isle of Bardsey in the 12th cent. (Gir. camb. vol. iv. p. 124, Rolls Series).

Reeves sees in the Culdees the disapppearing Celtic Church; the Culdees are the drooping remnant in which that ancient Church finally succumbs. The present writer prefers to see in them not an inert residue, but a renaissance, a burst into flame of the ancient Church spirit, stimu-

1 The earliest known instance of the combination céile de; (though not in its technical sense of 'Cúchulainn') is in the gloss to the commentary on the Psalms ascribed to Columban of Bobbio, preserved in the Old Irish Cod. Mediolanensis (about 900 A.D., ed. Aedon, Codices Irlandiaci dell. Antiquins, Rome, 1575, vol. 30 c. p. 39). Here the text, exist (lit. 'cúile de' is first explained as equivalent to 'iste ad illum pertinert,' and then glossed: 'natural equivalent is cerc de uile de ríman.' It is said, "This man is a servant of God.")

2 You Flinn-Hartung (the 'Dichter' in Ziehr, f. Kirchen- geschichten, xiv. 1895) previously said that the 'céile de' is a boy; dui is for the older duit, genitive of dus, modern Welsh dwin, 'God.'
CULT, CULTUS.—See Religion, Worship.

CULTURE.—To Bacon the world is indebted for the term, as well as for the philosophy of, culture (Adv. of Learning, 1605). While the term itself the notion of culture may be broad enough to express all forms of spiritual life in man,—intellectual, religious, ethical,—it is best understood intensively, as humanity's effort to assert its inner and independence. This effort is observed in a series of contrasts, due to the division of man's functions into intellectual and activist. The most general contrast is that between nature and spirit, with its dualism of animality and humanity. With the development, man is led to life a life of contemplation rather than one of conquest, while his attention is directed towards the remote rather than towards the immediate. Viewed socially, culture is conceived with intensively ethereal, the two differing in their valuation of work. From the social standpoint, again, the culturist inclines towards egoism, as in a 'culte du moi' (Maurice Barrès), instead of altruism. In estimating the value of culture, the culturist selects the eudaimonistic: one is asked whether the life of thinking or the life of doing is better calculated to give man happiness, or to satisfy the desires of the soul.

The treatment of the culture-problem is to be conducted in connection with the culture-consciousness of an individual or a nation, rather than by means of any objective memorial, like an order of architecture, a type of sculpture, or a school of poetry or painting. Such an inverting method is qualified to express the essence of Classicism and Romanticism,—the two types of Western culture-activity,—just as it is sufficient to discern the culture-motive in a man of genius, like Michelangelo or Goethe. The idea of culture seeks its depiction in the relationships of the strivings and ideals of a favoured nation and a gifted soul.

1. HISTORY OF CULTURE-CONSCIOUSNESS.—Not until the dawn of modern times was the supremacy of intellect called in question, or the practice of culture raised. Brähmanism postulated enlightenment as the means of salvation; Paganism looked to the intellect to give man happiness; Scholasticism pledged its belief in conceptual doctrines to the infallible word of the Old Testament. Bacon inquired much study and the endless making of books, in the fear that the increase of knowledge was the increase of sorrow (Ec 1:9), while Stoicism sought to turn from dialectics to ethics. The unique character of culture laid the foundation of modern times before it directly repudiated its intellectual life. Although the term modernus was introduced in the 6th cent. by Cassiodorus (Varrarum, v. 51), and used effectually by Hegel to express the highest stage of man's intellectual activity, the perfect 'globe of knowledge' (II. xxv.), he prepared the way for this by arguments drawn from sources sacred and secular.

Political tradition informs us that the day on which God rested and 'contemplated his own works' was blessed above the six days of labour, while the primary work of man in the Garden of Eden was intellectual, in that it consisted in viewing and naming God's creatures. Moses was praised for his Egyptian learning by Solomon for his wisdom; while the advent of the Saviour witnessed the subliming of ignorance among the sects of the world, and the descent of the Promised One, in the form of tongues, 'which are but veneration scientiae.' With Apollos and Fathers the same intellectualism prevailed (ib. vi.). As to human pre-eminence: the host founders of States were but demi-gods, while inventors of new arts were among the gods of the Renaissance; moreover, the superiority of such thinkers as Socrates, Aristotle, Cicero, over their contemporaries Xenophon, Alexander, Caesar (ib. viii.). Bacon's own estimate of culture, while often expressed so as to show the greater 'dignity' of thought, seems to consist of eudaimonism, insinuating at times that culture, for its power to promote, indeed, the interests of the suavisitia vita (ib. viii., 2, etc.). The Novum Organum (1620) asserts, not 'Knowledge is pleasure,' but 'Scientia est potentia'; its aim was to indicate man's ability to rule by means of knowledge, so that instead of emphasizing the aesthetic in culture, it tended to surrender the latter to industrialism. With such a presentation of the culture-problem, and the accompanying emphasis upon the 'work of contemplation,' Bacon, who was a Renaissance thinker, made possible the three-fold development of modern intellectual life in the ages of Enlightenment (1625-1759), of Romanticism (1781-1857), of Realism (1857—present day).

1. The Enlightenment.—On an intellectual and aesthetic side, the Enlightenment fostered Classicism, although its own rationalistic spirit, political earnestness, and relentless criticism of religion removed it from the influences of the Graces. In its way, the Enlightenment developed the natural system of nature, of natural rights (Grotius), as also a naturalistic system of ethics (Hobbes) and of knowledge (Locke). Spinoza expressed the spirit of the age when he declared the highest native in man to be the rational and disinterested love of God ('amor Dei intellectualis' ['Ethica', 1677, V. xxxii.]).

This blind rationalism, however, was destined to undergo repudiation, and in the Country the name of Rousseau, Vico, Lessing, and Herder the culture-problem was rehabilitated. Where Bacon had had behind him the free aestheticism of the Renaissance, Rousseau was confronted by the formal culture of Classicism, whose adherents he felt called upon to denounce. Taking a stand at once eudemian and socialistic, he declared that unhappiness and injustice were attributable to man's departure from nature. This was the theme of his Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'Inequality parmi les hommes (1753), his view is social rather than eudaimonistic, insinuating as he attributes injustice to the intellectualistic programme, which, involving the more rapid advance of some beyond others, had brought about inequality even where it had furthered the progress of impersonal science and art. Hence the maxim, 'Retournons à la nature.' La nouvelle Heloise (1761) breathes a yearning for the 'lybique' —the deep of the pure life, while Emile (1762) deduces a system of education which, recognizing that man cannot return to nature and abide there, advises a natural method of mental development, a restoration of nature to man rather than a return of man to nature.

Where Bacon and Rousseau had considered the practical worth of culture for individual happiness and social well-being, Vico and Herder sought to show how essential to humanity is an ever-enlarging mental life which, if based upon nature,
advances beyond it. Vico's *Scienza nuova* (1725)—
a work at least half a century in advance of its age—postulated an idea of a unified humanity, whose organic nature, as conceived by Vico, contrasted strikingly and pleasantly with the mechanical views of society peculiar to the En-
lightenment. Vico, who discovered that primitive language expresses universals, describes the developing culture-consciousness of the race by distinguishing three periods—mythological, heroic, human—wherein are found three kinds of language, as also three ideals of social life and human freedom. In a world of spirits, human nature—its mechanical, spiritual, and spiritualistic—was isolated from its environment; in our world of men, human nature—its conceptual, aesthetic, and spiritualistic—has evolved. The rationalism of the Enlightenment, relaxed sufficiently to produce its booklet, *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (1780, tr. Robertson, 1806), wherein the religious consciousness is conceived of as a divine revelation, unfolding its intellectual nature in such a way as to evince the ideas of God as a unity, and the soul as immortal. While Lessing carries on his discussion in a humanistic fashion, he does not fail to emphasize the rationalistic element cheered on in the revelation of God and the soul as ideas. Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschicht der Menschheit* (1790-1792) involves Lessing's ideas of progress and Vico's ideal of humanity as one, while itself incorporating, in an entirely different manner, the peculiarity of Herder's work is that in it the culture-concept operates in a naturalistic manner, involving the notion of a continuity of, rather than a conflict between, the natural and the supernatural. The humanistic spirit of humanity is developed from the outer order of things. Herder introduces certain stages of development from nature-peoples to culture-peoples, and thus tends to make his plan more plausible. The rationalism of the early Enlightenment was reproduced in the ideals of Classicism, although the organization of esthetic consciousness by Burke and Baumgarten tended to soften its conceptalism. The significance of Classicism was apprehended by Winckelmann, who found in it the exaltation of reason and the idealization of beauty; and, in his mind, classic consciousness expressed the free rather than the characteristic, the static rather than the dynamic. In this spirit, he frames his memorable definition of beauty: 'According to this notion, beauty should be like the purest water, which, the less taste it has, is regarded as the most healthful because it appears to be so clear.' (Wegener, *Dresden, 1808-25*, bk. iv. ch. ii. §23.) Winckelmann thus seeks to express the classic ideal as a purely intellectual and formal one, which will appear in connexion with two other utterances almost as famous as his, to have a universal character. In the one he praises the simplicity of classic beauty as a rare wine drunk from a transparent glass (ib. §19); in the other he likens the antique ideal of beauty to a spirit drawn from the material order as by fire (ib. §22). Lessing's *Laokoon* (1766)—its very title pledging it to Classicism—exalts the ideal of Apollo by limiting art and culture to the beautiful. This aesthetic reason is given to explain why Laokoon does not scream, although the idea of a man crying in the limits of poetry and painting,' was aware that in plastic the idea of the temporal and changing is out of place. With the appearance of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) and the French Revolution (1789) there entered into the universal the virtual end, although its effect did not at once pass away.

2. Romanticism.—The age of culture began as Kant emerged from rationalism, and by means of philosophic criticism transcended the conceptal views of the Enlightenment. In the *Critique*, Kant used the term 'culture' when he said: 'Metaphysics is the completion of the whole culture of reason' (Müller's tr., *New York*, 1866, p. 760); yet it was the *Critique of Judgment* (1790) which, by means of its new aesthetic norms, was destined to take its place in the history of culture. Kant's theory of beauty and taste, as that which has pleasure, pleasure postulated, or requiring a concept' (Bernard's tr. 1892, p. 67), expresses the nature of culture as the intellectual life of man apprehended intuitively. Kant's intellectualism, far more original and valuable than his moralism, is thus expressed in a system of aesthetic and ethical forms; and it was this transcendental element that affected the romantic school of philosophy and poetry. Schiller, alive to the intellectualism in Kant, was not unaffected by his heroic and relentless moralism, which he glorified in his essay *Ueber Anmuth und Würde* (1790), although here he seeks to transcend both Goethean grace of sense and Kantian dignity of ethics, by means of the ideal of humanity as the *Zusammenstimung* zwischen dem Goethe'schen ideal and Kant's aesthetic ideals, a system of aesthetic and ethical forms (Lett. xii. xiii.), and discusses the practical value of culture (Let. xxi.). Believing that the end of human existence is to be con-
ceived ethically, and yet realizing that man is by nature a creative being, Schiller seeks to express for the culture, or aesthetic education, of mankind by distinguishing three stages—physical, esthetic-
al, and moral (Let. xiv.). Thus, in achieving his moral destiny, man uses the aesthetic as the mean and middle stage between the physical and the ethical, urges Schiller, just as Lessing had sought to account for the rational education of man by means of religion. Schiller's confidence in culture, as expressed in the *Aufsatz zur Bildung*, seems to abate somewhat in his Essay *Ueber naive und sentimentale Dichtung* (1796), where, like Rousseau, whom he mentions appro-
vingly (Werke, *New York*, 1896), he signalizes a return to nature, or the naive—term of special signi-
ficance with the French (ib. 487). 'Sentimental' is borrowed from the English of Sterne, whom also Schiller does not fail to mention (ib. 490). The evils, rather than the benefits, of culture are dis-
cussed in this essay, and Schiller objects to the whole essay, praising antiquity for its objective *naivität*, values the sentimental only as it sincerely seeks nature. The distinction between naive and sentimental forms of culture is based upon nature; hence Schiller's doctrine: 'The poet who seeks one, makes a naive poet, the other a sentimental one' (ib. 492). Genius consists in *naivität*, and only as the genus is naive can he exist (ib. 478). Homer among the ancients and Shakespeare among moderns are esteemed naive poets, because they apprehended nature immediately (ib. 488). Upon the cultural basis of naive and sentimental, Schiller distinguishes three forms of poetry—lyric, satirical, and elegiac. Idyllic poetry is of the naive—can essay in the limits of poetry and painting,' was aware that in plastic the idea of the temporal and changing is out of place. Where the appearance of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) and the French Revolution (1789) there entered into the universal the virtual end, although its effect did not at once pass away.
shall have power to restore to humanuty its lost unity (ib. 492 f.).

At the root of the Romantine School, Friedrich Schlegel felt the force of Kant’s transcendentalism, but was more inclined to base his culture upon the Ego of Fichte, and, while he appreciated Schiller’s aesthetics of the naive, he himself showed a disposition to be realism or romanticism, the culture of the infinite. In Schlegel’s mind, Goethe’s Wilhelm Meister, the French Revolution, and Fichte’s Wissenschaftslehre were the three greatest tendencies of the age (Jugendschriften, ed. J. Minor, 1889; Athenaeum, § 216); from them may be traced a triple Romantik—poetical, political, philosophical, in form. Fichte himself was an ardent believer in culture; coming after the French Revolution and postulating constructive material culture, he contrasts strikingly with Rousseau. In his Beiträge zur Berichtigung über die französis. Revolution, 1785, the term ‘Cultur’ is of frequent occurrence; it is identified with the inner freedom and rationality of Kantianism. No human sensation or impulse, no action or passion, is esteemed of value unless it makes for culture, or the exercise of all man’s powers towards complete freedom as a goal (Werke, Leipzig, 1846–47, vi. 86). In the State, the culture of freedom should be the aim, declares Fichte (ib. 110). The faith, carried into the future, is the most highly cultured (ib. vii. 212). Such was Fichte’s own culture-philosophy, Yet the Fichtean element that appealed to the Romantist was the Ego, whose free activity was for Fichte that triple of all culture. Schlegel, however, develops romantic culture by emphasizing the esthetical activity of the Ego, whence he derives his doctrine of Ironie, the watchword of Romanticism. In essence, Ironie consists in a withering of the constructive, due to the Ego’s striving for an impossible world (Athenaeum, § 51). In poetry, this subjectivism is called transcendental when it begins as satire with its contrast between ideal and real, changes to the sadness of elegy, and in latter half when it identifies the two (ib. § 228). Where Schiller used ‘sentimental,’ Schlegel employs ‘transcendental,’ of which style he considers Dante the prophet, Shakespeare the centre, and Goethe the climax—‘der einzig dichtende derPoet’ (ib. § 247). In thus styling Shakespeare transcendental, Schlegel invests Schiller’s ‘naive’ and ‘sentimental’ with the historical sense of ancient and modern—an idea carried out systematically in Die Götterzeit (1797). Schlegel, who declares Schlegel, begins with nature and aims to reach beauty through culture (p. 10); modern poetry aims at subjective esthetic power rather than objective beauty (p. 79), whereas a striving after the poetical as something transcendental, a ‘Schmuscht’ which is destined to remain unsatisfied (p. 103). This type of poetry contrasts strikingly with the compact culture-consciousness of Classicism, wherein ‘Kunstpflege’ and ‘Naturpoesie’ are in coordinate harmony (Athenaeum, § 252). Thus, as the culture-consciousness of the Enlightenment had arisen in England, that of Romanticism has been seen to have originated in Germany. Thence, perhaps, lies the root of the French Romanticism, but perhaps the most direct contribution to culture that France was to make is found in the third period—that of Realism.

3. Realism.—The inception of the Realistic, or Naturalistic, movement may be noted as early as 1831, when Henri Beyle (de Stendhal) published his Le Rouge et le noir. This Naturalism, or ‘Beyhime,’ as its author styled it, involved a direct egoism and an indirect nihilism, destined to open the modern mind to new views and values in the intellectual world. Beyle was analyzed and classified by the aid of Taine in 1857, Zola in 1880, and Paul Bourget in 1885 (Huneke, Egoism, 1895, p. 4 f.). Another root of this may be traced in the work of Madame Flaubert, whose Madame Bovary (1857) resulted in a culture-philosophy called ‘Bovarism,’ or Illusionism, hardly in keeping with the acknowledged realism of Flaubert. Another frank attempt to be realism or Romanticism, the culture of the infinite. Bovary, in Vol. VI. 360

Our dear mother, says he, ‘Orthodox Russia, might sink down to the nethermost hell, and not a single soul, not a single soul in Russia would be saved, unless because a few Frenchmen—women of gentle birth, most cultivated, most tender—were not saved by us’ (Smirke, tr. Haigpe, 1897, p. 63.)

In Norway, Ibsen used egoism and nihilism to
arouse his country to a sense of intellectual self-respect. In Brand (1855) he idealizes the Norwegian; inPeer Gynt (1867) he satirizes him; while inEmperor and Galilean (1878) he seeks to indicate the coming of a 'third empire' of selfhood, destined to replace theWittgensteine empire of truth of the spirit,' as that had overthrown the 'pagan empire of the flesh' (Pt. ii. Act iii. Sc. iv.). In America, where the national consciousness was absorbed by activity and weighed down by Puritanism and Philistineism, the call to culture had sounded long ago by the free spirit of Emerson. His address, TheAmerican Scholar (1837), contains an ideal programme for the promotion of national culture; and in a spirit at once Athenian and American, he discusses the influences of nature, literature, and activity, which promote the culture of 'Man Thinking,' while he also emphasizes the scholar's duty toward his age, which, in Emerson's mind, was no longer the classic or romantic, but the practical. Thus he fully emerged from the Apollonian and Socratic sanctity of Emerson. Poe emphasized the Dionysiac in the form of the morbid and mysterious with their inherent sense of contradiction. The significance of Poe was really the rebirth of the essence that was to regenerate Realism. This was to come about through Baudelaire, but was not to become effectual until the end of the 19th century, with Verlaine, Mallarmé, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Huysmans, and Maeterlinck, as well as Swinburne. This was the decadence, dissatisfied with the limitations of Realism, made use of the morbid, the vicious, and the mysterious in order to sound the depths of the soul. By means of symbolism, it sought to find something objective to express the psychological profundity that it affected. In the north, this symbolism was developed systematically by Ibsen.

The far most systematic culturalist critique of national life was carried on by Matthew Arnold, who was sufficiently nihilistic and egoist in spirit to entitle his workCulture and Anarchy (1869), and who was sufficiently radical to direct it against Protestantism and 'Hebraism.' Arnold's method was that of a free Socratism, in the course of whose application he found it expedient to praise Plato and St. Paul for their intellectualism (ch. iv.), and Lessing and Herder for their spirit of national culture. It was himself who, without a philosophy, Arnold was possessed of sufficient conceptualism to treat culture as an analysis of its four-fold root, whence he regards it: (1) as an internal condition of humanity rather than an individual and enquiring quality; (2) as a resting and a having; (3) while it was so general as to advance mankind rather than the mere individual, within whom (4) it consisted of an expansion of all his powers, instead of some one in particular, as the religious (ch. i.). This broad humanistic culture Arnold identifies with something suggestive of Schiller's 'grace and dignity,' by calling it 'sweetness and light'—an expression which he borrows from Swift, as Schiller had borrowed from Sterne. In contrast with his nation's 'faith in machinery,' Arnold exercises a faith in culture, by means of which he is led to say that the England of his own day was little in comparison with the England of Elizabeth (ib.). This aesthetic reflection upon the industrial age of coal was accompanied by a critique of the moralistic, or Puritanical, carried on in connection with the distinction between Hel lenism, with its 'spontaneity of consciousness,' and Heb raism, with its 'strictness of conscience'—one of the principles of thinking other of doing (ch. iv.). Arnold's philosophy of history, observing that Europe has been subjected to a double treatment of culture and civilization, places Hellenism at the head of spiritual development in the West, while it accounts for its failure to rule by calling it 'premature,' whence Hebraism was enabled to govern the world. With the supremacy of Hebraism, which Arnold treats more kindly than Quick's, he credits the transcultural and transcivilizational spirit, the 'transvaluation of pagan values,' there comes a Renaissance revival of Hellenism, which, like original Hellenism, so suffered from lax morals that Hebraism, in the form of Puritanism, was once again called upon to rule by means of strict science (ib.). Believing that Hellenic sweetness and light is the one thing needful, Arnold believes also that it may further the cause of Hebraism, which can only gain from an infusion of Socratics' interest in the limitations of Socrates, and the Hebraists seems never to have relinquished its hold upon Arnold, who, inLiterature and Dogma (1875), esteemed 'conduct as three-fourths of human life'; hence we may speak of his Hellenizing culture as 'moralistic, the interior and contemplative character of culture assumes the form of an intense problem of values, especially in an age where naturalism is exalted by science and where industrialism defeats the ear to the 'Know thyself' of the sage without a philosophy.' Arnold was possessed of sufficient conceptualism to treat culture as an analysis of its four-fold root, whence he regards it: (1) as an internal condition of humanity rather than an individual and enquiring quality; (2) as a resting and a having; (3) while it was so general as to advance mankind rather than the mere individual, within whom (4) it consisted of an expansion of all his powers, instead of some one in particular, as the religious (ch. i.). This broad humanistic culture Arnold identifies with something suggestive of Schiller's 'grace and dignity,' by calling it 'sweetness and light'—an expression which he borrows from Swift, as Schiller had borrowed from Sterne. In contrast with his nation's 'faith in machinery,' Arnold exercises a faith in culture, by means of which he is led to say that the England of his own day was little in comparison with the England of Elizabeth (ib.). This aesthetic reflection upon the industrial age of coal was accompanied by a critique of the moralistic, or Puritanical, carried on in connection with the distinction between Hellenism, with its 'spontaneity of consciousness,' and Hebraism, with its 'strictness of conscience'—one of the principles of thinking other of doing (ch. iv.). Arnold's philosophy of history, observing that Europe has been subjected to a double treatment of culture and civilization, places Hellenism

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nous assagir' ('Apologie de Raymond Secondon,' Essais, Lyons, 1585, bk. ii. ch. xii.).

But the classic example of the genius who sought peace by harmonizing inner with outer life is Goethe, with his Torquato Tasso (1789) and Faust. Developed in Italy, where Goethe came into living contact with Hel lenism, Tasso was submitted to the tragic creed; while Faust was harmonized with the instincts, fitted for the strivings of the unhappy hero with his Werther temperament. The display of soul-stuff, with its conflict between intellectualism and artistic instinct, is in the comparison between Tasso and Antonio, the man (the affair); for, even when crowned with the wreath taken from the bust of Virgil, as a sign of his success in completing his Jerusalem Delivered, the poet is envious of the practical man, who has just returned from an important mission. In the course of this drama of the inner culture-consciousness, Goethe takes the opportunity of introducing certain maxims which have become famous. Thus in his jealously of Antonio, Tasso exclaims, 'I feel myself more than ever of double soul' (Act ii. Sc. i.), referring to the duality of soul embodied in Faust (i. 759). The poet's incompleteness is celebrated in the words, 'Talent is formed in solitude, character in the society of men!' (Act i. Sc. iii.)--while it is declared that self-knowledge comes not from within, but rather out in the world among men (Act ii. Sc. iii.).

Where the Princess celebrates the poet's sorrow by calling it 'charming' (Act i. Sc. i.), Tasso at last acknowledges the profundity of his inner contemplative consciousness, in the memorable Goetheanism, 'Some god gave me power to tell how I suffer' (Act v. Sc. v.). This Goethean nostalgia for activity has recently received brilliant recognition in Paul's passage ('The poet, in the figure of a soul...' a sense of two souls within expresses the conflict more profoundly, while it solves the problem more decisively as the victory of the active altruist over the thinking egoist, or the merging of the two in the unity of life, the consciousness of which led Faust to bid the holy moment stay: 'Verwirre doch, du bist so schön' (ii. 6553).

The culturist, however, will object to this activist treatment of the problem, and persists, however painful it may be for him. Moreover, intellectualism claims that action stands in need of the thought-principle, inasmuch as the will comes to consciousness only in ideation, as was confessed by the arch-voluntarist, Schopenhauer, who thought with the will and not with the reason. This Platonic ideas (World as Will and Idea, tr. Hal dane and Kemp, 1883-6, §25). Apart from thought, activity defeats its own humanistic claims, for, 'where there is no vision, the people perish' ('Pr 29:18').

The recent aesthetic movement in literature reacts favourably upon culture, which is so interior in its nature as to make most difficult any social interpretation of the contemplative. Thus Maurice Barrès stands for a 'culte du moi' in the 'tour d'ivoire' of selfhood (cf. H. Hambek, Epochs, in loc.). In the same spirit, Anatole France, although apparently a believer in collectivism, is not without egoistic and intellectualistic traits. These appear brilliantly in The Red Lily, where Paul Verne's opinion of Napoleon seems to express the author's view of activists in general:

'A poet, he knew no poetry but that of action. His great desire for the life of his thoughts was to have a self that was free, or rather his sublime adolescence, endured to the end, because all the days of his life were powerless to form in him a conscious maturity. Such is the condition of the artist. They are entirely for the moment, and their genius is concentrated on the single act, which does not grow. The scope of their lives are not bound together by any chain of grave disinterested reflexion. They do not develop; one condition merely succeeds another in a series of deeds. Thus they have no inner life. The absence of any inner life is particularly noticeable in Napoleon. ... He lived outside himself' (Stephen's tr., 1908, ch. ii. p. 461).

Where the culturist grants the validity of activism, he yet sees its limits, if not its dangers; or, as Bergson, a pronounced activist, has expressed it: 'It is presumable that, without language, intelligence would have been riveted to material objects that its interests led it to consider. It would have lived in a state of somnambulism, exterior to everything, even to his own body' (L'Evolution créatrice, 1910, p. 172). Such a condition of exteriority, observed by both France and Bergson, would seem to be the unhappy state of mankind, apart from that intellectual deliverance that comes through culture. The man of culture, whose above nature, is enabled to transform the energy of action into the work of contemplation, as Flaubert's principle of violence in art resulted in rhetoric.

2. Culture and humanity.—While it goes without saying that man was meant for humanity, or for the perfection that belongs to the species, it does not follow that this perfection must be intellectualistic. For Bacon it was easy to identify veritas with bonitas (Adv. of Learn., i. viii. 2); but the modern notion of humanity's realization of the good is often elaborated in defiance of the intellectually true. In ancient thought, Plato's Eupubic banished poetry and the drama from the State; but art as the acute sense of the human soul, as man's chief work (bk. x. 565-665). In modern times, Tolstoi has opposed decadent culture, because, like Rousseau, he thinks that progress in intellectualism has brought about inequality, as also for Plato it does for moderns: 'The aim of art is to yield truth.' Tolstoi opposes the notion that art belongs to superior souls alone (What is Art? tr. Munde, 1898, ch. viii.). 'Art,' says Tolstoi, 'should unite men with God and with one another'; whence he arraigns, as illegitimate, the 'esthetic' and 'philosophical' art, all that is superstitious, patriotic, and sensual (ib. ch. xviii.). With a condemnation of modern art almost universal, Tolstoi surrenders to the genre and sympathetic, as represented by Dickens, Hugo, Dostoievsky, Millet, Breton, etc. His attack upon Shakespeare was provoked by the perception that the poet slighted the labouring classes. Ernest Crosby having made such a socialistic criticism of Shakespeare, Tolstoi proceeded to criticize his dramas, upon aesthetic and philosophical grounds (A Critical Essay on Shakespeare, tr. Teichertoff, 1906, pt. ii., Crosby's article). In addition to this social scruple against culture, there is also an ethical detent, based upon the thought that intellectual superiority is implicit in a pyramidical arrangement of the social order, where the enlightened few are supported by the mass of labouring people, whereby justice arises. The failure of the aesthetic to redeem mankind urged Schopenhauer to put ethics in its place, with the idea that, since not all can be artists, they should all be moralists, and that even in the cultured person the aesthetic moment is so transitory that it necessitates the permanent moral treatment of life in the complete denial of the will-to-live (World as Will and Idea, tr. Hal dane and Kemp, 1896, §§ 27, 52; also bks. iii. iv.); culture, however desirable, does not seem to be imperative like morality, activity, and the like; but the argument expounded is not really one of physical necessity, but of spiritual value; for, inasmuch as 'the earth is the planet of hunger, or the planet where one eats' (A. France), it might be argued that through necessity food is as important as the art vices, toward the ethical. The question is one of values, as also one of psychological fitness; whence the culturist concludes that morality and social life stand in need of the enlightenment and education of those who are purposed for their own sake. The most perfect conception of social life seems to have found ex-
pression in ancient times, when it was said, 'Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased' (Isa. 2). In the endeavour to promote the interests of an enlightened State, it is not out of place to commend culture and foster genius, for it must not be forgotten that humanity is in part to be conceived in humanistic fashion, which involves the exaltation of letters and arts, or the 'humanities.'

3. Culture and happiness.—Where culture is challenged by activism and socialism, it is finally criticized by eudemonism, on the ground that it fails to satisfy the soul. Here more occurs the contemplation of activist and socialist, who will assert that the disinterestedness demanded by culture can result only in diverting man's attention from immediate necessities, which, like eating, drinking, clothing, shelter, are imperative instances of the 'sorrows of Martha' to consider. Both nature and natural society point to the place man is supposed to occupy in the actual world; hence the interior life of culture can only omit him for his vocation as a living being, so great is the preoccupation which culture demands. Hence, with the physical and social struggle for existence, the contemplator is likely to be left stranded in the onward flux of events, so that all that may be fostered in the culture tends the well-being of man. Modern educational systems have long been realizing this utilitarian principle, with the result that 'humanity' now, instead of contenting culture, stands for social efficiency; while 'culture' or culturelicens are included among the non-essentials. To this argument against disinterested enlightenment, the culturist may reply by stating that these practical interests will take care of themselves in connexion with mankind, and in many varying life, ever assenting themselves in human education as demands made by the inquiring interested mind. But the cultural interest in remote ideals may safely be furthered in the life and education of man, who is necessarily predisposed in favour of humanistic study. With regard to culture as a means of promoting happiness, the central question is one of the possession or pursuit of knowledge. Classicism, which had culture without the culture-problem, upheld the possession of knowledge as affording the highest enjoyment; hence Aristotle said: 'It is reasonable to suppose that the employment (of wisdom) is more pleasant to those who have mastered it than to others who are yet seeking' (Nic. Eth. x. vi.). Medieval Rosicrucian, with this identification of knower and knowledge, as when the Troubadour, or Trouvère (under), suggested that the search after that which could be found without true happiness. The culture of Modernism is not wanting in instances of representatives individuals who have protested that the search after truth is more satisfying than the securing of knowledge itself. Thus it was that the Carthusian, Pere Malebranche, said: 'If I held truth captive in the hand, I would open it in order to pursue it again' (Mazure, Course de la philosophie, p. 20); while Butler declared: 'Knowledge is not our proper happiness ... it is the gaining, not the seeking after, which is the improvement of the mind' (Sermons, xvi.). More brilliantly and more forcefully Lessing said: 'If God were to hold in his right hand all truth, and in his left the rings of truth, if he in one impulse to give me, I would humbly fall before his left hand, and say, "What more truth is, after Thee alone!"' (Hollstein, Life of Lessing, 1855, ch. xvii.).

While significant of the remoteness inherent in the culture-ideal, such utterances are not normal expressions of the culture-motive, which is more akin, like the Troubadour, or finding, instinct in the human mind. Finally, our modern psychology, like that of Wundt, by showing how similar are intellect and volition, tends to do away with the conflict between the idealistic and the realistic, of promoting human happiness, and to postulate a unity of thinking and doing, of inner life and outer existence.


CHARLES GRAY SHAW.

CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.—See CONFESSIONS, PRESBYTERIAN.

CUP-AND-RING-MARKINGS.—1. Description.—The name 'cup- and ring-markings' is given to certain signs—they cannot be called drawings or sculptures—which are found on rock-surfaces and articles of use in all parts of the world, from pre-historic times down to the primitive peoples of the present day. They are a form of ornament distinguished by the same characteristics with great variety in details. In all cases there is the central cup, hollow, or depression, surrounded by one or more concentric circles or rings. These rings take various forms, such as simple circles; sometimes they are only semi-circles at the top or bottom of the cup; sometimes they take the form of spirals. At times—and this is very usual when they are found in any number—sets of cup- and ring-markings are united by lines or duets making a variety of figures; and again, at times, the outermost circle has a number of rays issuing from it and converging towards the central depression or cup. Wherever they have been observed, they are the work of peoples in the Neolithic stage of culture, whether in the actual Neolithic Age of the pre-historic past, or among peoples who at the present time exist at that stage of culture.

The localities where archaic cup- and ring-markings are now found show a somewhat far-reaching distribution. Some of the finest examples are in the British Islands. It was in the year 1859 that Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson first called attention to them in a paper in the Journal of the British Archaeological Association, in the course of which he refers to cup- and ring-markings on the rocks in Northumberland, and claims to have been the first to note such markings as far back as 1835. In 1867, Sir James Simpson published his book entitled Archeic Sculptures of Cups, Circles, etc., on Rocks, in which he described all those that were then known in Scotland, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Yorkshire, and in a series of beautifully illustrated plates he illustrated every variety of form. In the report of the Archaeological Association, it is now known that archaic cup- and ring-markings exist in all parts of our own country, not only on scarps of rock, but on the stones of so-called 'Druid' circles, from Inverness-shire to Lancashire, in Scotland, England, and Ireland; on great stones forming avenues; on cromlechs; on the stones of chambered tombs in Yorkshire; on stone cists or collars in Scotland, Ireland, and Dorset; on pre-historic obeliaks, or solitary standing-stones in Argyll; on walls in subterranean 'Picts' houses' in the Orkneys and Forfarshire; in pre-historic Scottish forts; near old camps; and
on isolated rocks, scarps, and stones. They are found in the Cheviot Hills, on the moor near Chatton Park in Northumberland; there engraved on a smooth face is a cup-like depression surrounded by incised concentric circles. Some of the finest examples in the British Islands are at or near Ilkley in Yorkshire. In Ireland precisely analogous markings, or 'rock-scribings,' as Wakeman calls them, are found at Megavagh, Co. Donegal, on the sides of Knockmore Cave, near Derrynollanly, Co. Fermanagh, as well as the magnificent series of double spirals at Newgrange, Dowth, and Lough Creag, Co. Meath, which belong to a somewhat later stage of ornamentation.

Outside the British Islands, other archaic examples, besides those in the Morbihan, may be noted at Malta, where, in the spring of 1916, the writer saw the very fine series—painted, not incised—in the hypogeum at Gozo; on the rock on which the great Cathedral of Seville is built; on the steps of the Forum at Rome; on the pebbles of a stone from Athens; in Scandinavia, in Cuba, in India, and in North and South America. Present-day instances in which a precisely similar scheme of ornamentation may be observed are found among the natives of Central Australia (whence they were particularly described when we come to discuss the meaning to be assigned to them), in Fiji, in Easter Island, and other parts of the Pacific Ocean, as well as in certain parts of Africa. Further, among races who tatoo, particularly in the eastern parts of New Zealand, a very similar set of designs may be observed.

2. Theories as to significance.—It is an axiom of Anthropology that primitive man never gave, nor does he give, himself trouble or care for an aesthetic purpose, but always had some practical object in view. Hence the theories proposed in explanation of cup- and ring-markings fall into two groups. The first would explain them by (a) religion, or (b) magic; the second (c) primitive star-maps, or (d) rude maps of the neighbour- hood, showing the position of hut-circles, or (e) a primitive method of writing, or at least of communicating ideas.

(a) Religion.—Sir James Simpson, after mentioning, only to reject, the Swedish archaeologist Nilsson's conjecture that these markings were Phoenician in their origin, came to the conclusion that they are archaeological engravings, but he went on to add: 'They are often ornamental and possibly religious,' adding that, 'though in the first instance probably decorative, they were also emblems or symbols, connected in some way with the religious thought and doctrines of those who carved them' (op. cit., pp. 92, 115, 117).

In 1872, Phéné, in a paper read before the British Archaeological Association, argued that the purpose of cup- and ring-markings was a religious one, and that it was connected with sun-worship.

In 1878, Romilly Allen, an acknowledged authority in all that pertains to early Christian art, read before the British Archaeological Association an exhaustive paper on the remarkable series of 'Pre-historic Rock-sculptures at Ilkley.' After giving with the motives in which pre-historic rock-sculptures were then known to exist, followed by a detailed account of those at Ilkley, he proceeded to notice various theories as to their origin and meaning. It may be observed that among the markings at Ilkley there is one set of cups and lines arranged in the form of the swastika, a pattern of universal prevalence from the Mycenean age onwards, which is noted by Schliemann to have been found on a very large number of spindle-whorls discovered at Troy, and is found in India as a religious symbol, and survives among ourselves as the arms of the Isle of Man. Its occurrence here would seem to carry back its use as a symbol of some sort of pre-historic times. Allen's own theory is that cup- and ring-markings were most probably used as religious symbols, and were connected, as Nilsson suggested, with sun- and Earth-worship. He also thinks, with Nilsson, that the pre-historic sculptures belong to the Bronze Age.

In the following year C. W. Dydmoon read an interesting paper before the same Association on some rock-markings in the same locality, with copious reference to Schliemann's discoveries at Troy and Mycena. In this he makes a special point of that discoverer's theory that the cups surrounded by complete circles represent the sun, and those surrounded by incomplete or semi-circles, with or without rays, i.e. ducts, represent the rising or setting sun. In this connexion it may be noted that among the rock-paintings of the native Australians described by K. H. Mathews in J.A.I. xxv. [1890] 145 is one which almost certainly represents, along with a figure of two hands joined at the wrist, the sun rising or setting. The significance of this will appear later (see below, p. 369). Dydmoon also notes one stone containing a most remarkable arrangement, which he says he first took for a rude representation of the planetary system, but which he afterwards thought might be an allegorical or symbolical representation of a goose (Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc. xxvii. 86).

As recently as 1900, H. G. M. Murray-Aynsley, in her book on Symbolism of the East and West, describes the cup- and ring-markings which she observed in the course of her travels in India, and compares them with similar stone-drawings or rock-markings in Egypt, and as to their significance she assigns all alike to sun- and star-worship.

In his recent book Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Cæsar (London, 1907), Rice Holmes ranges his discussion as regards those who would see in these markings some religious significance, though he is hopelessly wrong in assigning them, as he does, to the Bronze Age.

Still keeping to the theory of their religious significance, it may be noted that Col. Bissett-Carnac, who has made a special study of the archaic rock-markings of India, particularly as they occur among the Kumaun Hills, suggested, that they are connected with tising-worship; the central marks in the ornamentation being the sun, or the circle the yoni. The rich, he supposed, put up a monument, the poor merely carved a symbol.

In his Pre-historic Times, 1900, Lord Avebury comes to the conclusion that 'we have as yet no satisfactory clue to the meaning of these engravings' (p. 158), and he assigns the ruder, and therefore evidently more primitive, engravings, i.e. the simple cup- and ring-marks in all their variety, to the Neolithic Age, or, as we prefer to say, at any rate to the Neolithic stage of culture. As regards the meaning to be attached to the symbols, R. Munro says:

'Although much has been written on the subject, none of the theories advanced to explain their meaning has met with general acceptance. That they had a symbolic meaning in the religious conceptions of the people is evident from the frequency with which they are found on sepulchral monuments, but any interpretation hitherto advanced on the subject, beyond the general religious idea, seems to be pure conjecture' (Prehistoric Scotland, p. 317.)

(b) Magic.—In 1892, and again in 1896, Miss Russell proposed, with a wealth of argument and illustration, before the same Association, the theory that simple cups and circles are intended to represent eyes, and that those having a line or duct through them represent eyes transfixed with a
javelin, and that accordingly the solution of the problem as to the meaning of these signs is to be found in regarding them as charms against the Evil Eye. The prevalence of this superstition among primitive races is the world over unquestionable, and it survives to-day, with more intensity than anywhere else among civilized peoples, in Italy, as Elworthy has conclusively shown in his books, _The Evil Eye_ (London, 1885), and _Horae of Heaves_ (London, 1890), while, had it not been for later discoveries, this might have stood as a good working hypothesis; and it may even be held to have some share in the meaning which we shall assign to them. Magic is not only the science, but it is very root of the religious and social arrangements, of primitive folk, and it may well have its part in the explanation to be advanced for the universal prevalence of these mysterious signs.

ii. (a) It has been held that cup- and ring-markings were intended for rude maps or plans of the steller and planctory heavens. This theory need not detain us, as it could not by any possibility apply except to a very few cases, in which the design may seem to be arranged in a sort of definite order having some resemblance to the position of the constellations in the sky, or some appearance of being intended to represent the sun, moon, and planets.

(c) There is also the view that they were intended for maps of the locality, marking the position of the neighbouring raths, or oppida, for the benefit of wayfarers, whether the inhabitants themselves or strangers. This theory is associated with the names of Greenwell and of Graves in Ireland, and was definitely applied by the latter to the Irish examples.

(e) There is also the view that they were a primitive mode of writing, or at least of communicating ideas. This theory the designs may seem to be suggested by the relations of the churinga, or rather the cup, and of Graves in Ireland, and was definitely applied by the latter to the Irish examples.

In discussing our own theory we shall see how these two ideas may be combined, by a reference not only to the evidence from Australia, but also to that from the Pyrenees, with a belief in the symbol of the crescent, which Fechter discovered in the cave of Mas d’Azil in the Pyrenees, and which belong to the Palaeolithic Age, and to the similar signs found on and in dolmens in Portugal in the same year, down to those of the religious device of the cup and tree, which was used by the Egyptians, and by modern potteries in civilized lands. It may be noted here that Wood-Martin also had already suggested that cup- and ring-markings ‘might be the first step made by primitive man towards writing’ (Pagan Ireland, p. 571). E. Cartailhac had made the same suggestion in 1889 in his _La France préhistorique d'après les sépultures et les monuments_ (p. 241).

3. Cup- and ring-markings, in the light thrown upon them by recent research and discoveries among the native races of Northern and Central Australia.—In the year 1899, Spencer-Gillen’s _Apeckshoo_ book on _The Native Tribes of Central Australia_ was published. It was the first book of its kind to be followed in 1900 by the same authors’ _Tribes of Central Australia_, and in the same year A. W. Howitt’s _Native Tribes of South-East Australia_ was published. These, with K. Langloh Parker’s _The Baskervill Tribe_ (London, 1889), and the researches of K. H. Mathews and other travellers and observers, are our authorities on the tribal and social arrangements and customs of the Australian aborigines.

The characteristic feature of all these tribes is that society is organized on a basis of totemism (q.r., in relation to which cup- and ring-markings are found to have a living and definite significance.

Some few years ago, the theorizing regarding ancient totemism has been included under those which would give a religious significance to cup- and ring-markings, but recent research has made that interpretation impossible.

J. G. Frazer, in his great work on _Totemism and Exogamy_ (1915), has proved that the theory of totemism is attached to the category of religion, but is altogether of social significance, and this was the opinion of many students before the publication of his book. It is matter of common knowledge that religion can exist without religion, because religion implies reverence and worship, and the totem is never worshipped, though it is treated with respect. It is the brother, or the god, or of his husband, it is certainly not to be looked upon as a religious being, but as a social unit.

Before we can exhibit the relationship between cup- and ring-marking and totemism, however, we must first deal, as briefly as possible, with totemism as it exists in Australia, especially among the Arunta.

The Arunta rule by male descent, but their totemism is special and peculiar in that it is reckoned by locality and not by parentage at all, i.e. every child, no matter what the totem of its parents may be, belongs to the totem of the district in which it may happen to be born. The Arunta system is based on the following beliefs. They hold that each living Arunta is descended from, or rather is the reincarnation of, an ancestor who arrived in what is now called the Central Australia district. These ancestors are represented as carrying about with them or her one of the markings called by the Arunta _churinga_. Each of these _churinga_ is closely associated with the spirit part of some individual. In the place where this person originated or stayed for a time, the Churinga of the Witchetty Grub people, or where they camped in their wanderings, there were found what the natives call _embalkilla_, i.e. local totems. At each of these places the number of the Alcheringa ancestors went into the ground, each carrying his _churinga_ with him. His _churinga_ was a natural feature, such as a tree or rock, rose to mark the spot, while his spirit part remained in the _churinga_. Thus the country is defined by the _churinga_, and the spirit moves about in them. The Arunta is distinguished from the Warlu by the fact that a woman never knows when a spirit-child may enter her womb; and, as a result, wherever she may become aware that she has conceived a child it belongs to the totem of that locality irrespective of the totem to which she or her husband may belong. Hence, among the Arunta the census classes are the local totem, and the _churinga_. The child inherits the _churinga_ (man of his ancestral spirit, and consequently belongs to his own ancestral totem. In some cases the spirit-spiritualists to whom others are more oblique, but the result is the same in all cases—when the spirit-child enters a society, it is dropped. When the child is born, the mother tells the father the position of the tree or rock near to which she supposes the child to have entered with her, and he and his friends then search for the dropped _churinga_. This is usually, but not always, supposed to be a stone one marked with the device peculiar to the totem of the spot, and therefore of the newborn child. It should not be found, as is sometimes the case, a wooden one is made from the tree nearest to the _churinga_, and the device peculiar to the totem is carved upon it.

In each _embalkilla_, or local totem, centre, there is a spot known as the _etotuulanga_. This is the sacred stone, usually some cove or crevice in some unfrequented spot among the boulders carefully concealed. In these numbers of the children, often carefully kept up in bundles. (With this custom and the ideas connected with it, Frazer ‘Folklore in the Old Testament’ in _Anthropology and Essays presented to Radcliffe Taylor, 1902_ compares the phrase used in 1 S. 20:1.) The name _churinga_ should be noted, means a sacred and secret emblem. This word, under the law of death, may never enter into the secrets of the _etotuulanga_; boys on initiation at puberty are allowed to see and handle them. At the time of admission to the mysteries of the totem—but only a part. Another and very important part is the painting on face and body of the man who has successfully undergone these ceremonies of initiation, and is considered worthy of the honour, with the device peculiar to his totem. In the _etotuulanga_ a man knows that he has been there, though they know nothing of the ceremonies. To the younger women it is a sign of the deepest mystery, a device to approach the gap in which is the sacred rock-painting, and near to which lies the _etotuulanga_.

The above description of the beliefs and ceremonies of the Arunta was necessary to the full
understanding of our subject, and it has brought us at last to rock-paintings (these are not peculiar to the Arunta; they have been noted all over Australia. But those previously described are not of the special type which concerns our purpose, which are found among the Arunta. These rock paintings fall into two groups: (a) ordinary rock-drawings similar to those already known, and corresponding with the drawings of the Palaeolithic cave-people, the primitive Egyptians, Italians, and others, in many parts of the world, and the Beaucamps, modern engravers; and (b) certain other drawings which belong to a class of designs called *churinga iklinia*, and regarded as sacred, or secret, mysteries, because they are associated with the totems. Each local totemic group has certain of these belonging to the *herg*, and preserved on rock surfaces which are strictly taboo to the women, children, and uninitiated men. The designs on these *churinga iklinia*, as on the *churinga nanja*, are each distinctive of some special totem, and are so understood by the natives. Now these special totemic designs of the Arunta consist of precisely the same patterns as the rock sculptures or paintings which are the subject of this article. They may all be classed as cup- and ring-markings. They are drawn on the surface of a rock, and surrounded by concentric circles or semi-circles, and arranged in varying patterns, sometimes joined by lines which run through and connect them, exactly as the ducks do in the sculptures, and each design has an inner line, the ring-marking, which the native at once recognizes. One pattern belongs to the Witchetty Grub totem, while others belong to the Emu, Kangaroo, Plum-tree, Snake, Sun, Moon, etc., totems, as the case may be.

Considering, then, that primitive man may be held to have everywhere, though with local modifications, passed through the same or similar stages in his evolution from the lower to the higher plane of social organization, we may hold that we are justified in assuming that in these Arunta drawings and designs, with their well-known and recognized significance, we have, as Wood-Martin suggested (*Pagan Ireland*, p. 47, note), the solution of our problem, and may with confidence assert that the basic meaning of cup- and ring-markings, wherever found, whether belonging to pre-historic primitive man in Europe or Asia, or to modern primitive man in Australia, is not religious, but social; that, with the development of the relationship of the totem, and are connected with magic but not with religion.

Thus these mysterious signs may with justice be said to constitute the 'allegory of primitive man,' and they would be known and understood by all whom it might concern, even as the Arunta understand them to-day, just as the followers of a medieval knight, his squires and men-at-arms, recognized him on the shield of their lord, or the crest on his helmet in battle or joust, or the pennon fluttering from his castle keep, and as the flag is recognized among civilized nations at the present day.

To trace the central dot corresponding to the cup-child, beside some sacred rock or tree, becomes the more difficult, as it were, to trace the possible connection between the now discovered totemic significance of cup- and ring-markings and the *ringam*-cult or Nature-worship of a later stage of culture, but we may note the primitive phase of this in the standing-spirits of the rock-drawing or spirit-child, concepted beside some sacred rock or tree. This similar notion meets us, as Rivett-Carnac points out, in Switzerland and Italy, and probably further research would find it elsewhere also. The

spirit-child belongs to the totem of the locality in which it is depicted, the *wanga*, the portable stone or stick, and the *tilkina*, the rock-drawing, each sacred and secret—is the totem-badge, bearing the special design peculiar to that totem. Here we have its living and present significance. Among rocks and stones inscribed with cup- and ring-markings are in many parts of Europe associated with ideas belonging to the worship of the generative powers. Menhirs and monoliths not only have those marks, but are themselves symbols of the mystery of the reproduction of life. In Switzerland they are still known as 'the babies' stone,' and, bearing this primitive notion in mind, we may see a justification for describing simple cup-markings on standing stones as representing inverted female breasts, as is done in art. *Canaanites* (vol. iii. p. 178).

With the same association of ideas in Brittany and other Celtic districts, childless women bring offerings to the menhir, and more than one standing-stone has been crowned by the placing of a cross upon its summit.

Finally, it is quite possible that in cup- and ring-markings we also behold one of the earliest efforts of mankind to convey ideas by means of signs, and in such a primitive manner of writing. The Arunta read their meaning both in the rock-paintings, the *churinga iklinia*, and upon the sacred sticks or stones, the *churinga nanja*, and indeed have been known on occasion to employ these in the latter as primitive messengers or heralds, in their case the *churinga* is more in the nature of a safe-conduct, rendering the bearer talb, than an actual means of conveying ideas. Other tribes, as the Itelamundi, employ real message-sticks, but they are merely a kind of tally to hand over the message, and the markings have no special meaning as conventional signs to convey a definite announcement. Still these signs, and such as the Palaeolithic folk inscribed on the pebbles at Mas d’Azil, or such as are found on Neolithic dolmens in Portugal and in certain parts of Scotland, may lie at the root of the alphabets of the *Mycæan* and the germ of our European alphabets. But, if cup- and ring-markings are to be taken at all as a method of writing, and the latter as a primitive method of writing, it can only be of the very rudest, compared with which oghams and runes are finished alphabets. It is better to take them simply as totemic signs, having regard to their Arunta relationship, and to the fact that modern potters’ marks as being tribal and family badges and marks of ownership.

The primal fluid of nervous life. It will be noticed that, if terms like 'concrete' and 'material' are employed, we must admit that the half-civilized and highly organized Moor is more 'primitive' than the lowest savage.

It also seems to the writer an unnecessary and illegitimate proceeding to draw a sharp division between the magical and the religious blessing or curse, or to assign priority to the former type. A savage Ancestor is far more than a magical entity, whether spoken or verbally, in a form as far removed from magic as profane swearing among civilized men is from religion. Or, again, if he has a god, he may invoke him to execute his spoken wish. On the other hand, we find the use of magic in the act of conjuring a magical form; and we can sometimes trace the religious forms passing into the magical. The distinction, in fact, between magic and religion, as the form of man's relation to his environment, in terms of this process, is a case of shifting in the direction of time. Two types certainly exist for curing and blessing, and they will be fully discussed below; here it is premised that we have no right to assume the priority of the magical type, or even to determine which is the more ancient. There are, moreover, many neutral cases.

2. General character.—A curse or blessing is a wish, expressed in words, that evil or good may befall a certain person. The wish may be expressed by a god or other supernatural being, as a prayer, or by a supernatural person to execute it; or accomplished by one, who, in assimilating to, or identifying himself to, the person referred to, throws into word, will, and fact in one. It may be expressed for the speaker's own good or ill. It may be, again, a mere wish or will; or an appeal to another (usu-

Curse, by power—such, or as a symbol of contempt or insult. So the Maori spelt while curing. "If a man while curing spits in his cured part, he is supposed to follow.7 The Sakai are believed to be able to do 2.

injury by 'sneerings' and 'pointings.' Among the Flort of West Africa, the property becomes complete when the seller has 'blessed' the article sold. He raises his hands to his arms and pronounces the words 'God bless,' while the buyer then breathes or blows over the article. This ceremony is called 'the curse,' 'giving the breath,' and is equivalent, says Dennett, to the breath of life. It appears rather to be a personal imposition of the speaker's good-will upon both buyer and thing bought, without any supernatural reference. There is here, perhaps, similar to the 'breath of life,' the interest is immediate. Examples of symbolism might be multiplied indefinitely. The characteristic use of the hand is the exhaling of the feet is a magical gesture. In Mohammedism, a suppliant at the sight of a saint will call down misfortune upon an enemy by sweeping his floor with his cloak, praying that the enemy may be likewise, 'at once.' It is still necessary to point out that mere impulsive action, deliberate magic, and symbolism share a common center.

Among the Hebrews, a blessing was imparted by the imposition of hands. In blessing a multitude, the hands were uplifted. Refinements are inevitable; thus, in the Greek Church, the gesture of benediction is made with the right hand, the thumb touching the tip of the ring-finger, the other fingers being erected. In the Latin use, the thumb, fore, and middle fingers are erected, the others being doubled on the palm of the hand. In the Rabbinical blessing, the priest places the fingers of both hands in pairs—the forefinger with the middle, the ring with the little finger, the tips of the thumbs, and the tips of the forefingers, respectively, coming together; thus there are ten fingers in six divisions.

Expressing the wish, as it becomes a ritual, may also undergo differentiation. Thus the Talmud holds that the mere power of the spoken word is efficacious. The priest pronounces the words 'bless.' In Islam, the important details of the benediction are the audibility of the benediction. The Talmud also speaks of cursing by an angry look. This needs to be fixed. Such a curse has been called as a 'mental curse.' The Talmud has a remarkable dualistic personification—the curse 'thinking' of the victim, and the speech of the word. The curse, opposing two, in the shape of a boar, a sharpened bow, a sharpened arrow, that kites at one stroke, pursuing, wounding, seeking out a man, with objects fixed in its teeth, crossing all around. On the other hand is the personification of 'the curse and blessing.' The word is twofold—by thought and by words. It is notable that the blessing by words is the more powerful; but the curse (upanana) by thought is more powerful than that by words.

The indeterminate character of primitive thought makes interchange easy between thought, idea, word, and act, and also between mechanical, physical, and verbal force. Thus a curse or blessing may be regarded now as a spirit, now as a thing, now as a word, but in each case it is charged with energy. Or, again, it may be regarded as acting along a material or psychological conductor, or as embodied in a material object, its energy lying in potential, ready to be aimed at, and discharged. It is important to note that these early views are held in comparatively late culture, especially in religion, and there show every sign of being living beliefs, not survivals. By remembering the emotions laid in all but the latest culture on words and names, we can appreciate the confusion, or rather the shifting, between the material and the verbal notion of a curse or blessing. Thus, in whatever form it is expressed, the curse or blessing, like all expressions of an idea enforced by strong emotion, has a dynamical certainty. Irish folklore has it that a curse once uttered must alight on something; it will float in the air seven years, and may descend any not being prevented, ready to be aimed at. Our guardian angel but fearsome, it takes forthwith the shape of a small misfortune, sickness, or temptation, and strikes his devoted head.

The ancient Teutonic proverbs 'operate quickly'; they are not to be delayed. While Grimm describes as the 'savagish heartiness' of the curses which he records the emotional force which has so much to do with making an impression, 18 E. and J. Ellen, Fugan Races of the Malay Peninsulas, London, 1899, p. 199.

4 Gn 43:7, Mt 12:15. 5 F. 23:2, Lk 24:19.
6 Jer 4:6, Lev 26:20. 7 C. Levin, in JB, s.v. 'Cursing.'
8 SBE xiii. ('Zond-Avesta,' I.) 12, 153.

whether in the direction of 'suggestion' to the victim or, generally, of the ascription of 'power' to the words, the name, or the body of the buyer. Many have been the cases where religion and magic have been seen as factors in the making both of magic and of religion deserve recognition. It is well illustrated by blessings and cursings in their growth; when their forms are fixed, naturally the form is everything, and a curse or a blessing is as much a fixed form as a billet doux is a fixed form. The earliest magic, in its being efficacious, to the priestly blessing in the synagogue magical powers were ascribed, and the OT states that the word once pronounced is irrevocable. 1 The Talmud warns against looking at the priest while he is pronouncing the blessing, with the idea that the glory of God is on him. 2 It is a natural process of suggestion working through strength of emotion, fear of ill-will and enmity, and reinforced by a complex of associated ideas relating to the essence of words and the energy of souls, that gives to the curse or blessing its independent 'power.' As it is put by Westermarck, this 'purely magical power, independent of any superstition will be affected by every sight of the priest's face, and more particularly the spoken wish, and the idea of its fulfilment. The wish is looked upon, as the light of energy which must be transferred—by material contact, or by the eye, or by means of speech—to the person concerned, and then becomes a fact. The priest has been known to make it a matter of course; there is always some mystery about it. 3

Just as sin 'is looked upon as a substance charged with injuries, energy,' so the curse 'is a benediction or a misfortune, a materialization of the mental objectification. To illustrate this last we may compare the precisely identical method, used in science, of conceiving of a force as a graphic straight line.

This conception is characteristic of the curse and blessing in their social and religious history.

Arabs when being cursed will lie on the ground that the curse may fly over them. Among the Nandi, 'if a son refuses to obey his father in any serious matter, the father solemnly strikes the son with his fur mantle. This is equivalent to a most serious curse, and is supposed to be fatal to the son unless he obtains forgiveness, which he can only do by sacrificing a goat before his father.' Others strip before taking an oath, to prevent it from clinging to their body. People recognize the kinetic when the curse is discharged. It is important to note that these early views are held in comparatively late culture, especially in religion, and there show every sign of being living beliefs, not survivals. By remembering the emotions laid in all but the latest culture on words and names, we can appreciate the confusion, or rather the shifting, between the material and the verbal notion of a curse or blessing. Thus, in whatever form it is expressed, the curse or blessing, like all expressions of an idea enforced by strong emotion, has a dynamical certainty. Irish folklore has it that a curse once uttered must alight on something; it will float in the air seven years, and may descend any not being prevented, ready to be aimed at. Our guardian angel but fearsome, it takes forthwith the shape of some misfortune, sickness, or temptation, and strikes his devoted head.

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15 R. Shorthand, 'Maori Religion,' London, 1855, p. 35.
The Todas have a curious ceremony for anticipating mischief to the sacred cattle. The point of the rite is that the assistant in the act of boiling milk, is cured, and the curse is once removed. The dairy-priest, the paol, pours milk and charred butter into the outstretched hands of the kallmon, who is supposed to receive it through the medium of the curse: 'Die may be; tiger catch him; snake bite him; steep hill fall down on him; river tear him; or fire late him; etc. Rivers inferals that the kallmon is being made responsible for any offence which may have been committed against the dairies, and that Toda having been cured, and so made responsible, the curse is then removed in order to avoid the evil consequences which would befall the boy if this were not done. Toda sorcerers, to prevent infectious diseases by cursing-priests, and remove them with some such formula as, 'May this be well; disease, sickness, and a blessing may be a curse. Mutch's mother cursed her son for his theft; when he confessed, she rendered the curse ineffectual by a blessing.'

As Irish folklore puts it, 'it must alight on something.' Plato speaks of it tainting everything with which it comes in contact. The Bedawin will not take an oath within or near the camp, 'because the magical nature of the oath might prove pernicious to the general body of Arabs, were it to be placed in the vicinity.' The Moors hold that it is 'bad even to be present when an oath is being sworn.' A remarkable detail is very commonly found, namely, that a curse may return to the man who uttered it. 'Curses, like chickens, come home to roost;' 'they turn home as birds to their nest.'

The story is thus described, in the form of a curse:

'There was a man who had ten children, and he cursed one of his brethren, who had done him no injury; but the curse did the man no harm, and he did not then the curse returned to the man who sent it, and all his ten children died.'

Here there is a moral valuation, but the earlier notion of the conception of the intrinsic energy of the curse constitutes the point of the story. With it may be compared the Roman notion that certain imprecations were so awful that even the utterer suffered as well as his victim. The idea of taboo and similar concepts, physical contact is the most efficacious means of 'transmission.' If we regard the curse or blessing as being the mental idea of a desired material result, then, like all ideas in an impulsive brain, it reduces motor energy in the form both of words and of action. Thus, besides the uttered form, we have, by association, paths of realization by means of symbolic or symbolic action. Examples have been cited of such 'assisting' of the wish, by gestures, direct or indirect. We have also, by association, the more highly differentiated method of sympathetic or symbolic creation. A material model or symbol of the result is desiderated as a pre-embodiment of it. Later this becomes a curse and a guarantee of the result. The simplest form of this method is the use of the 'wax image.' In this model, and symbol shade into one another. The image represents the recipient, and the utterer of the wish either utters it over the image, or works upon it, and we take upon the image the material result wished for.

2. Jg. 197
4. Eccehuis, Evoraideas, 324 ff; Herod. vi. 86 (the case of Oedipus and family sue don).
5. Taylor, Te Iau a Mauta, 1879, p. 94.
6. Burckhardt, p. 73.
7. Grimm, p. 166.

So far, we have cases in which the curse or blessing preserves its mental or verbal character, 'mental' being taken to include artistic materialization, as in sympathetic magic. For the curse or blessing, as for a charm, is charged with some injury or physical benefit precisely because it stops short of physical action by the subject upon the object. But the two were bound to be combined; the mixed type of curse and blessing is as common as the one. This culture is considered to be the more efficacious. The bestowal of a blessing is more efficacious when the man who confers it touches the man who receives it. When dealing with 'vehicles' and 'media' of curses and blessings, we are entitled to suppose that even in their highest development the mind is conscious of a process of 'conduction.' To us it appears obvious that, when a supplicant holds one end of a string to the other end, it will be more logical to credit them with a correct, than an incorrect, application of a physical law, and to argue that the string, which will be conducted by any other rather than by the wire. It seems more consistent with the evidence to regard these 'conductors' as being merely the nearest thing to physical contact. The sense of touch is brought up with all the direct physical action upon an object, well-doing and ill-doing, and colours all ideas of it. Similarly, when we read of curses acting at a distance—in the case of the Australian sorcerer at a hundred miles—we are not entitled to credit the belief with a reasoned or even unconscious substratum of a quasi-scientific theory of the velocity and displacement of an imprecatory particle. It is quite possible that in the case of 'conductors' of various 'mystical' forces, or as foalakers, we are forced to deal as much with the associative idea of property as with that of kinship, or of contagion. With this proviso, such metaphors may be employed.

Westmacott writes: 'The efficacy of a wish or a curse depends not only upon the potency which it possesses from the beginning, owing to certain qualities in the person from whom it originates, but also on the vehicle by which it is conducted; just as the strength of an electric shock depends both on the original intensity of the current and on the resistance of the conductor. Hence, efficient conductors are regarded blood, hody contact, food, and drink.',

As early types of the ideas, referred to above, which are connected with that of the fulfilment of a wish, we may cite the following:

A Moir would say to a stone: 'If this were your (his) stone; you would swell.' As the stone was to be used in a curse, he might call any object by the name of his enemy, and then proceed to strike or insult it. This process was a 'curse,' tasp tupa, or tups tupa. Here is the material for the development of the image-method and the symbol-method. In the Toda, the recipient apparently has it rubbed into his body with suck and butter. It is quite legitimate to regard this as a sign of respect, where the sound and the breath 'touch' the food, and hence the recipient. The Moro transmits his 'conditional curse' to the man appealed to for protection by grasping him with his hands, or by touching him with his turban or a fold of his dress, even by grasping his child or his horse. 'In such a case the mode of contact with the other person.' 1 Psychologically it is a case of displacement rather than the condition of a curse whose fulfilment is only contingent. Similarly the Moors might slay an animal at the door of the man. If the latter steps over the blood, or merely sees it, he incurs a conditional curse. Such a curse may be involved in the food eaten at a seal to a compact. The phrase runs that the food will repay him who breaks it. The eaten food 'embodies a conditional curse.' 2 Conversely, for, as Westmacott puts it, 'the magic wire may convey imprecations in either direction,' if a Moro gives food or drink to another, 'it is considered dangerous, not only for the recipient to receive it without saying, “In the name of God,” but also for the giver to give it, for it involves giving the same formula by way of precaution.' 3 In the case of a stranger receiving milk, it is lef that, should be misbehaved, 'the drink would cause his limbs to swell.'

2. Taylor, 94.
4. C. 249.
5. Toda, 560.
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On similar principles a curse may be applied to something that has belonged to the recipient, or to someone who may come in his way.

The aborigines of Victoria believe that if an enemy gets possession of anything that has belonged to them, even such trifles as a stick or a pebble which they have catched, broken weapons, feathers, portions of dress, pieces of skin, or refuse of any kind, he can employ it to curse the person to whom it belonged. They are, therefore, very careful to burn up all rubbish or uncleanness before leaving a camp; for anything belonging to an unclean tribe is found at any time, it is given to the chief, who preserves it as a means of injuring the enemy. This custom is said to have come to the very end of the universe in every case belonging to the unclean tribe. When used as a charm, the words are spoken softly, over an arm freshly painted with red clay, and tied to the point of a spear thrower, which is stuck upright in the ground before the camp fire. The company sit round watching it, but at such a distance that their shadows cannot fall on it. They keep chanting imprecations on the enemy till the spear thrower turns round and falls in his direction.

This example contains in solution a good many of the principles connected with cursing. There is also the buried curse.

In Tenemone one can make a man ill by boring in his path such objects as sharp stones or those that break in the burial. These articles are extracted later from the victim by some similar process. In the neighbouring islands of Leti, Mos, and Laker, the buried articles are pieces of steel from the victim’s own box, or a scrap of his hair. The curing acompaniments are buried, but there is no need to place an ‘embodied curse’ in the man’s path. Burial is enough, for here the object buried is a part of the man.3

Again, in connexion with tabu upon property, Codrington observes that in Melanesia a tamau approaches to a curse, when it is a prohibition resting on an unclean person, that is, on one who is tiadalo.4 In Ceraan a transgressor incurs the sickness wished or determined by the owner who embodied it in a tabau-mark.5 In Samoan the “silent hieroglyphic taboo,” or tapui, contains a curse; thus, the white shark tabu, a coco-palm leaf cut to resemble a shark, contains the wish: ‘May the thief be eaten by a white shark!’ 6

Even before the ethical stage of the curse or blessing is reached, their force varies, chiefly according to the character of the wish. That is, of course, to begin with, the mere ‘power of the word’ or of the wish; and the curse of any one, ‘however ignorant’ he may be, is not to be disregarded.7 But, as a rule, superiority of personal power or position increases the power of the blessing or curse, especially among the Tongans.

Among the Tongans the curser of a superior possessed great efficacy; ‘if the party who curses is considerably lower in rank than the person cursed, the curse has no effect.’8 Without doubt, the greater the disparity the less is the blessed of the better.9 The principle of the second proposition is that a curse will yet be performed before the name of a man who can summon a more powerful aid than that of the original curser.10

The importance and influence of parents, especially of fathers, have an enormous effect. The Nandi regard a father’s curse as being ‘most serious.’11 Among the Mpongwe ‘there is nothing which a young person so much despises as the curse of an aged person, and especially that of a revered father.’12 The Moorish proverb has it that ‘if the saints curse you the parents will cure you, but if the parents curse you the saints will not cure you.’13 The Hebrew belief in the inevitable efficacy of a father’s blessing or curse was remarkable. The blessing was regarded as an invaluable heritage. ‘In deed and word honour thy father, that a blessing may come upon thee from him. For the blessing of the father establisheth the house, but the curse of the mother rooth out the foundations.’14 From this passage it appears that a blessing given by a priest, which is in the Psalms Commandment is held out to expectant children was originally a result of parental blessings.15 The Scott proverb is similar: ‘A mother’s blessing can do no harm.’

In Greek such relics were less strong. Plato puts it that ‘the curses of parents are, as they ought to be, mighty against their children, as no other are.’ And he instances the curse of his own father, Ocyipus, Aegisthus, and Thyestes. The man who assaulted his parent was polluted by a curse.16 According to the Koreans, ‘curses and disgrace in this life and the hottest hell in the world hereafter are the penalties of the disobedient or neglectful of his parents.’

The last two cases show the automatic production of a curse by the sin itself—a notion distinctly tending towards the ethical development of these relations.

The Enara and Kumána believe that the blessing of the old people is necessary for the success of any undertaking, and that their curse is efficacious. The belief in witches and their works is general. Among the Greeks they had the preponderance in this respect over the younger; ‘the Enarines always follow the elder-born.’17

The curse or blessing of the dying is particularly strong.8

The Ova-Herero chief, when about to die, ‘gives them his benediction,’ a wish for ‘an abundance of the good things of this world.’9 Similarly among the Hebrews and the Arabs.10

Among the Bogos the blessing of a father or a master is essential before taking an employs, lest he gain nothing, engaging in a business, or contracting a marriage.11 The Moors say that ‘the curse of a husband is as potent as that of a father.’12 Westermarck points out that ‘where the father was invented with succedaneous functions—as was the case among the ancient nations of culture—his blessings and curses would for that reason be more efficacious in an exceptional degree.13

Obviously the wishes of one who is professionally in touch with the magical or the supernatural are more efficacious than those of ordinary men.

The analogous belief is quite widespread, and is underlaid that an enemy cannot escape.14 A Æthiopian ‘may punish his foes by his own power alone,’ viz. by his word.15 A Rajput ‘saja, being cursed by Brahman, was rendered useless by communication’ even among his friends.16 There is a story that the curse of a Brahman girl brought a swollen boil and his kindred.17 According to the Talmud, the curse of a scholar never fails.18 The Gallies dread the dying curse of a priest or warden, and in that country the curses of priests or scholars are particularly feared.19

The belief in the power of curses and blessings has a striking and widely extended application in the relations of the well-to-do with the poor and needy, and of the host with the guest. In the former case the idea that the blessing of those who have nothing else to give, or the curse of those who have no other remedy, is therefore efficacious, may have some connexion with the practice of cursing. In the latter case may perhaps be seen a naturally regarded attitude towards the unkind and therefore mysterious.

He that giveth unto the poor shall not lack; but he that hideth his curse shall have many curses.10 ‘Turn not away thine eyes from one that asketh of thee, and give none occasion a man to curse thee; for if he curse thee in his heart, his curse shall return upon his head.’11 The Greek beggar had his Erinys.20 The Damascans ‘would not think of eating in public without having their meal with all comers, for fear of being visited by a curse from their former owners (or deris) and bearing impotency and barrenness with them.’ In Morocco, itinerant scribes go from house to house, ‘receiving presents and invoking blessings’ upon the donors. For the latter it is a profitable bargain, since they would be tenfold repaid for their gifts through the blessings of the scribes.21 A Moor starting on a journey gives a coin to a beggar at the gate ‘so as to receive his blessings.’22 The Navajos of New Mexico invoke, in their prayers, blessings upon the higher castes who give them alms.23 Among the Ova-Herero ‘no curse is regarded as heavier than that which one who has been hospitably treated would hurl at those who have driven him from the heart.’24 An offended guest ‘might burn the house with the flames of his anger.’25 Guest and suppliants had their Erinys.26

1 Janus, ix. 881.
2 Griffin, Cercus, 1828, p. 536.
3 Manuwong, Uber Osen, Studien, Schaffhausen, 1894, p. 476.
4 Horne, on the Face of the Earth, p. 239.
5 Anderson, Lake Nyasa, 1856, p. 229.
6 Chyere, Kili, 1892, Wellhausen, pp. 480, 1897, pp. 139, 191.
7 Munzinger, Der Glaube der Indianer d. Südlichen Ausspan, Winterthu, 1895, p. 90.
8 J. f. M. 629.
9 J. C. 627.
10 Pohneck, New Zealanders, 1840, I. 281.
11 Manu, xi. 321.
13 K. F. B. 1896, i. 102.
14 Mabketh, 114.
15 Harris, Highlands of Ethiopia, 1841, iii. 30.
16 Westermarck, i. 563.
17 Pr. 2589.
18 Sir 46.
19 Hofmann, Od. xlvii. 338.
20 Chapman, South Africa, 1868, i. 341.
21 Westermarck, i. 560.
22 Tyc, Mission Notes, Bulletin, iv. 1891.72.
23 Rachet, Hist. of mankind, 1856-68, ii. 480.
24 Apastor, Coll. 3, S. KEHR (114).
25 Plato, Hipp. vi. 387.
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the case of hospitality Westmarck applies the principle of the 'conditional curse,' which will be discussed below.

Parallel with the case of the poor and needy is that of the rich and the wife.

In West Africa the authority which a master exercises over a slave is very much modified by his constitutional dread of a revolt; and the master, lest he curse thee.13 Thou shalt not command thy manservant or thy maidservant, neither shalt thou say, What hast thou done? for they hate thee, and if thou shalt be witty upon them, they will be wrathful against thee, and will smite thee with their rod from God.14 In Morocco it is considered even a greater calamity to be cursed by a Sheik than to be cursed by the Sebastui.15 16 The utterer of a Sheik's curse is said to be greater than the Sebastui, but than to be cursed by a Sheeret.15 The hounds, says Mann, on which female relations, not being duly honored, pronounce a curse, prescribe complete death.15

3. Special applications.—The circumstances in which blessings or curses are uttered, and the persons upon whom they are directed, are obviously both numerous and various, and the helpless cases may be cited, which have a bearing upon the nature of the uttered wish. Children, in particular, are the recipients of the blessings of parents.15

The blessing Ephraim and Manasseh by Jacob became among the Jews the regular formula by which parents blessed their children. Among the Malagays, at a circumcision, the godfather pronounced a blessing and pronounced blessings upon them, such as 'May they prosper!'16 Among the Maoris, when a child was a month old, the ceremony of tutu was celebrated, in which the tutu family pronounced a karakia of blessing: 'Breathe quietly, thy lung,' etc. Jewish teachers to-day bless the children when they are born, and in Fiji all prayers are concluded with malignant requests against the enemy: 'Let us live, and let our enemy perish.'

The curse is particularly the weapon of the wronged and oppressed against their more powerful enemies, and of zealots against their bigoted opponents. In the Bible it is especially forbidden to curse God, parents, authorities, and the helpless dead.11 To bless God is to praise Him. Yet Oriental has a tendency to curse God, even on the slightest provocation in daily life.12 Blessing the king is implied or explicit in ceremonies of coronation, and on solemn occasions.

The gods of Egypt bestowed a blessing on the Pharaoh, when they presented him with the symbol of life.13 The akhibika of the raja included a blessing, embodied in the consecrated water 'O water, thou art naturally a giver of kings, grant a kingdom to my Yajamana.' 'O honeyed and divine ones, mix with each other for the strength and vigour of your Yajamana.'14 The ceremonies of anointing and the like often involve a blessing.15 In the last example, the vehicle is personified. A Jewish author records a Roman custom of gagging prisoners, when condemned to death, to prevent them from cursing the king.16

In the Banks Island an 'invocation of the dead,' the tutarou, is celebrated. Food is thrown for the souls of the dead with such words as these: They who have charmed your food, have chanced you . . . drag them away to hell, let them be dead.12 In connexion with this is a practice of cursing a man's eating: if an accident befalls the recipient of such a curse, the utterer says: My curse in eating has worked upon him, and he is dead.17 Among the Maoris, what was almost a sense of modesty and a principle of harmony grew up about the idea of food and its preparation. A typical formula for the counter-curse is:

'Let the head of the cursers be broken in the oven. Served up for food for me, Dead, and gone to Night.'18

To curse, kanga, was in effect to apply to another man any word which 'had reference to food.' It is recorded that a young man, seeming in a cup of bread, remarked that 'the vapour rose from his head like steam from an oven; and that this remark caused a tribal war.19 The regular term for food, kai, was at times translated at home into the name of a chief. To use the term kai would in that case have been equivalent to a serious curse against the chief.20

Down to a late period in the history of Christianity, marriage was a personal 'arrangement'; the Church only stepped in to pronounce its blessing upon the union. The Hebrews had a benediction both for betrothal and for marriage.21 The old Roman marriage-blessing conferred included a benedic- tio, formula for which are extant. When St. Ambrose says that marriage is sanctified by the benediction,22 he refers to one case only of a general practice, lasting through the Middle Ages, of concluding matrimony with a blessing. Thus all sales of goods and property were blessed.

The application of the curse as a protection of property and as a method of punishing theft has been incidentally noted. In Fiji the thief is cursed the chief in order to recover the stolen goods.4 The method is conspicuous in Samoa. Tabu is 'a prohibition with a curse expressed or implied.'2 The embodiment of the wish in leaf or wooden block, is termed iku rauku or rauvi, but we cannot always infer even the implied wish in prohibitory tabu.22 Allied principles inevitably shade into each other. The ancient Babylonian landmarks appear to have been inscribed with the word of God, while the Latin carcer is a landmark.4 Taken over by Christianity, the practice survived, for example, in the English custom of 'beating the bounds,' in which the priest invoked curses on him who transgressed, and blessings on him who regarded the landmarks.23

Some details may be put together which illustrate usages and developments. In Melanesia, the practice of swearing or 'sounding off,' is instructive for comparison with that found in civilization. A man will say, with a gesture towards a tree, vavovo aru!—which is equivalent to telling his enemy to be hanged thereon.24

The limits of the blessing and curse are well preserved in the Catholic distinctions between benedic- tixs and panis concorsatus, and between benedic- tio vocans and benedictio constitutionis. The earlier principles, as we have seen, was to connect blessing and consecration, cursing and excommunication. It is in accordance with the extension of this principle that the curse is embodied in the "cursed thing," and the transgressor of the

1 Essays to E. B. Tyler, 361 ff.; Mt i. 596, ii. 844 f.
2 Wilson, 273, 179.
3 Apoo, 324, 326.
4 Westmarck, Mt i. 668.
5 Mann, ii. 52.
6 lb. 797, Madagascars, 195.
7 Shorthand, 175.
8 Ex xx. 214, Lev 2011 19, 24, De 599.
9 Shorthand, 139.
10 Mt, in Codrington, 147.
11 Ex xxii. 21, 'Lev 2011 19, 24, De 599.
12 Shorthand, 139.
14 Yajamahali Minto, Indo-Arabo, Cambra, 1281, ii. 3, 37 ff., 416 ff.
15 See art. Anzorua, vol. i, p. 549.
16 Levas, Le. 300.
17 Dibbs, in HDB, Vol. 1. 'Blessing.'
18 Crawley, Mystical Rose, 1902, p. 149.
19 Codrington, 147.
20 Shorthand, 33.
21 Taylor, 94.
22 Selden, East Indies, 1729, 387. 727-728.
23 Wellhausen, Reste, 181.
26 Plato, Laws, vii, 842; Hermann, De terminis apud Graecos, Gottingen, 1846, p. 11.
28 Codrington, 217.
29 ib. 217.
prohibition himself becomes the 'accursed thing' or the curse. This was the case with Achan, and when devoted to destruction. On the same principle a blessed man is a 'blessing.'

In the OT 'accursed' (AV), hērem, should be 'devoted' (RV)—devoted to God, not accursed from God. 5 Similarly with the Greek translation δικαιότατον. Such a thing is withdraw from union use, either as 'vowed' to God, or as put under a ban, in which case it has a species of holiness. 6 As a rule, a thing devoted to destruction is under a curse. In Canon Law the development of anathema into excommunication is incomplete.

Here we arrive at the curses and blessings of the community. In early culture a headman or body of 'old men' may represent the community in this function.

The State officials of Athens prayed for 'the health and safety of the people.' Greek State-hugetures included a 'communion service,' in which curses were invoked upon offenders. 8 Mediaval and modern Christianity combine a service of communion with the Luten penance. This has historical connexion with the early Hebrew rite, celebrated on Kad and Gerizim. The sacrifices stood on Mount Ebal to curse those who disobeyed the Law, and six stood on Mount Gerizim to pronounce the corresponding blessings. On the same principle, the priests and Levites stood in the valley betoo, and on turning their faces to Gerizim, they pronounced a curse, and turning them to Ebal, pronounced a curse. 5 The Talmudic idea that a curse has especial efficacy when pronounced three hours after sunrise is not without connexion with such festalized conditions as 'in the sight of God and of this congregation.'

Throughout their history, private cursing and blessing preponderate over public, and unofficious over officious. As the moral stage in religion supersedes the magical, the 'mere power of the word' is confined to private practice, and perhaps becomes more sinister with scarcity. The enormous collections of private dīvīre and impressiones which have been drawn from Greek and Roman literature, in the form of leaden tablets or symbolic nails, inscribed with curses consigning an enemy to the infernal powers, testify to the hold retained by the primitive theory of the curse, just as the prevalence of profane swearing in modern civilization shows the convenience of the mere form, emptied of all content except vague resentment, for the satisfaction of a particular emotion. The hold exerted by the simple mystery of magic upon the people of ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome, is not to be compared to the appeal: 'I am under the protection of God, and for his sake you are obliged to help me.' But the word Latar is also used to denote the act by means of which a person places himself in the said relationship to another. Had Latar dīkā, 'This is dīkā you on,' is the phrase in common use when an act of this kind is performed. If the person so appealed to is unwilling to grant the request, he answers, Had Latar ḍiḥrat, 'May this dīkā occur upon you.' The constraining character of Latar due to the fact that it implies the transcendence of a conditional curse:—If you do not do what I wish you to do, then may you die, or may your children die, or may some other evil happen to you. That Latar implicitly contains a conditional curse is explicitly stated by the people themselves, although in some cases this notion may be somewhat vague, or possibly have almost faded away. 7

The various acts which establish ʿādār all serve as outward conductors of conditional curses. ʿAr may be made by taking the son and giving him to the father, saying, 'This is ʿādār for you.' Another method is to present food. If the man accepts it, he is bound to do what is asked of him. Refugees enter a tent or merely grasp the tent-pole, saying, 'I am in God's ʿādār and your ʿādār.' 10 An injured husband may put ʿādār upon the governor, to get redress, by going to him with a piece of his tent-cloth over his head; or he may leave seven tufts of hair on his head, and appeal to another tribe.

The conditional curse is obviously supposed to be seated in the tent-cloth or tufts of hair, and 'from there to be transferred to the person 'invoked.' It may also be made by men making an appointment, and one failing to appear, the other makes a cairn at the spot, and takes the breaker of faith to it. The latter is then obliged to 'give him a nice entertainment.' Similarly, with ordinary curses, ʿādār is used. A malefactor lays a new nucleus, his comrade asks him to treat them. If he refuses, they...

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1 Théophraste, Hist. Plant. viii. 3.
3 JASB ii. (1892) 698; JASR xxiii. (1897) 432.
5 Zl. Ar, 36 a.
6 Zl. 36 b.
make a cairn, asking God to send misfortune on the mule. By way of revenge on a naggingly
stubborn animal, one erects a cairn, and such takes a stone therefrom, and, as he throws it away, says: "As
we dispersed this heap of stones, so may God dispurse for him that which makes him happy." The
sacrifice of an animal on the threshold is the usual method of expiation. To secure the blood is
sufficient. Over such an animal the biṣaṃīllāḥ, "in the name of God," is not pronounced; and it cannot
be eaten by the sacrificer or the person invoked, but only by the poor. The prayer
is resorted to for a variety of purposes: to obtain pardon from the government; or to induce the relatives of a person who has been
ekilled to desist from taking revenge, to appease the heart against an enemy or mediation in the case of trouble. It
plays a very important part in the social life of the people. It
It is also employed to put pressure upon jinns and domestic animals to compel the assistance of the latter. Making cairns, or tying rags, near a sīyid is 'arū upon the saint. The
rag is knotted, and the nun says: 'I promised that I will not untie you until I have attended to my business,"[12] Here we come to another
form of the conditional blessing. Another, man, invoking revenge, strews burnt corn on the floor of the sīyid,
saying: 'I throw, O saint, so-and-so as I throw this, O saint,' as Westernmark points out, "but at the same time it is an
act of symbolic magic."[13]
Forms of ordeal, and the whole theory of the oath, as well as its practice up to the latest state of civilization, depend on the principle of the conditional curse, often embodied in symbolic
action.
The curse as an engine of law well exemplified in Samoa. A theft has taken place; the injured party presents the 'priest' to curse the thief and make him sick. If the thief falls ill, he
restores the stolen property, and the 'priest' prays for a re-
vered of the curse. Again, in some cases, suspected persons are summoned to the
grace. Grass is laid on the sacred stone, the village-god, and each person places the hand thereon, saying: 'I lay hand on the stone. If I do the thing, I may speedily die.' The
use of grass is said to refer to the impure curse: 'May grass grow on my house and family.' So, in ordinary disputes, the nun will say: 'Touch your eyes if what you say is true.'[14] In the same way, European boys' touch wood' as a guarantee of truth.
An oath may be regarded as essentially a conditional self-imprecation, a curse by which a person
calls down upon himself some evil in the event of what he says not being true. All the resources of
deliberative magic are drawn upon in the multitudinous examples of this principle.
In Teheran the swearer prays for his own death if what he
says proves wrong; he drinks his own blood, in which a sword has been dipped. The Malay drinks water which daggars, spears, or bullets have been dipped, saying: 'If I turn traitor, may I be eaten by this dagger or spear.'[15] The
Sumatran oath is still more explicit: 'What I now declare is truly and really so, may I be freed and cleansed from my oath; what I express is nothing but a cry to my oath in the curse of de-
struction!'[16] The Greek swear, was, at an early period, the object sworn by. The Ostyaek swear on the nose of a bear, which animal is held to have supernatural power.[17] Hindu
swear on the Sankrit hrudya, or on water of the Ganges, or touch the legs of a Brahman; Muhammadans, on the Qur'an; Christians, on the Bible.[18]

The Calabar drinks a juju drink called abuhu, and repeats these words: "If I have been guilty of this crime... then, I swear, this man will deal with me."[19] Eating the flesh of the sacred animal, drinking water of curan, are prominent forms of the ordeal in Africa and elsewhere. The Hindu ayapthya
denotes both oath and ordeal. The medieval 'trial by combat'
was preceded by an oath, and this defeat was tantamount to
perjury. The formula of the ordeal of the Ezechian rite: 'I
swear to God that... the sacrificial animal,' and the
Christi corpus non perturus gemine guttis, and laurate in
facialia mea, stragante me aequifuerat me statim in
momenta.1
In the contract and covenant a mutual conditional curse is largely used.
Thus the sīyid of the Moors is the mutual form of 'arū. Chiefs exchang cuacks or jasus;" and 'if any of
them should break the covenant, he would be punished with some grave misfortune.'[20] Recompense is effected, among the same
people, by joining hands; the holy man who superintends
wraps the hands in his cloak, saying: 'This is sīyid between you.'[21] A conditional oath ratifies a bond of alliance. If one of them breaks faith, it is said: 'God and the food will repay him.'[22] In the pulse rite of Ceram, celebrated to settle a quarrel or to
make peace, both parties attend a feast, end each say that any
drops of their blood are let fall and swords dripped. This
they alternately repeat. Reconciliation of the terms of a
band of Leti, Moi, and Lakor, one man having cursed the other, is
effected by the men eating together.[23] To ratify a bond of fra-
ternity in Madagascar between two parties, a bowl has its head
cut off, and is left bleeding during the rite. The parties pro-
nounce a long mutual impression over the blood: 'O this
miserable foul wounding in its blood! Thy liver do we eat...
. Should either of us retract from the terms of this oath, let
this covenant presently and hastily become blind, let this covenant prove a curse to him.'[24]
The mutual conditional curse, it must be noticed, allows the curse proper to be more or less lost in
the material symbolism of union. Since, moreover, all these analogous principles are common to
another so inevitably and gradually, we do not seem
entitled to press the principle of the curse too far.
In reconciliation ceremonies, for instance, it is possible
that the same principle of the curse may adhere to it, but not essentially.
The oath carries with it the punishment for perjury.
According to Roman legal theory, the sanctio of a statute is the penalty attached for breaking it. Both the
ancient law and the modern criminal law are
accompanied by a curse upon the transgressor.[25]
True to its mission of serving where other methods fail, the curse reeded as police efficiency increased.
In the earliest culture, however, as that of the Australians, the personal efforts of the magicians work
\together with the impersonal energy of the supernatural
elements they employ.
5. The blessing and the curse as invocations.
The distinction between the 'magical' and the 'religious' curse or blessing is not to be over-emphasized. The two forms merge into one
other, and either is as 'magical' or 'religious' as the other, while neither is the more efficacious.
A god draws together in his own person the various threads of supernatural forces; in this respect, a
blessing is accompanied by a curse upon the transgressor.
Their inherent mystery of power still depends on the will of the utterer.
His invocation of the god to execute for him his heart's expressed desire is rather a long circuiting than a guarantee of the results. The bare force of the wish, in fact, tends to remain even
when the wish is merged in prayer. The personal quality of the utterer is still the characteristic of his wish. Psychologically, it is difficult to limit a desire by making it an invocation; to divide the attention between the object of the desire and the expression of the desire on the one hand, and an
intervening divinity on the other, is a matter of training. Thus it is rarely the case that, when a
man says 'God, the wish you!' he is conscious of the reference to God, any more than when he says
'Bless you!'
Further, there is the tendency for the principle of the curse, not of the blessing, to become itself
personified. This result is found as far back as the
stage of culture represented by the Maoris. The 'cursing thought' is personified in the Avesta;
so is the 'poison and good blessing.' The Greeks
personified these ideas as Erinyes, and behind this there may be the notion of a persecuting ghost, whose
1 Dahn, Brauteller, Berlin, 1879, II. 16.
2 Westernmark, 623.
3 ib. 465.
4 lb. 119.
5 ib. 377.
6 ib. 366.
7 ib. 262.
8 ib. 1.
9 lb. 630 (with authorities).
10 ib. 550, 552 (with authorities).
11 lb. 629 (with authorities).
12 ib. 619.
13 ib. 618.
14 lb. 619.
15 ib. 619.
16 lb. 620.
17 lb. 620.
18 ib. 620.
19 ib. 620.
20 ib. 620.
21 ib. 620.
22 ib. 620.
23 ib. 620.
24 ib. 620.
25 ib. 620.
anger or curses in later times were personified as an independent spirit. Allegorical figures of curses were included by painters in pictures of the wicked in hell. Subsequently the Egyptians became associated with passages of Zoroastrianism. The steps by which a curse or blessing becomes a appeal to a god, a prayer that he will injure or benefit the person intended, are not indistinct. The Melanesian curses in the name of a god, a powerful spirit. His connexion with the blessings given or adds efficacy to his curse. The efficacy of the mere word naturally is increased, not by the will of the spirit invoked, but by the use of his power. The Talmud and the OT supply examples of 'the ancient custom of the Lord might be used with advantage in any curse.' Among the Hebrews the 'Name' had peculiar importance. In the next place, the appeal may take the form of a conditional blessing upon the god. In the Yajur Veda the formulas, addressed to Surya: 'Smithe such a one, and I will give you an offering.' This method is clearly more efficacious. Vagina in the Banks Islands is the most serious of curses. It consists in procuring the intervention of a supernatural power, as in the Balams (Nu 22-24) to induce a belief that the Divine power can be moved to effect the injury desired. A further step is taken when the moving is in the form of compulsion. As curses may develop into prayers, so prayers may develop into curses. Brahmana is the energy of the gods, but it is also the prayer, and 'governs them.' Ap is both 'prayer' and 'curse'; so is the Manx word gnce. Prayer is often possessed of magical power just as the Toda spell is in the hands of the invoker. Even in Greek religion the deity is constrained to effect a curse or a blessing:11 even the personified curse, the Erinyes, works by a spell-song which binds the victim. Thus the phrases, 'by,' 'for the sake of,' and the like, are used for the purpose of compulsion, though they are not origination of compulsion, of another kind.

6. Connexion with morality.—Law gradually takes over the function of the curse, as a form of retribution; while prayer may still retain its use in cases where human intervention fails, or even as a spiritual replica of human intervention. The moralizing of the curse and the blessing within these limits follows the course of ethical evolution. In the OT the undeserved curse has no effect, unless the turn of God to a blessing. The justice of the wish is left to the decision of God; while it follows that an unjust curse or blessing is a sin against the All-Just. The Greeks modified their theory of the hereditary transmission of a curse by arguing that each generation commits new sins.1 At one end of the process we have an invocation to the gods, as in the Sarpy of the Chaldeans, asking for relief from the effects of a curse, or the Evens: 'or the thief involves God while he breaks into the house,' the bandit the Virgin.2 At the other, the god rewards or punishes independently of human invocation, and with absolute justice. According to Aquinas,3 a metaphysical is efficacious only if the invoker does not fail, In the month of man, however uttered or however desired, it is per se inefficaciously. But, when this stage is reached, cursing or blessing has become a contradiction in terms.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given fully in the footnotes.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

CUSTOM.—In the course of his discussion on 'Custom and the Moral Life,' Wundt writes as follows (Ethics, Eng. tr., i. 131 ff., 151: for an unfavorable criticism, see Laid, Philosophy of Conduct, New York, 1902, p. 27 f.):

'1 A custom is a form of voluntary action that has been developed in a national or tribal community. However rigorously individual conduct may be prescribed by custom, it never has left free the activity of a supernatural power. And it is custom, too, that transfers the principle of freedom, which in the animal community does not exist, to man, to the habit, to the general consciousness of society. . . . In custom the settled habits of the human race and of its subdivisions still remain the channel of consciously and voluntarily active motives. The principle of freedom in custom is the principle of voluntary action, is therefore a voluntary action; and yet it is possible to say that the principle of custom, that is, habitual conduct that has become mechanical; custom, habitual conduct that has become mechanical upon the means of compulsion. But these, like custom itself, are never of the obligatory kind. They consist neither in mere habits, conscious as the moral laws, nor in objective measures like the laws of the state.

Custom is closely connected both with habit and with usage, the distinction of each from the other, thus well set forth by Wundt (op. cit. p. 156 f.):

Habit covers all and every form of voluntary action that, for whatever reason, we have made habitual. It is the individual law of conduct. If the acts of the individual accord with the habitual action of the community to which he belongs, habit becomes a law. . . . Custom forms a smaller circle within this general field of usage. Custom is habit: it is marked by the regular recurrence of voluntary actions. Custom is usage; it is always the custom of some community. It has, further, that usage lacks—a normative character. Conformity to custom is not, like conformity to usage, a matter of individual choice; custom has the sanction of a moral constraint, which the individual cannot disregard without personal disadvantage. . . . While, therefore, individual habit is absolutely and entirely to choice, provided only that it does not conflict with the more comprehensive social fact, usage exercises a practical compulsion through the example that it sets, and custom raises this compulsion to the dignity of a constitutional law.'

On the other hand, custom, with its social basis, tends to become habit in the individual, producing, it may be, an impression of oddity when he moves in a circle where the custom is different, so that in countless cases custom and habit may stand in sharp antithesis. But if custom, in the main, produces habit, habit in its turn, if the individual possessing it, whether as a result of previous environment or in virtue of personal idiosyncrasy, be strong enough to impress his own particular habit on his fellows, may influence custom, or even give rise to a new custom of greater or less extent (for some interesting specific instances, see JE iv. 396; 101 f.); or, 'it would be the custom of the NK to bathe his face, hands, and feet in warm water before Sabbath began. This also was adopted by the Jewish community.' This, by the very nature of every social organism, is comparatively rare, and, if custom is thus in the main real, even though perhaps hitherto unfelt, need of society, either in whole or in part. Otherwise we have, not custom in its true sense, but the more

1 Farrell, Coc. 18 (1890) 77.
3 Westermarck, ii. 272.
4 F. rose, ii. 3.

SUSANNA II. 226.
17 If, then, 'custom' is used of individual actors, as in EV of Lk 4:9 (where Gr. has τὸ ἐθικὸν κέρας), it is, strictly speaking, inaccurate.

WESTERMARCK, i. 570 (with authorities).
2 Demostenes, Aristophanes, ii. 82.
3 Westermarck, loc. cit. (with authorities).
4 Coste, 163.
5 Westermarck, i. 564 (with authorities).
6 Tarrgum Sh. Naftali, vi. 4 ff.
7 Chresty, 417.
8 Rips Veda, vi. 51. 8.
9 Rips, Cottle Efalls, Oxford, 1901, i. 349.
10 Rips, 450, 453.
11 Rips, 196.
12 Arch. Ebanana, 352.
13 Tarrgum, Sh. Naftali, vi. 4 ff.
14 Biven, 316 f., 320.
15 Coste, 163.
16 Tarrgum, Sh. Naftali, vi. 4 ff.
17 F. rose, 216 f., 230.
18 F. rose, 216 f., 230.
19 F. rose, 216 f., 230.
evanescent 'fashion' or 'vogue.' For custom is concerned with the constant needs of society, and is 'subject to change only with changes in conditions of life or the more potent factor, and yet custom has on the power of individuals, but change has in the former. Custom is as truly a picture of the moral consciousness of the community as a man's habits are the expression of his individual character. Habits can consistently be formed anew, because new individuals, whose habits they are, are constantly coming into existence. But customs, on the other hand, are the social inheritance prevailing longer than the individual. It is, therefore, the nation endures' (Wundt, op. cit. p. 160).

We have seen that custom and habit are mutually active. Under conditions now prevailing, even amongst primitive peoples, custom is by far the more potent factor, and yet it would seem that this was not always the case. There must have been a time when no form of organized society existed, and when men were so widely scattered because of the fewness of their numbers that each individualism must have prevailed far more than it now does. Then it was that habit, not custom, was the leading factor; and it would seem that, as individual habit met individual habit, each modifying and being modified by the other, a code was crystallized as custom; while custom meeting with custom—perhaps even affected now and again by the individual habit of some specially strong individuality—was in its turn blended into an amalgam of customs of different influence, until at last there was evolved one of the great determinants of society as a whole. At the same time it must be borne in mind that such a reconstruction is entirely hypothetically and incapable of historical proof. Custom is at the earliest historical time and in the most primitive modern social conditions of which we have any knowledge, and, in view of the fact that all members of any primitive society are, and doubtless always were, on approximately the same scale, it would seem that, as Wundt says (op. cit. p. 161),

'one man may contribute one thing to a custom, and another another; but the custom as a whole is a common creation, which cannot be analyzed into individual elements, for the simple reason that the various individual factors are all operative at one and the same time, and that it is consequently impossible for the individual to separate his own particular contribution from the contributions made by others' (cf. Wundt's criticism of this entire scheme of reconstruction, p. 159 ff., summarized thus [p. 164]: 'Custom has, so far as we know, no development, and no development that is from preparatory custom of kindred contents. Usage, fashion, and habits, on the other hand, constitute a mixed medley of new formation and relics of a long dead past. Transformation and new formation are here often enough difficult of discrimination; but there is no such thing as an entirely new custom').

The custom, however, is the origin of custom seldom arises. For him it is his sole explanation, if one be sought from him, is that, as the Kairns say (Leslie, Among the Zulus and Amatungas, Edin. 1876, p. 146), 'it was so done by my father,' or, as the Narrinery have it, that it was so commanded by Narunidere, the 'All father' (Taplin, in Woods, Nat. Tribes of S. Australia, Adelaide, 1879, p. 33). In this connection, however, it is necessary to note that a custom may persist after its original cause has ceased to be operative, and that in such a case it may have an entirely different reason and motive assigned it (cf. Wundt, op. cit. p. 139 ff.). At the same time, for practical reasons, it is important, or, for particularly remarkable natural phenomena, etiological myths may be invented with the most honest intentions imaginable, so that custom comes to be one of the factors, as Lang well points out in his Custom and Myth, in the genesis of the myth.

In view of the homogeneity and lack of sharp distinction which characterize the more primitive stages of the human race, custom may be said to permeate and to control well-nigh every phase of man's mental and moral activity; and, although impaired in part by the rise of the more potent factor of individualism, it still exercises this potent power to a very great extent over the most highly civilized peoples. In the domain of religion it is custom which has largely influenced ritual and belief in possibilities for the individual. To the extent that a custom in the last resort, that is the chief factor in the evolution of law, which, to primitive man, is inextricably interwoven with, and inseparable from, religion; custom conditioned the law, and yet common law has existed, even in the most highly civilized communities, from the hour of his birth to that of his death. Indeed, the most daring radicalism and the most pronounced individualism have their own customs; for without custom there can be no type of human thought or of human activity.

Such being the case, it is but natural that in the earlier stages of civilization custom should be held to be Divinely sanctioned, and that any breach of it should result with it. In consequence, as we see it, the Indians of India, the Kamekhtans, and the pagan Greenlanders hold the breaking of an old custom to be one of the greatest of sins (Hopkins, Religions of India, London, 1885, p. 321; see also a paragraph in the appendix to Religions of India, by C. A. Seligman and T. W. Rhys Davids, London, 1874, p. 274; Rink, Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo, London, 1875, p. 214.) while violation of custom provokes the wrath of the deified ancestors amongst the Basuto (Casalis, Trans. Brit. Assoc., London, 1861, p. 254); disaster and harm follow such infringement amongst the Ewe and Alents (Ellis, Ewe-speaking Peoples, London, 1890, p. 233; Elliot, Alaska and the Seal Islands, New York, 1886, p. 170); and the Ainn, in such an event, fear the wrath of the gods (Batchelor, Ann. of Japan, London, 1892, p. 243.). Whether, however, Wundt is right in saying (op. cit. p. 134) that 'custom was at first an act of worship' seems open to question.

With the evolution of a specific concept of law, a distinction may be drawn between law and custom, as when Plautus (Trin. 1033, 1037) makes Stasinius say:

'Ambitio iam more sancta, liberat a legibus, ... Moras longum perpetuum iam in postestate sanat; ...

and a few lines further on he utters the profound truth, valid even when taken in the cynical spirit of its speaker:

'Leges omnium serviorum'—a phrase which, like the Talmudic maxim, 'Custom always precedes law' (Soferim, xiv. 18), might well serve as the motto for almost any treatise on the origin of law; while in like manner Justinian expressly says that 'long prevailing customs, being sanctioned by the consent of those who use them, assume the nature of laws' (Instat. i. ii. 9).

When it becomes possible to draw such a distinction between custom and law, infringement of the former, unless distinctly coincident with and protected by law, no longer constitutes an offence of which legal cognizance must be taken, although so advanced a code as the Jerusalem Talmud (Pos. iv. 5) only authorizes the transgression of custom equally with transgression of law—a survival of some such stage as that of the African Wanika, amongst whom, 'if a man dares to improve the style of his hut, to make a larger doorway through his huts he is to be punished, even if he should wear a finer or different style of dress to that of his neighbor.'

The strictly legal distinction between lex, mor, and comitutudo is thus illustrated by Isidor of Seville (Etymol. v. iii. 24.)

Lex est constitution scripta. Morium est ratio principiorum, lex non scripta. Comitutudo est antem ista constitutionum, quae non leg sucepta, cum legem ratio committit.

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read many pages of a book dealing, say, with the peoples of Africa or of Polynesia, he will find mention of customs that seem to him ridiculous, disgusting, or immoral—all of which judgments, from the point of view of his own civilisation, may be perfectly true. And yet, in the words of Wundt (op. cit. p. 284),

"the moral value of the personality is relative; it varies with the stage of development to which moral ideals have attained."

Judgment of the moral value, whether of the individual or of society, depends upon the absolute value of its opposition and action, but upon the relation of these to the stage of moral evolution already achieved.

And yet, the separation between custom and law is by no means complete, even from the legal point of view; for it is custom, as is well known, that forms the basis of the vast body of common law in England, whence it was adopted in N. America. And advanced ideas, of the kind of the letter, are the nearest of all to the ideas that we may be postulated to have here. Suffice it to say that a custom, to be enforceable at common law, must be both definite and reasonable, and that it must have been used uninterruptedly and undisputedly so long that the courts can with reasonable certainty, in the contradiction of this latter phrase being understood to mean from the accession of Richard I. in 1189 (whence the rejection of particular customs in the United States, since none such could there possibly date from before that period).

Law, being normally derived from custom, is for the most part in harmony with it; so that in practically every affair of everyday life one avoids all conflict with law if one simply follows custom. And the law is just as closely in line with the custom as in the contrast, such may be its relation to law.

In this case the law in question—whether as being due to the caprice of the ruler or to the more advanced ideas of the governing classes—is not, as is usually the case of a law, derived from custom, but from the weaker source of individual, class, or other minority requirements. Under these conditions law usually accords to custom and remains a mere dead letter, so that, for instance, "under the Hindu system of law, clear proof of usage will outweigh the written text of the law" (Mayne, Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage, Madras, 1875, p. 41); while the Roman jurists (Instit. I. ii. 11; Digest, I. 44) laid down the maxim that a law may be abrogated by deserting it for contrary usage. Nay, law being even more conservative than custom, the change of custom may be such that a law—even one which initially may have been given the most just ground by its necessity—becomes to be so much behind and below the altered custom that it is resolved, for this very reason, into a mere dead letter, and must either fall into oblivion or be amended to meet the changed conditions of the social organism. In general it may be postulated that no law can be enforced against the prevailing custom; even chiefs and kings, with the apparently despotic powers that attach to them in primitive society, prove unequal to the task (cf. the examples quoted by Westermarck, op. cit. p. 362); and the lamentable failure of many laws designed for the highest benefit to society and drafted by men of unimpeachable ethical character proves—were proof necessary—that custom is really supreme over law in the highest as well as in the lowest stages of civilization.

As has already been noted, custom is subject to the most complete transformations, both in motive and in manifestation. Before the average man has any notion of the起源 of a particular custom, the custom may have been long established. A practice of common law formerly prevalent in France, as in the custom of Normandy, of Paris, etc., and the same was true of Germany almost until the close of the Middle Ages.
shall be either performed or omitted, and, provided that this demand is fulfilled, it takes no notice of the motive of the agent or the expectation of future reward. If the course of conduct prescribed by the custom is not observed, the mental facts connected with the transgression, if regarded at all, are dealt with in a rough and ready manner, according to general rules which hardly admit of individualisation.'

This brings up the difficult problem of how far one ought to conform to a custom which he deems not merely unmoral and incorrect, but immoral and wrong. To adopt an indifferent custom no one, unless he be finically hyper-ethical or—as is here more usually the case—wantonly iconoclastic (i.e. delighting in beating custom as custom), should object to accord with its ethical end, especially if he be not other than merely to avoid disturbing social amenities or to avert unfavourable comment on the score of oddity and 'crankiness.' 'If,' writes the great Apostle of the Gentiles, 'meat maketh my brother to stumble, I will eat no flesh for evermore, that I make not my brother to stumble.'


CUSTOM (Hindu).—The Sanskrit word is ऐकारण, 'religious custom,' establishep usage. The binding force of custom is fully recognized in the Sanskrit law books. Thus it is stated in the Code of Manu (i. 106) that ऐकारण is transcendental law, and that, therefore, a twice-born (i.e. high-caste) man should always be careful to follow it. The whole body of the sacred law (ahara), according to a favourite scheme, is divided into three parts—ahara (rules of conduct), agnivarna (rules of government and judicature), and pranagishtkita (penance and expiation). The well-known Code of Yajñavalkya comprises the following subjects under the head of ऐकारण: purificatory rites (śraukṣa); rules of conduct for young students of the Veda; marriage and duties of women; the four principal classes and the mixed castes; duties of a Brahman household; miscellaneous rules for one who has completed his studenthood; rules of lawful and forbidden diet; religious purification of things; śradhās, or oblations to the manes; worship of the deity Gānapati; propitiatory rites for planets; duties of a king. See Dharma and Law (Hindu).

CUSTOM (Muslim).—See Law (Muslim).

CUTTING.—See Mutilation.

CYBELE (Kybēle).—The Great Mother Deity of the Phrygians, known also, almost exclusively, in the cult language of the Romans, as the Great Mother of the Gods, or the Great Idean Mother of the Gods (Magna Deae Mater, Mater Deae Magna Ideae). Her worship had its origin in Asia Minor in pre-historic times, possibly prior to the advent of the Phrygians, which is placed at about 900 B.C.; became prominent in early historic times in Galatia, Lydia, and Phrygia, where the various forms of the Cybele legend agree in localizing the worship of the godess, which was most strongly centralized in Phrygia. Its most sacred seat in the East was at Pessinus, a Galatian city near the borders of Phrygia, but once a part of the great Phrygian Empire, where the symbol of the goddess, a small meteoric stone, was preserved. From Asia Minor the cult spread to Thrace and the islands, and finally reached Greece, though it never became popular there owing to its un-Hellenic nature. In 294 B.C., in response to an oracle to the effect that Hamilcar could be driven from Italy if the Idean Mother were brought from Pessinus, the sacred stone was transferred to Rome, and the cult was adopted by the State and located on the Palatine (Livy, xxix. 10-14). It first became of great importance during the reign of the Roman Empire, when it spread from Rome as a centre to all the provinces. Like the cults of Mithra and Isis, it was one of the most obstinate antagonists of Christianity, and disappeared only after the long struggle between the two, in which the influence of the goddess, in the victory of Theodosius over Eugenius in A.D. 394, is known of her in Greek and Roman times. She was identified by the Greeks with Rhea, Ge, and Demeter, and by the Romans with Tellus, Ceres, Ops, and Main. She was known as the universal mother—of gods and men, as well as of the lower creation—though her character as the mother of wild Nature was especially prominent, as was manifested by the orichaloric vigour of her worship, her sanctuaries on the wooded mountains, and her festivals, the Adonis and Attis, which were connected with the world of plant life (see ADONIS). The priests of Cybele in historic times were eunuchs called Galli, who first appear in Alexandrian literature about the 3rd cent. B.C. Clad in female garb, they wore their hair long and fragrant with ointment, and celebrated rites to the accompaniment of flutes, cymbals, tambourines, and castanets, yelling and dancing themselves into a frenzy until their excitement culminated in self-sorcing, self-incororation, and exhaustion. Their consecration to the service of the goddess sometimes consisted in self-emasculation. Priestesses also took part in the cult.

Like Venus and Adonis, Isis and Osiris, etc., Cybele and Attis were worshiped in the Roman world, and formed a duality symbolizing the relations of Mother Earth to her fruitlete, the birth, growth, self-castration, and death of Attis, the son and lover of Cybele, signified the springing, growth, and death of plant life (see ATTIS). A celebration corresponding to the annual spring festival at Rome, which extended over the period March 15-27, thus including the equinox, consisted in a kind of sacred union of Cybele and Attis, and no doubt existed in Phrygia also.
CYNICS

Cynics usually appear in art seated on a throne, draped, with laurel crown and veil, accompanied by lions. The tympanum, cymbals, patera, scepter, garlands, and fruits, and Attis with his attributes, the Phrygian cap, peon, syrinx, and the pine, also appear with her. The so-called Niobe on Mycenaean Sigillo is a Cynic, and the Cynic of Permeia, now in Copenhagen, is one of the best sculptural representations of her. She inspired no piece of art of the first class. In literature no important work except Catoineus xiii. is devoted to her. Tragedy, the Cynic was frequently mentioned in the literature of the Empire. Her religious importance lay in her mysticism and in the closeness of her contact with the common people, and was very great in spite of the gross practices which grew up around her cult.

LITERATURE.—See references under art. Great Mother and Attis. GRANT SHOWMAN.

CYCLE.—See CALENDAR, ARTHUR, CUCULAINN CYCLE, etc.

CYCLOPS.—See GIANTS.

CYNICS.—The name is derived from κύς, 'dog,' with which it was connected in several ways. (a) To the east of Athens, beyond the Diomede gate, on a spur of Lycabettus, was a gymnasion kept by the Cynics. (b) Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynic school, was a pupil of Socrates, his second son Kynosarges is compounded of κύς and ἰχθύς, lit. 'white dog.' The story ran that the gymnasion stood on or near the site of an ancient sanctuary of Heracles (the Cynic tutelary, cf. Wicke, Die mythologischen Salons von Berlin, 1885, ii. 102 f., 130), and that, on the first occasion of sacrifice to the hero, a dog rushed in and seized a portion of the offering. The designation refers, possibly, not to the colour of the dog, but to the flash-like effect of its speed upon the spectator. (b) The epithet 'dog' was soon adopted by Cynic teachers—Antisthenes, the 'downright dog,' Diogenes, the 'royal dog'—doubtless as a symbol of their return to the 'simplicity' of animal nature, of their renunciation of artifices, and handlings (cf. Plato, Rep. ii. 375 f., v. 415 f.). It was also applied to them by their opponents for less flattering reasons, connected with displays of asceticism, coarseness, and immoderacy (cf. Winckelmann, Antiath. Fragn., 1842, p. 8 f.). (c) Eventually the epithet became so associated with the sect in the popular mind that the Corinthians placed a marble dog upon the pillar erected by them over the grave of Diogenes.

1. History.—(a) Personal.—The Cynics flourished prosperously for about a century after the death of Socrates (399-299 B.C.). As their teaching contemplated a way of life rather than a philosophical system, and as their works are lost, or known only in fragments and by late reports or second-hand, we are not informed in detail about the history of the sect. Indeed, Antisthenes, Diogenes, and Crates excepted, many representatives are little more than names to us. Antisthenes of Athens (c. 444-374 B.C.), at first a pupil of Gorgias the Sophist, and a 'late learner' (cf. Plato, Soph. 251) with Socrates.—Plato implies too old to learn,—founded the Cynic sect (c. 380 B.C.). He was his master's most notable, most popular, and most powerful follower. He appears to have won many disciples, not only of the sect principally, where he was sold as a slave to Xenides, whose son he taught. Among them were Menippus, a slave from Syracuse, an admirer of the youthful Diogenes, and his disciple who wrote a Dialogue with Indian wisdom and the Cynics (cf. U. Grote, Plato and the Other Companions of Sokrates), 1853, i. 158); his sons, Phulius and Androcrates; Alexander Drynnus, and Hegesippus Chusus of Sinope. More distinguished associates, eminent for other reasons than their more close connexions with Cynicism, were possibly, perhaps, the 'Good' (c. 402-317), the Athenian statesman whom Demosthenes describes as being with Alexander the Great. Among the recent, the orator, rhetorician, and teacher, c. 310), the influential Megarian (see Megarians), whose combination of Cynic moralism with genuine devotion to metaphysical speculation had paved the way for this new type of the 'wandering philosopher,' who, for the wandering philosopher overcame the opposition of her parents to the unproportioned union; her brother, Metrocles, whose social influence seems to have had a profoundly conservative influence. Unlike her, the Cynics were governed by the general convictions to the Cynic. Plato's Diogenes, the Athenian, taught his inflated (cf. Diogenes Laert. ii. 9, 35). Crates counted among his followers his wife Hyparrhenia of Maroneia, a woman of good family, who renewed the Cynic spirit through the wandering philosopher; to the wandering philosopher overcame the opposition of her parents to the unproportioned union; her brother, Metrocles, whose social influence seems to have had a profoundly conservative influence. Unlike her, the Cynics were governed by the general convictions to the Cynic. Plato's Diogenes, the Athenian, taught his inflated (cf. Diogenes Laert. ii. 9, 35). Crates counted among his followers his wife Hyparrhenia of Maroneia, a woman of good family, who renewed the Cynic spirit through/s.
CYNICS

(490-43 B.C.). The difficulty was to adjust the 
πολιτεία to empire, the particularism of the Greek
citizen to the universalism of mankind; and it
took shape in the lengthy controversy about 
φιλοκλήρον and φιλοκοιμᾶτος (see Castiglione), the
Cynics playing the respective role (cf. Dewey-Tattus, 
Ethics, 1908, pt. i. ch. vii.). Very briefly, the
development of the Hellenic municipal societies
had been as follows. The corporate family was
an outgrowth of the chief religion, and shared in
religious sanctions (cf. Solon, frag. 12). Thus,
domestic law and the rule of the family-group
were integral parts of the 'Divine favouring fate'
within a man (cf. Findar. Of. ii. 94, lx. 28, 109,
Andokid. iv. 135, 158, 160, 161, vii. 18). While
the civic law and municipal government were evolved
gradually on this basis (cf. Fuscel de Coulanges,
La Cité antique, Paris, 1895, bk. iii. ch. xvii.;
bk. vi. ch. i.). Local customs, conventions, and
laws thus acquired great authority, and overrode
private life to such an extent that it hardly existed
in the modern sense. The State claimed the
citizen's time, intelligence, service,—his whole life
even,—in return for the inestimable advantages
beneath the civic state. Plato and his friends, with
them could a man enjoy a worthy human
career (cf. S. H. Butcher, Some Aspects of the Greek
Genius, 1904, p. 47 f.). Accordingly, individual
independence did not flourish—the man had not
emerged from citizenship. So the opposition
between old norms and new experiences remained
latent, more or less, till the Sophists (q.v.) broached
it with their pupils, and Aristophanes and Euripides,
each in his characteristic way, ventilated it before
the public as an important issue. The Hellenic side of
the controversy most probably reached the Cynics
through the influence of Gorgias upon Antisthenes;
the practical or social deductions through Socrates,
to whom, in his last years, Antisthenes resorted.
But the Cynics were 'imperfect' Socrates, who
interpreted the Athenian sage in a fashion of their
own, and it must be confessed that Socratic
'irony' and contemporary socio-political changes
gave colour to their anarchism.

The social conditions are perplexing, because
they oscillated in a twofold movement. On the
one hand, and negatively, the decay of age-old
beliefs (cf. Aristophanes, Nub. 306 f., 1690 f., 1420 f.;
Plato, Rep. ii. 338-353) sapped confidence in the
absolute and immutability in the individual,
justifying its pervasive interference with the individual,
by rendering sufficient return? This question—
its terms becoming clearer gradually—provoked
inquiry; the sequel was reflective ethics. And,
as relexion bodies search for a stable principle, the
possibility that this had not been found was
implied. Hence a critical movement in thought.
The Peloponnesian War (431-405) forced similar
issues upon the average man in daily life (cf.
Thucyd. III. 40-44, 52, v. 89). The general
assurance of high vocation that nurtured Pindar,
Themistocles, Ἀθηνάος, Sophocles, Pericles, and,
as a glorious consummation, Plato, beat feebler,
and feebler. On the other hand, and positively,
new men broke into the ancient race, bringing
new associations. Traditional civic usages bore
less meaning for them, because they did not share
the compensation to the full. Necessarily, they
felt other aspirations, and gravitated towards
other standards. The strains of war drove the
rural population upon Athens, just as, during
prosperous peace, strangers had flocked to her
gates. Inaction and demoralization bred a pro-
letariat, neither citizen nor slave, which strangled
the ordinary resources of government. In addition,
the marvellous instances of individual development,
the glory of the Periclean epoch, set a potent
example. And the energies and personalized
nais here manifested had to find fresh channels.
Pericles could say: 'We [Athenians] alone regard
a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not
as a harmless, but as a useless, member of society'
(Thucyd. ii. 60). If a citizen was drunk or gone,
this social unity lost its power to charm.
Accordingly, what more natural than that
'social reform' should attract many?

What more natural than that they should concentrate upon
the personal ideal, αιρετικ                       
Dornker, 1903 [Eng. tr. 1895], vol. ii. bk. iv. chs.
i—iii.?' The 'honest man is Nature's noble'
(Eurip. frag. 336). But, what may 'honest' mean?
The Cynics were to extract their answer from
Socrates (q.v.).

Plato makes Socrates speak as follows, in his
famous speech of defence:

'If you say to me, "Socrates, this time... we will let you off,
but upon one condition, that you are not to inquire and
speculate in this way any more." ... I should reply: "Men of
Athens, I honour and love you; but I shall obey God rather
(useful relation for the citizen). In practice, man
ceased from the practice and teaching of philosophy, esteeming
any one whom I meet after my manner, and convincing him,
saying: "O my friend, why do you see me, or why do you
look at me, as a great and mighty and wise city of Athens,
care so much about laying up the greatest endowment
its reputation, and so little about wisdom and truth and the
greatest improvement of the soul, which you never regard or
heed at all? Are you ashamed of this?"

This represents the Socratic spirit admirably.

But Socrates left no methodical system, nor did he
prescribe specifics for social ills. Devotion to the
Athenian State, and respect for the higher personal
life, were the poles of his character and teaching.
He could say of the State:

'Our country is... higher and holier far than mother or
father. Whomever they punish by the law, ... the punishment
is to be endured in silence. Whether in court or in any other place, he [the citizen] must do what his city
and his country order him... This is the voice which
to see murmuring in our ears, like the sound of the flute
in the ears of the mystic' (Plato, Crito, 41, 54; cf. J. Adam,
Eurip., 1888, Introd. p. xiv f.).

That is, Socrates preserved intact the old Greek
consecration to the κίθαρις of the City-State, with its
subordination of the individual to the community
as the will of the gods, and as the most valuable
and, in this view, he identified himself completely with Athens, whose
vicinity he seldom left (cf. Plato, Crito, 52). But,
at the same time, touched by the ampler experience
of the new age, he strove to universalize the individual, and
broaden the old civic law into a court of
rather a teleological system or no, becomes thus for
Socrates a secondary question; and what he is
mainly interested to maintain is that each man for
himself should work out such a system in his own
life' (Th. Gomperz, Evolution of Theology in the Gr.
Philosophers, 1904, i. 70). Socrates could, there-
fore, declare to Antiphon: 'To have no wants at
all is, to my mind, an attribute of godhead;
to have as few wants as possible, the nearest approach
to godhead' (Xenoph. Mem. i. 6). That is, his
asceticism was no end in itself, but necessary to
the desire to secure due scope for the higher
activities of manhood. The positive purpose thus
involved a negative, and was not satisfied, or
enforced, by anything. Now Socrates lived
all this, but left no authoritative exposition of it.
Accordingly, his 'imperfect' followers seized upon
one particular aspect of his personality, and pushed
it, to the exclusion of the compensating factors.

The Cynics are the vanguard of that belief
that they placed freedom in actual renunciation
of so-called superfluities' (Hegel, Writings, 1842,
xiv. 139, Eng. tr. Hist. of Phil., 1892, i. 490-81).

Historical circumstances occasioned their revolt
from the community, and the ideal of the 'wise
man' will not govern himself according to
enacted laws, but by the law of virtue (Antisthenes,
ap. Diog. Laert. vi. 11). The sole authentic
citizen is citizenship of the world (Diogenes, ib. vi.

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63). In short, under stress of social exigency, the Cynics abstracted Socratic independence from the church and cloistered it. The freedom and relevance of the doctrine of virtue, and identified virtue with unbridled protest against social relations. ‘Bury me on my face,’ said Diogenes to Xenides, ‘for, ere long, everything will be turned upside down’ (Diog. Laert. vii. 31–32). The Cynics lost, recollection that the Socratic dialectic was an incident means to disclose of the fundamental principles of morality. They could think only of the barefooted old man, indefinitely disputing in the open streets, and setting himself against wealth (Grant, Ethics of Aristotle, 1874, i. 171). Thus minded, they turned upon contemporary norms and, holding nothing holy, flouted human ties scornfully, violently, and coarsely.

21staching.—(a) Theoretical.—A venlyy the Cynics were bent upon a practical end. Indeed, it is often asserted that they repudiated scientific training and mental culture, with no little estentation. This is probably an over-statement. It would be easy, owing to the fact of their super-ordinated scientific inquiries to the attainment of virtue, regarding intellectual discipline as indifferent in itself. Thus, while they combated men of the Plato type, and held aloof from the contemporary schools, there seemed no escape the theoretical problems of their age. Logic and epistemology, it is true, had not reached clear definition; this had to await Aristotle. Never-theless, with the Sophists, if not earlier, the ques-tion of the relation between logic and thought had asserted itself, sometimes in logomachies that seem trilling to us. And, in this connexion, a distinct negative or critical movement became manifest in the writings of Antisthenes, for example (cf. K. Prantl, Gesch. d. Logik, Leipzig, 1855, i. 331; G. Grote, op. cit. i. 122 f.), with whom the Cynics had some affinities, revolved in ‘eristic’ gymnastics. The Cynic leaders, Antisthenes and, probably, Diogenes, evinced kindred tendencies, as their fragmentary remains, scattered references in Plato and Aristotle, and the reports of later writers indicate. Possibly the same was true of Crates, Moninus, and their followers. In other words, the philosophy of the Cynics, for example (cf. Tisiast, Tisias, and his companions of one of his chief exponents, Tisias, had impressed the Athenians with it, on the occasion of the Leontine embassy (427 B.C.), when Antisthenes was leader of the embassy. The future Cynic leader became a pupil of Gorgias, and then taught rhetoric before joining the Socratic circle. And, while it is likely that the epideictic ‘display,’ entitled the Controversy between Ajwax and Oeudoxas for the Athenian orator (Plato, Gorgias), list the writings of Antisthenes preserved by Diog. Laert. (vi. 155 f.) proves that he was a prac-titioner, not only of rhetoric, but also of dialectic, with its more or less subtle and verbal treatment of terms. In addition, one must recall that Cynics, orator, as a practical art, employing both rhetoric and dialectic, dates from Gorgias (cf. F. Blass, Die attische Beredenskiit v. Gorgias bis zu Lykias, Leipzig, 1868, p. 1 f.), and that, as a result of the be repaired to Socrates at least, Antisthenes must be a master of the stone on the Pyx’ master of Athens (cf. E. A. Freeman, Historical Essays, 2nd series, 1873, p. 125 f.), rhetoric and dialectic came to be of extreme utilitarian consequence to the Athenians (cf. Diog. Laert. xi. 257). Language was now a potent weapon, and the study of terms indispensable. Accordingly, we are forced to conclude that, whatever slight Antisthenes and his followers may have put upon ‘rhetoric,’ and did not escape the theoretical problems of their age. Logic and epistemology, it is true, had not reached clear definition; this had to await Aristotle. Never-theless, with the Sophists, if not earlier, the ques-tion of the relation between logic and thought had asserted itself, sometimes in logomachies that seem trilling to us. And, in this connexion, a distinct negative or critical movement became manifest in the writings of Antisthenes, for example (cf. K. Prantl, Gesch. d. Logik, Leipzig, 1855, i. 331; G. Grote, op. cit. i. 122 f.), with whom the Cynics had some affinities, revolved in ‘eristic’ gymnastics. The Cynic leaders, Antisthenes and, probably, Diogenes, evinced kindred tendencies, as their fragmentary remains, scattered references in Plato and Aristotle, and the reports of later writers indicate. Possibly the same was true of Crates, Moninus, and their followers. In other words, the philosophy of the Cynics, for example (cf. 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Gorgias bis zu Lykias, Leipzig, 1868, p. 1 f.), and that, as a result of the be repaired to Socrates at least, Antisthenes must have been carried away by it. The fibes of Plato (Phaedo, 101 D f.; Rep. ii. 372 D, v. 454 A f.; Theaet. 155 E; Soph. 231 B, 230 D; Philol. 14 D f.), Aristotle (Met. iii. 29 f., iv. 29, v. 5; Rep. i. 11), and other (e.g. Philo’s references of Atticus.) indicate, that Antisthenes and the rest either re-launched into ‘sophistic’ quibbling in theory, or failed to keep step with the contemporary advance of scientific inquiry. For, even if Xenophon’s tes-timony to the contrary, to think that the Megarians (e.g. Xen. Rep. iv. 41 f.) be suspect on account of his evident Cynic leavings, the references of Plato (Crotul. 389 f.; Philol. 44 C f.; cf. K. Barlem, Antisthenes u. Platon, 1881; K. Urban, Uber d. Erwaungungen d. Philos. d. Antisthenes in d. plato. Schriften, 1852; F. Dümmler, Akademiker, Giessen, 1889, p. 148 f.), the partial admission of Aristotle (Met. v. 29), his serious refutations (clo Soph. Eth.; xx.; Isth. ii. 24), and the remark of Cicero (de Nat. Deor. i. 13) warrant the probable conclusion that Antisthenes had once known better, and still posied as a disciple of Socrates (this would be Plato’s view), he had reverted to the empiricism of Gorgias, and had fallen thence into theoretical skepticism, regarding ‘science’ as negligible except for purposes of direct utility, as with Hippas—had become, in short, a ‘barbarian.’ In a word, although they started from the Socratic insistence upon definition, the Cynics never reached theoretical solutions; in fact, they regarded them as impossible, perhaps even as worthless.

Remembering, then, that Logic had no inde-pendent existence, the little that we know of Cynic logie may be traced to Socrates, for its primary impulse, and to the Sophists, especially Gorgias and Hippias, for its content. The effort of Socrates
to define the ideal Good, to replace a physical or cosmological by a logical ethos, had not reached complete success (cf. Nicom. Mem. iii. 9, 11, li. 8, 3, i. 3. 2). It was an aspiration rather than a final achievement. The problems therefore were: (1) to formulate a definition carrying universal validity; (2) to state its content; (3) to explain how it is realized. If the Sophists and Cynics were in the fragmentary state of Cynic logic as we have are remnants of a theoretical effort connected with the first problem; Cynic ethics, a practical reply to the second and third. The former represents a reversion to the Sophic conception, the latter reflection of a new emphasis upon, and isolation of, one aspect of the person of Socrates, filled out probably, as regards its inconsistent universalism (cosmopolitanism), by elements drawn chiefly from the teaching of Hippias.

Turning to the logical side, then, we find that for Antisthenes a satisfactory definition must be the statement of the essence of a thing. But, seeing that things consist of parts, the only definition possible must be the enumeration of the parts as actual components of a whole (cf. Plato, Soph. 251 f). Accordingly, the thing itself, being simple, is indefinable; it may be named, but the name tells nothing of the essential reality (cf. Aristotle, Met. iii. 4). The defect Plato would have pointed out in the Sophism he had, said, when Plato was talking to him about 'ideas' and using the terms 'tableness' and 'cupness', "I see a table and a cup, but I see no 'tableness' or 'cupness'" (Diog. Laert. vi. 55; cf. Plato, Parm. 152 B). That is, according to Cynic epistemology, general ideas exist solely in the mind, individual things alone are real. This is the earliest distinct expression of Nominalism. Logically, it results in the conclusion that a proposition is permissible except judgments of identity. 'Man' and 'good' are different from one another. You cannot predicate 'good' of 'man'; you can say merely, 'man is man', 'good is good' (cf. Plato [7], Hipp. Maj. 304 A; Grote, op. cit. ii. 47). Turning to the assertion, put into the mouth of Dionysodorus by Plato (Enthydus. 286 B), that contradiction (or error) cannot occur. If so, the paradox issues that false and contradictory propositions are impossible is not a mere and unanswerable theory. That is, as question of logical 'form', to which such reasoning might apply, in the sense that 'form' does not guarantee truth, had not yet been considered independently, the Cynics meant, perhaps, that an applicable logico-mathematical system of many subjects, could not be attached more exclusively to one than to another. But we are able only to conjecture as to this (cf. Plutarch, aed. Colot. 1119 C f. [ed. Bernardakis, vol. v. p. 45 f]; Plato, Parmen. 150 f.). In any event, however, it is evident that the conclusion of the matter is in the Sophistic vein. Objects, when 'composed' of single factors, may be defined. Simple objects ('ultimates'), being perceptible only to sense, are susceptible of no further analysis but are only known as such. The distinction here raised—really between concepts and concepts—is valid enough. But the inference of Verbalism, instead of carrying out a logical and cosmological analysis, leads back to Sophistic scepticism which, once more, is hardly distinguishable from Sensationalism (cf. Aristotle, Met. iii. 5). The Cynics thus seize the negative element in the Socratic dialectic process towards definition, but omit the positive. As a consequence, they entangle themselves in a paradoxical inquiry, such as that typified by Alfred de Musset's question:—Le cœur humain de qui, le cœur humain de quoi? (cf. A. Ed. Chaingnet, Hist. de la psych. des Grecs, i. Paris, 1887, p. 189 f., note 4; Grote, op. cit. i. 168 f., note 1).

(b) Practical.—The ethical doctrines of the Cynics may be traced to the coalescence of several elements; and very probably this is more evident now than it was in the days of the Cynics themselves in their period of transition. But the numerous stories related about their leaders (for the sake of the story), and the scantiness of the documentary evidence, render a dispassionate account very difficult. Still, it is not difficult to recognize fragments at least, can be traced with some certainty: (1) Socrates, the plain, 'common' man, sturdy and independent; (2) the Eleaticism of Antisthenes' teacher, Gorgias; (3) the 'return to nature' of Hippias and Euthydorus; and (4) the momentary exiguities of daily life in Athens and in Hellas.

(1) The Cynics descend from the Xenophontic, not the Platonic, Socrates (cf. S. Ribbing, Ueber d. Verhalt, zwischen d. Xenoph. u. Platon. Herrnhuter, Upsala, 1570; F. Dümmler, loc. cit., and Antiathentika, Halle, 1882). This is the Socrates who, as we saw above, made independence an attribute of godhead (cf. Xenoph. Mem. i. 6). Yet, for him, the restriction of the parts as actual components of a whole (cf. Plato, Soph. 251 f.) accordingly, the thing itself, being simple, is indefinable; it may be named, but the name tells nothing of the essential reality (cf. Aristotle, Met. iii. 4). The defect Plato would have pointed out in the Sophism he had, said, when Plato was talking to him about 'ideas' and using the terms 'tableness' and 'cupness', 'I see a table and a cup, but I see no 'tableness' or 'cupness' (Diog. Laert. vi. 55; cf. Plato, Parmen. 152 B). That is, according to Cynic epistemology, general ideas exist solely in the mind, individual things alone are real. This is the earliest distinct expression of Nominalism. Logically, it results in the conclusion that a proposition is permissible except judgments of identity. 'Man' and 'good' are different from one another. You cannot predicate 'good' of 'man'; you can say merely, 'man is man', 'good is good' (cf. Plato [7], Hipp. Maj. 304 A; Grote, op. cit. ii. 47). Turning to the assertion, put into the mouth of Dionysodorus by Plato (Enthydus. 286 B), that contradiction (or error) cannot occur. If so, the paradox issues that false and contradictory propositions are impossible is not a mere and unanswerable theory. That is, as question of logical 'form', to which such reasoning might apply, in the sense that 'form' does not guarantee truth, had not yet been considered independently, the Cynics meant, perhaps, that an applicable logico-mathematical system of many subjects, could not be attached more exclusively to one than to another. But we are able only to conjecture as to this (cf. Plutarch, aed. Colot. 1119 C f. [ed. Bernardakis, vol. v. p. 45 f]; Plato, Parmen. 150 f.). In any event, however, it is evident that the conclusion of the matter is in the Sophistic vein. Objects, when 'composed' of single factors, may be defined. Simple objects ('ultimates'), being perceptible only to sense, are susceptible of no further analysis but are only known as such. The distinction here raised—really between concepts and concepts—is valid enough. But the inference of Verbalism, instead of carrying out a logical and cosmological analysis, leads back to Sophistic scepticism which, once more, is hardly distinguishable from Sensationalism (cf. Aristotle, Met. iii. 5). The Cynics thus seize the negative element in the Socratic dialectic process towards definition, but omit the positive. As a consequence, they entangle themselves in a paradoxical inquiry, such as that typified by Alfred de Musset's question:—Le cœur humain de qui, le cœur humain de quoi? (cf. A. Ed. Chaingnet, Hist. de la psych. des Grecs, i. Paris, 1887, p. 189 f., note 4; Grote, op. cit. i. 168 f., note 1).
this that there is a human 'nature,' beyond the accidents of citizenship, language, and even race (Eurip. frag. 1050), and that civil institutions are unjustifiable because they interfere with the cultivation of this common possession. As Hippias said, where I reckon to be kinsmen and friends and fellow-citizens by nature, and not by law; for by nature like is akin to like, whereas law is the tyrant of mankind, and often compels us to do many things which are against nature' (Plato, Protag. 337); or, as Isocrates put it: 'Athens... has brought it to pass that the name “Greek” should be thought no longer a matter of race but a matter of intelligence' (Or. iv. 50). Hence Cynic cosmopolitanism. The Cynics proposed to realize this unitary 'nature' by denuding themselves of wants, by eschewing obligation to the 'resources of civilization.' Simplicity, temperance, ability to fend for self, were to be the means to this end. Hence their anarchism.

(4) Even before the Peloponnesian War, the Hellenic world had grown conscious of new displacements, and the course of the struggle accentuated this condition. The polis lacked the flexibility needed to meet the transition. Consequently, men became aware increasingly of a separation between the organized State and transient society (cf. G. A. and W. H. Simcox, Demosthenes and 'Exchines 'On the Crown,' 1872, p. 141). As soon as this was recognized, the gulf between rich and poor widened; the itch for personal recognition brought disregard of social responsibility; and numerous men 'without a country' roamed over all Greece (cf. Isocrates, Ep. ix. 10). The system of education needed to meet this situation afforded the conditions for a new supremacy, the unifying power of the Cynic 'mission.'

The immediate consequence of the semiclubbing of the Cynic 'mission' was the conflict between the organized State and the transient society (cf. Isocrates, Or. xii. 291 f., x. 201 f., xv. 84 f., 239 f.), while, on the other hand, the people were untouched by the things of the spirit (cf. Isocrates, Or. xi. 299, ii. 370 f., xv. 181 f., xvi. 185 f., xx. 97 f.). Indeed, Aristotle asserted later (Eth. Nic. i. 5. 3). Every one was finding fault with his neighbour; the efficiency of democratic government was in doubt. These grave matters were at once the incentives to, and the objects of, the Cynic 'mission.' Unfortunately, hindered doubtless by the temper of the time, the Cynics, who surpassed all in fearlessness, appear to have employed no weapon more potent than contentious abuse, and to have prescribed no remedy more practicable than an impossible renunciation. Better known to the masses than any other teachers, their extravagance and licence rendered them easy marks for ridicule and resentment, so that the seriousness of the evils which they attacked legitimately was overshadowed by the bizarre conduct of the critics. Few, if any, constructive results were accomplished in the 4th cent. as the state of affairs under Eubulus (354-338 B.C.) serves to show (cf. Isocrates [c. 233 B.C.], Or. xv. 270 f.; J. Beloch, Die attische Politik seit Perikles, Leipzig, 1884, p. 173 f.). These influences, then, probably along with others, now irrecoverable, moulded the Cynic ethic.

Although the Sophist was a ἀντιθέτος, the teacher of a practical 'art'—and Gorgias belonged very distinctly to this type—a man of Antithenes' quality, when defection by Sokrates, could easily pick holes in Sophistic practice (cf. Plato, Soph. 269 f.). Moreover, his following, the Diogenes, might retain portions of the Gorgian method (cf. Aristotle, Rhet. iii. 17. 7), the temper never. Seeking reputation and gain, the Sophists could not be entirely disinterested (cf. Xenoph. Cyn. xiii.). Perforce they had to adapt themselves to popular tastes; and Gorgias, consciously, seems to have conformed himself to current prejudices; he certainly had consulted with Sokrates and accepted some of his doctrine. When the time appeared to call for sterner stuff. It was not enough to suggest moral notions by elegant discourses; prosody must be secured. Independence was needed above all else; and this could be justified on condition that it served their ideal purposes within himself (cf. Eurip. Troad. 988; Plato, Rep. ii. 306 E). Thus the Cynics came to regard virtue, not as good, but as the Good, and this as an implicit quality inherent in manhood, made explicit in the 'wise man' (i.e. Sokrates universalized by Cynic pragmatism); for without a universal there could be no philosophy (cf. Plato, Parmen. 136). No matter at what cost, the 'sage' must lead this good good life (cf. Cicero, de Off. i. 41), for on it depended the one great issue of life—self-sufficiency. Everything must be sacrificed for it; indeed, this complete sacrifice was regarded as the essence of virtue. On the other hand, the Cynics, too, the citizens, no longer found absorbing vocations in his citizenship—loyalty was on the wane. Besides, the war produced effects of its own. The unity of Hellenas and the independence of the rival cities proved to be incompatible with the gulf between the rich and poor; new wider; the itch for personal recognition brought disregard of social responsibility; and numerous men 'without a country' roamed over all Greece (cf. Isocrates, Ep. ix. 10). The system of education needed to meet this situation afforded the conditions for a new supremacy, the unifying power of the Cynic 'mission.'
course, to antinomianism (cf. Diog. Laert. vi. 12). Curiously enough, however, they did not advocate quietism (cf. F. W. Rassoul, Marcus Aurelius and the Later Stoics, 1910, p. 511) as a result of their nonconformity and repudiation. The Cynic 'misionary' became a familiar figure, and he lived in face of the public. Like Crates, he was a 'door-opener' (Diog. Laert. vi. 80) but the Cynics set out with a rule, to have been taken more piously than seriously. Nor is this wonderful. Strange as it may appear, the besetting sins of Athenian character—vanity and self-sufficiency—found a new incarnation in the person of Epictetus. The Cynics, no doubt, could idealize even Diogenes (Diog. ii. 24). An overwhelming personality like Socrates transmuted the fluid tendencies of his epoch, and outpaced the average man. No doubt, Socrates was of his age, and could not escape its limitations. Antisthenes and his followers started from this temporary factor, and, by confining the Cynic doctrine to it, impressed the ordinary mind. Rudey enough, perhaps, they proved that Greece still had a conscience. They exercised the magisterial and reproving function (cf. Epictetus, Disc. ii. 21), emphasizing the force and conviction, though not the dignity and sublimity, of the master; yet this very thing freed them from the way of the conclusion on the problem, as the Cynics did in relation to Athenian economic conditions, for example, and—\textit{you have solved it!} 'Vanity of vanities,' saith the preacher, 'all is vanity'; whereas the greatest of the Cynics himself would not accept this as a truth.

It is possible, and too easy perhaps, to judge Cynicism as the temporary exaggeration of a quene. But, after all, it dealt with the immortal things of life, and in later times led to a mark epoch and a system. Epictetus could idealize even Diogenes (Disc. iii. 24). An overwhelming personality like Socrates transmuted the fluid tendencies of his epoch, and outpaced the average man. No doubt, Socrates was of his age, and could not escape its limitations. Antisthenes and his followers started from this temporary factor, and, by confining the Cynic doctrine to it, impressed the ordinary mind. Rudey enough, perhaps, they proved that Greece still had a conscience. They exercised the magisterial and reproving function (cf. Epictetus, Disc. ii. 21), emphasizing the force and conviction, though not the dignity and sublimity, of the master; yet this very thing freed them from the way of the conclusion on the problem, as the Cynics did in relation to Athenian economic conditions, for example, and—\textit{you have solved it!} 'Vanity of vanities,' saith the preacher, 'all is vanity'; whereas the greatest of the Cynics himself would not accept this as a truth.

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pleasures, parallel to that between true and false opinions, is in all probability written with an eye to the Cyrenaic position. It is of great interest also to note that this initial scepticism of theirs led the Cyrenaics to turn aside from scientific inquiry into nature, as from useless speculation (Diog. ii. 92).

The anecdotes told of Aristippus and his biting wit give a vivid commentary on his theory. He seems to have been one of the great experimenters in life: that the Greek philosophers were not afraid to make. Resolute, daring, and self-controlled, on one side it recalls the great Socratic tradition of unsparing obedience in practice to that argument which seemed the best, and even the Socratic scorn for non-essentials; it was better to be a beggar than a duchess; if the first had no money, the second never had manhood (ib. 70). But there is a sinister side as well. Aristippus will take anything he can get from Diogenes, the tyrant of Syracuse. 'I went to Socrates when I wanted knowledge, I come to you when I want money' (ib. 78). He does not demand constancy from his mistresses: what did it matter to him if others sailed in his ship (ib. 74)? Money and what money could get are not to be shunned, but used, and used freely. The evil lies in being bound by our pleasures, not in enjoying them (ib. 75; Stobaeus, Florid, 17, 18). Let them be as vivid as possible, but call it so near indifference, after the four words advocated by the Epicureans, is sooned as nothing better than sleep (Diog. ii, 89)—but let them not defeat their own object by fettering the mind (ib. 66, 67). The 'smooth motion' of ethical pleasure, the rippling motion, the great sea which should never be roused into storm. Though circumstances may prevent the wise man from obtaining this always, yet he will be able to attain more of it, and in a more intense form, than any one else (ib. 90, 91). Aristippus himself was always famous for his easy mastery over all circumstances, prosperous and adverse alike; and the line of Horace (Ep. i. xvii. 24) that pictures him 'at peace in the present, yet striving for greater things' (Tendantem mortuo, fere presentium aquam), gives us Cyrenaicism at its best.

The pressure of the practical problem, how to attain the maximum of individual pleasure, is shown in the divergencies of his successors. Hegesias felt the inevitable pain of life so keenly as to disbelieve in the possibility of anything deserving the name of happiness (Diog. ii. 94). The most that could be hoped for by the wise man, acting for his own interest alone, as a wise man should, was to escape from suffering, and this could be attained best by indifference to external things (ib. 95, 96). Here we reach a strange likeness to the Stotes and Cynics, and, stranger still, we find this leader of what purported to be the school of vivid personal life called by the name of Death's Advocate, and accused of luring men to suicide (ib. 86; Cic. Tusq. i. 83).

Annikaros, at the cost of consistency, gave a gentler touch to the whole system. It is plain that the question between what might be called individualistic and altruistic hedonism, between the pleasure of oneself and the pleasure of others, was coming to the front and pressing for solution. According to Annikaros, there is such a thing as genuine worth as friendship and patriotism (which Hegesias had denied). The wise man would suffer for his country and still be equally happy, although he got little pleasure from it, and pleasure alone was the end of life, and not the means of an reasonable object of choice, yet the wise man would endure for the sake of his friend (Diog. ii. 96, 97).

Theodorus, called the 'Atheist,' seems to have been the closest, both in keenness of intellect and in hardness of temper, to the original founder. Friendship he dispensed with; the foolish could not use friends, and the wise man had no need of them (ib. 98). There was nothing to be ashamed of in theft and adultery and sacrilege, provided one escaped the penalties (ib. 99). He seems to have differed slightly from Aristippus in that he felt the need of laying more stress on the attitude of the mind, and less on the external goods of abundance and pleasure. Thus he was led to say that the vital matters were not 'pleasure' and 'pain,' these in themselves being indifferent, but 'joy' and 'grief,' which in their turn depended on prudence and justice. The best is the interpretation suggested by Zeller for a somewhat obscure passage in Diog. ii. 98, and it is certainly probable.

About the time of the later Cyrenaics, Epicurus was developing a more subtle and elaborate form of the doctrine, and after the 3rd cent. B.C. we do not hear of Cyrenaics as distinguished from Epicureans. See also artt. HEDONISM and PHILOSOPHY (Greek).

LITERATURE.—No writings, other than fragmentary, of the Cyrenaics themselves are in existence. The chief ancient authorities are: Diogenes Laertius, de Clarorvm Philosophorum Vite, bk. ii. 65-204, c. 8, Aristippus (for the ethical doctrines of the school and the character of Aristippus, Paris, 1878; Sextus Empiricus, apud Mathematicum, bk. vii. 190-200) (for the metaphysical position), Leipzig, 1840. See also F. W. A. Mullach, Fragmenta Philosophorum Graeciorum, ii. 397, 407, Paris, 1867, H. Ritter and L. Preller, Historia Philosophica Graecae, Cyrenaici, 324-318 B. C. Goda, 1888, F. Uberweg, Grundzüge der Geschichte der Philos., Berlin, 1840-48, 1890, Frankfort, 1890; E. Zeller, Die Cyrene und die Socratic Schule (in Kiepert), ch. iv. (very clear and thorough, with copious quotations and references) London, 1888; J. E. Erdmann, Grundriss der Gesch. der Philosophie, Berlin, 1850-56 (Eng. tr., London, 1885, 3 vols.); H. Sidgwick, History of Ethics, i. c. §§ 2-4 (brief, but illuminating), London, 1886; G. F. W. Hegel, Geschichte der Philosophie, ii. 1. c. 2.3.2 (the work of a master), Berlin, 1834, W. Peter, in Marius the Epicurean, London, 1856, gives incidentally a vivid though somewhat rose-colored sketch of the system.

F. M. STAWEll.

D

Dacoity.—This term, which is derived from Hindī dākāit, 'robbery belonging to an armed band,' probably from dákān, 'to short,' is now usually employed as an equivalent for brigandage (or, technically, the conspiracy of five or more men to engage in an act of robbery, or the actual commission of such an offence) arising from, or at least existing in, an unsettled condition of some of the administrative districts in India. It is in this sense that it is used with regard to Burna.

Originally, however, it referred to a much more definite and curious condition of society, in which robbery with violence was not only an occupation but a religious and caste duty. Robbery was a hereditary and caste duty, although the ranks of the Dacoits were continually augmented from the outside. The system reached its greatest development in the Native State of Oudh (shortly before its incorporation within the British Dominion in India), owing to the incapacity of its native rulers,
But it was also prevalent in nearly every Native State, and was encouraged by the rulers, who shared in the proceeds of the robberies and the plunder of the Dacoits. The Dacoits rarely committed their depredations near their native haunts, or even within the State which harboured them. As their victims were usually strangers, the Dacoits were not the objects of fear and hatred on the part of their neighbours, who were not, therefore, anxious to betray them to the authorities. Their raids were carefully planned, and the members of an expedition made their way to their rendezvous singly or in smaller forays, the robbers either as water-carriers or as bullock-drivers. After carrying out their plans, they made their way back to their jungle fastnesses with almost incredible rapidity. As a rule, they preferred to avoid bloodshed, but on occasion they did not scruple to take life.

The Dacoits were usually of low caste, and their social and religious customs were of a totemistic character, exogamous marriage being the practice. Reformers, and especially those who planned the destruction of the Dacoits, were favourable, and after the exercises of religion. The deities of most of the Dacoit clans or sopts were Kail or Devi (an axe sacred to her being carried by Dacoit leaders in Central India) and Shri Ambe (the Corn-god).

The British authorities in India made great efforts in the decades preceding the middle of last century to stamp out the practice, but, as it was rooted in religion and social custom as well as encouraged by people in Native States, the task was very severe; and the evil came to life again when it had been apparently stamped out. But, with the final annexation of Oudh, its great stronghold, no longer proved a shelter for the robbers, and since the Mutiny has been indistinguishable from local brigandage, to the suppression of which the police are adequate.

The attitude of the British authorities to Dacoity, as in the similar case of Tagore (Tagh), affords an instance of interference with native religions and customs; but it brings out clearly the rationale of such action in that the custom must be recognizable of an anti-social and criminal character.

LITERATURE.—J. Hutton, Popular Account of the Things and Dacities of India, London, 1882, p. 374. See also the literature under THAG.

JOHN DAVISON.

DADU, DADUPANTHIS

DADU (A.D. 1544 to 1603) was born in Ahmadabad, of Brahman parents. His father, Lodh Kaim, had left his Shastras and temple services for trade with foreign parts. About the time of the Reformation in Europe and a little before Dadu's birth, a Reformation of Hinduism had spread over all northern India, from Bengal to the Punjab, and southwards to Bombay. Kahir, the founder of the Kabirpanthis (q.v.), had very thoroughly done a reformer's work among the Brahmins, and from whom, under his ninth successor, came the Sikhs, had fought idolatry and superstition in the Punjab. The influence of these two spread far and wide, and hundreds of earnest souls were protesting against superstitions in Hinduism.

Dadu was early affected, and his religious convictions led him to spend his life in preaching the Reformation doctrines over the midlands, between Ahmadabad and Delhi. He lived for a time in Sambhar, where his monument is, and where his coat and sandals are kept as relics and worshipped. Amber, the old capital of Jaipur, was Dadu's home for a time, where a house of his followers still flourishes, and in the modern capital we have the headquarters of the Naga. Dadu visited Delhi, and had an interview with the famous Akbar.

Thereafter he turned his face towards the south, making new disciples and strengthening his old ones, among whom were some nobles. After a year in Amber he went to Naraina, a village about 30 miles S.W. from the capital and 8 from Sambhar, and there died in A.D. 1603.

Dadu left 152 discipies to continue the work among his own and hatred of the outlaws; his teachings are embodied in the Band, a poetic work of 5000 verses. In its 37 chapters various religious subjects are treated, such as: The Divine Teacher, Remembrance, Separation, The Meeting; The Mind, True, False; The Front, the Back; the appendices are set to music, and are suitable for public and private worship.

2. From the Band it appears that Dadu condemned and rejected much that was false and false in Hinduism, and that he re-discovered and taught much truth about God, man, and salvation.

He rejected: (1) The Veda and Quran as ultimate truth; (2) the Vedantic philosophy; (3) ritualism and formalism; (4) the corrupt priesthood; (5) caste and the Brahmins; (6) idolatry; (7) the use of the rosary; (8) pilgrimages and ceremonial ablutions. (9) He threw new light on the transmigration of the soul, holding that all possible to births happen to man's own sense of right and wrong. (10) He taught that the gods Siva, Vishnu, and Brahma were only men who had been canonized. Their pictures and statues had not been made and preserved as object-lessons, to teach men their history. (11) Major, the world, matter, was not evil in itself. The bad man made it evil by using it lead his mind away from God. Wordless words and nothing as all. (12) He again and again says: 'I am not a Hindu, nor a Musulman. I belong to none of the six schools of philosophy. I love the merciful God.'

His doctrines about God, man, and salvation included the following:

'Forsake not the One God. Forsake all evil.' I have found that God is the unchangeable, the immortal, the fearless, the joy-giving, the best, the self-existent, the almighty, the beautiful, the glory-of-all, the pure, the unimaged, the unseen, the incomprehensible, the infinite, the kingly One. He is brightness, ever bright, Blinding, incandescent. He has made all things teach me of God, and I know that He is immanent in the universe, in all its properties and elements.'

God in the Creator.

'So powerful is the Lord, that by one word He created all.'

'His works are wonderful, and cannot be fully understood.

'He alone does to his servants all His servants and is not proud.'

'He created as after a model He had formed; of the Deity, His wisdom, His word, He can see the limit.'

'Where nothing was, He made all; and when He wills it becomes nothing. Become as nothing before Him, and love Him alone.'

God is the Preserver of all.

'I meditate on Him, who preservs all.' I adore the Paramatma, the unapproachable. My God is the Holy One. I worship the pure and unimagined one.'

Man is a creature, and made to worship God.

'Who is so wretched as the man who persuades you to serve other gods?' Not for a moment even let God's name depart from your heart. 'My soul, if now thou knowest not that God's name is the holy name, then shall I repeat and say, What a God I was.'

'The world is an ocean of pain, God is an ocean of joy. Go to this ocean and forsake the useless world.'

Conscience spoke clearly in Dadu.

'I have done very wickedly; be not angry, O Lord. Thou art the God of patience. To Thy servant all the blame belongs. I have forsaken Thy service. I am a sinful servant. There is no other like me so vile. 'I sin in everything. I sin against Thee every moment. O God, forgive me.'

'I am a sinner, O God. My sins are infinite and countless.' From the beginning to the end of my life I have done good; ignorance, the love of the world, false pleasures, unrighteousness have all lived in me. 'I have lived in lust, anger, suspicion, and have not called on Thy name. I have spent my life in hypocrisy and the vain, and my soul is helpless. I cannot deliver myself. My beloved alone can.'

'I am a prisoner. Thou art my deliverer. Save me, O God most merciful.' The evil is in my soul, my heart is full of passion; reveal Thyself and slay all.
DAGAN, DAGAN

mine enemies.' 'My soul is sorely afflicted, because I have forgotten Thee, O God. I cannot endure the pain; deliver me.'

Dādān knows that it is sin which separates the soul from God. The longest period in the Bānī is called the Nārāna (Jaipur). Here Dādān died, and here lives his successor, the head of all the Dādānīs. They all contribute something to keep up the dignity of their head; and here, once a year, a great festival (Mela) is held.

(2) The Nāgās (soldier monks).—Their name, from nāga (naked), refers to the simplicity of their dress when they go to war. Their founder was Sunāra Dās, a Rajput of Bīkānīr, who, seeing the valuable land filled up with stones and the land, trained his followers to serve as mercenaries. There are at present about 20,000 of them, in 9 camps, near the Jaipur borders, which they defend. They have fallen far behind in the modern arms and the drill and arms. They have only the sword, the shield, and the match-lock. They were faithful to England in the Mutiny. They are a fine class of men, and their training to read the Bānī and to arms prevents them from falling into dissipation.

(3) The Utraida.—These have come from a great and prosperous school in the Panjāb. The founder was Bābā Banwarī Dān. These Dādānīs take to medicine and money-lending, and many of them are very rich.

(4) The Vīrakt.—These may not touch money, but have to live on the alms they get. They wear salmon-coloured clothes, and devote themselves to study. They seldom stay long in any place, but are guided by grain and water (i.e., food) in their movements. 'The Master' has with him from one or two to many disciples—boys whom he has adopted and whom he trains. The present writer has seen them travel about in as large a school as 150. They teach not only the Bānī, but also difficult Sanskrit books relating to Literature, Philosophy, and Religion.

(5) The present condition of the Dādānīs.—Hinduism, against which Dādān protested, has, in a modified form, found its way amongst them again. It has come in by way of the intellect, and many are Vedāntins, or followers of the school of Brahma. It also comes by way of the heart, and many use the rosary, worship the Bānī as an idol, and prostrate themselves before the sandals and old clothes of Dādān.


JOHN TRAILL

DAGAN, DAGAN.—I. The Babylonian Dāgan.

In Bab. and Assy. texts a god appears whose name is written with the syllable signs DA-GA-N. The objection of Jensen (Kassoniq, 449ff.) to the phonetic reading of these signs has been set aside by the discovery of new texts in which gan receives a phonetic complement, e.g., Da-gan-na (Vorderas. Bibl. i. 1907 231), and, in the Tell el-Amarna tablets (Winkler, JEA. 1914 251), Da-gan-na (without the determinative for 'god'). We meet also Da-gan-ni, with a different sign for gan (Jensen, op. cit. 419; Jastrow, fcd. Bab. 137); and in one case Da-ga-ru (Vezold, Catalogue 1889-90, iv. 1429).

In Babylonia, Dāgan first appears in personal names on the obelisk of Manishtusu (c. 2400 B.C., Meyer), namely, Kūrub (?) Dāgan (A. v. 8), Gimil-Dāgan (A. xi. 15), and Hi-Dāgan (A. xvi. 7). The 37th year of Dānu, king of Ur, took its name from the building of the temple of Dāgan (Vorderas. Bibl. i. 231). A king of Isin (2145 B.C., Meyer) bore the name of Išū-Dirān, and his son was Išú-Dirān. In the prologue to the Code of Hammurabi (Jb. 27) the king describes himself as 'warrior of Dāgan, his begetter.' Dāgan is mentioned in several other early Bab. inscriptions (Jensen, op. cit. 449). A seal-cylinder published by de Clercq (Cylindres orientaux, 1888, no. 247) bears the name Thalqimu 'Dāgan-abt, servant of Dāgan,' and in the Ira-myths he is mentioned along with Anu (KIB vi. [1900] 60, line 25).

In Assyria this god first appears in the name of the king Ishkān-Dāgan (c. 1900 B.C.). Itti-Marduk-balatu, an Assyrian ruler whose date cannot be determined, calls himself 'the chosen of Anu and Dāgan' (Winkler, Unters., 1889, p. 139). Ashur-
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naṣîrpad (885–560 B.C.) calls himself 'Darling of Anu and Dagûn' (Layard, Pl. I, line 1; W. A. XVII, 181). The cuneiform text of the year 787 B.C. was named Dagân-bel-mûšar (KIB i, 1899). Shamsh-Adad (825–812 B.C.) and Sargon (722–705 B.C.) also mention Dagûn in connexion with Anu (KIB i, 175, ii, [1896] 39, 41). Dagûn is not found in personification of the Sumerian Dagan, but his worship seems to have died out in the later days of the Assyrian empire. Sargon's reference to him is an archaism.

In tablets from the kingdom of Ea, on the lower Euphrates and Sumerland, Dagûn is mentioned in oaths along with Shamash (PSBA xx. [1907] 177 ff., xxxi. [1910] 292; Ungnad, BASS vi. [1909] 5, p. 29; Vorderas, Schriftdenkmler, vii. [1910] 204), and in one of these the personal name of Dagûn occurs. Dagûn is the name of two Tell el-Amarna letters bears the name Da-ya-an-talaka (Winckler, nos. 215, 216). It appears, accordingly, that the cult of Dagûn extended all the way from Babylon to the shores of the Mediterranean.

On the basis of a derivation of Dagûn from dug, 'fish,' many writers have assumed that he was a fish-god, and have appealed to the legend narrated by Berossus (Muller, FHG ii. [1855] 496 ff.; Lecomte, Comptes rendus, 1872, p. 64 ff.; Hirzny, MVG viii. [1903] 292 ff.), that seven beings, half-fish and half-man, came out of the Persian Gulf and taught the primitive inhabitants of Babylon the arts of civilization. The first of these was called Oannes; the second, Amelu; and the last, Odkôn. The last is supposed to be the same as Dagûn; and, on the strength of this identification, the numerous fish-men depicted in Bab.-Assyr. art (Ward, Scul-Glyptiker, 1916, pp. 97, 282. 355 f., 385, 410) have been supposed to be representations of Dagûn (e.g. Layard, Nineveh, 1849, ii. 333 and pl. at end of book; Schrader, Katep., 1852, p. 182; and in Riehm, WHB, i, 1874, p. 250; Menant, BIB xi. [1859] 290 ff.; and most of the later supplements). However, Odkôn is nothing to do with Dagûn, but is the Sumerian fish-god U-du-ki, or Udi-ia-kî, who is associated with the fish-god Šum-zi, the prototype of Onnights (Reissner, Hymn., 1886, pp. 91, 137; Hirnony, MVG viii. [1903] 288). The god of the sea, Ea, the god of the sea, and his attendants; but with these Dagûn is never identified (Jensen, op. cit. 451; Zimmern, Katep., p. 388; Hirzny, op. cit. 261; A. Jeremias, Das AT im Lichte d. alt. Orientes, i, 1915, p. 368; 21 ed.) the identity of the older god of the sea is equated with En-ki, or Eâl, the god of the earth.

In the passages cited above he is associated with Onu, the sky-god, in the manner in which Bêl is ordinarily associated, and in V. A. T. (l. 4, no. 15, line 6 ff., iii. 68, 21 ed.) the identity of the older god of the sea is equated with En-il, or Eâl, the god of the earth.

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It is not known why Dagûn should have had the same form as his spouse. The Sumerian fish-god Udakî has, as wife the corn-goddess Nisaba (MVG viii. [1903] 219).
263), and similarly the fish-goddess Atargatis may have had as consort the corn-god Dagân. (4) Coins of Arados and of Askalon dating from about 330 B.C. depict a triton-like figure holding a trident in his right hand and a fish in his left (head, Hist. Nova, 1887, p. 666; Hoffmann, Zf 211, [1886] 279 t.); Lagrange, Rel. Shom. 131). These are supposed to be Dagân, but there is no proof. They are in pure Greek style, and far more probably depict Neptune. Accordingly, there is no better evidence that Dagân was a fish-god than there is in the case of Dagô. From the seal referred to above we learn that he was one of the ḫâliqa, who in Canaan were pre-dominatingly agricultural deities (Hos 2° 8), and on the basis of coin depictions. According to 1 S 5, Dagân was dispossessed by Jehovah of sending manes which destroyed the crops. This looks like an agricultural divinity. Dagôn must also have been a water-god of disease, since he was attacked by Jehovah's sending famines upon the Philistines (1 S 5° 2). He was also the leader of his people in war, who delivered their enemy into their hands (Jdg 16° 21) and in whose presence they set the ark as a trophy (1 S 5°). He was worshipped in joyful festivals with alebhe sports (Jdg 15° 35). The rite of his cult that is known to us is his priests' avoidance of treading upon the threshold of his sanctuary (1 S 5° 39, Zeph 1° 9).

3. The identity of Dagân and Dagôn.—This is discussed by C. Hesekiel (Kosinol. 19° 18), and by Moore, EB 1° 835); but is accepted by Schrader, Baehogn, Baudissin, Sayce, Bezdôl, Zimmern, Jastrow, Hrozny, and Lagrange. It is probable for the following reasons:—(1) The two names are precisely etymologically identical. Hagôn is a modification of an original ă and is represented in Assyry, either by ā or by ū; e.g. Ammûn, Assyry. Ammûnâ: Ashkîn, Assyry. Ashkînâ. Hence Heb. Dagôn is rightly reproduced by Assyry. Dagôn, or Daingôn (Bezdôl, Catalogue, 1° 1489). The occurrence of the two forms shows that the resemblance is not accidental. (2) The Canaanite Daingôn-tâlûk appears in the annals of Sennacherib as Bit-Daganna. (4) The combination Dagôn-ēlal on the seal referred to above is analogous to the combinations Dagan-Dagon at Babylon, and Dagan-Damna at Tyre. (5) The statement of Philo Byblus (Fiqm 3° 567 1.) that Dagôn was the son of Ouranos and Gê points to his identity with Bêl-Dagôn, the earth-god of the Bab. 1°. (6) The character of Dagôn, so far as we know it, as a national god of agriculture and of war, corresponds to the character of the Bab, Dagôn.

4. The origin of Dagôn-Dagôn. Schrader, KAT, p. 181, 1811, says, Dagôn-Bôṣmam Parnon 1811, p. 139, Sayce (Higher Crit. p. 325) on the basis of the association with Anti, regard Dagôn as a Sumerian deity whose cult was adopted by the Semitic Babylonians, and by them passed on to Mesopotamia and Palestine. This occurs before 2500 B.C. and then only in the inscriptions of Sumerian kings. All the personal names compounded with Dagôn are Semitic, and many of them show the West Semitic type that is frequent in the inscriptions of Hammurabi. Now that it is known that Babylon was invaded by the Amorites about 2500 B.C. and that the first dynasty of Babylon was Amorite (Meyer, Gesch. 2° 1, [1909] 463 ff.), the theory has become exceedingly probable that Dagôn was a god of the Amorites, whose worship was brought by them from their original home into both Babylonia and Palestine; so Bezdôl (Z. A. xxii. 1908 254); Meyer (op. cit. 457), Jastrow (Rel. Bib. 229), Clay (Amunr. p. 147), Cook (Rel. Anc. Palestine, 1908, p. 92). This theory is favoured by the fact that Hammurabi in the prologue to his Code (4. 28) speaks as though Dagôn were the ancestral god of his race.

If Dagôn-Dagôn was originally the god of a people speaking a similar tongue, the most probable etymology for his name is the one given by Philo Byblus (Fiqm iii. 567), and suggested as an alternate by Jerome, that it is the same as Can.-Heb. Amôn, = corn. This agrees with the facts of the case. Jerome notes that Hammurabi in Canaan he was a god of the earth and of agriculture, and that on a seal he is called baal and has the emblem of an ear of corn (so Movers, L. Müller, Schrader, Hrozny, and H. Seid.) and is also represented as the god of crops. Dagôn was amalgamated with a number of other deities, and seems to have had in Canaan a wide sphere of influence. His name, which, as we have seen, is of Egyptian origin, was transferred to the Babylonian country. It is true that he never gained the ascendency over his new patrons, but he seems to have kept his influence as a beneficent and powerful god, who, like the other gods of Canaan, was a god of crops. Nevertheless, he is not regarded by the Babylonians as a god of war, and is not mentioned in their records as such. His festival is the same as that of the Babylonian god, and is celebrated at the same time of the year. The name Dagôn is also found in the Annals of Sennacherib, as Bit-Dagôn, and is also used in the Bible, as Dagôn.

DAIBUTSU (Great Buddha).—The name has been given to several colossal images found in Japan. These vary in size, posture, material, etc.; some indeed are not much larger than the ordinary size of the human body, and scarcely deserve the title of daibutsu, which is properly applied only to those of them are of wood, but the majority are of bronze; some are in a sitting posture, others in a standing one; recumbent figures, such as are seen in Ceylon or Burma, are never found in Japan. The Buddhas represented are those of the First, Second, and Third Dynasties, Avalokîtesvara (Kannon), Ksitigarbha (Jizo), and Sakyanuni, but there are also representations of other Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. For the purposes of this article, three daibutsu only will be considered, the two at Nara, Kokufu-ji, and Kofu-ku. These are the daibutsu that are properly so called.

r. Daibutsu at Nara.—This was erected under the auspices of the Emperor Shomu Tenmô (A.D. 724-749), and was the first great Buddha image in Japan. It is of especial interest to the student of the religious history of Japan, as being connected with Shomû's ambiguous and unsuccessful plan of converting Buddhist Empire firmly on the soil of Japan by proclaiming its essential identity with the Shintoism indigenous to the country. In this plan the Emperor was ably assisted by a Korean priest of the name of Gyôgi, who must be considered the true parent of the Ryôba, or amalgamated Buddha-Shintoism, which continued in force until the Meiji era. Gyôgi's plan was to impress the native mind with the dignity of Buddhism by the erection of a colossai statue. The name of her priestly family could not be done without the sanction of the Shinto priesthood, and the instruments chosen to

4. Gyôgi, the descendant of a Korean king, was born in A.D. 659 in Korea, where his family had been domiciled for some time. Oranied to the priesthood at 18, he soon distinguished himself by his practical schemes for the improvement of the country—educational, etc. He became the head of the power of the Emperor Shomù and his consort Komyo, and inaugurated the movement the amalgamation of the Shintoism and Buddhism which was existing in Japan—unoubtedly with the best of intentions. He died in 749, just before the completion of the daibutsu.
secure their assent were Gyogi himself and the Udaijin Taichiba no Moroye. According to the Daibutsu-engi, Gyogi was sent to Ise, nominally for the purpose of prayer, but actually, it would seem, to confer with the authorities at the Ise shrine. A similar messenger was dispatched to the Hachiman shrine at Usa in Kyushu. The results of these preliminary meetings having been found satisfactory, a formal embassy was sent, with Taichiba no Moroye at its head, to propitiate the deified divinities in a formal reply, conveyed first in a dream to Shōnun, and then in a definite message, that the Great Sun-goddess was pleased to identify herself with Dainichi (‘great sun’) Nyorai, whose true essence was contained in the foundation of that great system which taught the Japanese to see in the gods of Shinto manifestations of the deities of Buddhism, and enabled them to become Buddhists without ceasing to be Shintoists. This act as such was the perpetual memorial of the alliance thus cemented. The casting was completed in 749, the inauguration ceremony was held forthwith, and the whole work was abed in favour of their daughter Hie. Gyogi, feeling the approach of death, then designated a fit person to take his place—an Indian monk of the name of Bodhisena, known in Japan as Baramon Sojo, or the Brahman archbishop. (Japan was at the time feeling the effects of the Muhammadan upheaval. Babooses fuge India, Persia, and Central Europe, gathering at the court of the Tang in Sinaem, had continued their wanderings as far as Japan, and in the reigns of Shōnun and Kōken we find not only Bud- dhist monks from India, but Mahimahams, and even a Nestorian Christian doctor, at the court of Nara.)

When the day for the inauguration of the statue came, Bodhisena mounted the platform and opened its eyes with a brush dipped in water. The whole congregation had its part in the ceremony, for a long string, fastened to the brush, passed among them for those who would take in their lands. The congregation comprised the ex-Emperor Shōnun and the Empress, the reigning Empress Kōken, and all the mag- nates of the court. It was an imposing congregation in another sense, for, in the parlance of the day, Shōnun was an incarnation of Kwannon; Ryōben, who was considered to be the founder of the temple, was looked upon as an incarnation of Maitreya; Gyogi, of Mīrōjin; and Bodhisena, of Samantabhadra. The Buddhist doctrines that were at that point most in vogue in Japan were those known as Kegon, contained in the mystic Scriptures of the Avatamsaka.

The Nara daibutsu has experienced many vicissitudes. In 555 its head fell off and was with difli- culty restored to its position; in 1190, during the civil wars, the temple was burnt, and the head melted. The image remained headless until 1195, when it was restored, through the efforts mainly of Jagen, a disciple of Honen, who had been in China, and who travelled through Japan on a wheelbarrow collecting money. In 1567, the temple was burnt, but the daibutsu remained uninjured. Time, however, has necessitated many repairs from generation to generation. Very little, probably, is left of the Kegon now rem-ains, yet the daibutsu has retained its identity throughout all its changes.

2. Daibutsu at Kyoto.—We have seen that the temple enclosing the daibutsu at Nara was burnt during the civil disorders in 1190. The temple remained in a ruinous condition for many years, and this suggested to Hideyoshi, who became Kwannon in 1553, the idea of reconstructing it on some other site, and of placing in it a colossal image which Hideyoshi's magnanimity but even than the one at Nara, and which should also be a perpetual memorial of himself. In 1586 he selected a site on the Amida-zaka at Kyoto, and commenced the erection of his temple. It did not become Daibutsu (of Lochna-Buddha), 190 ft. in height. The statue, which is in a sitting posture, is 53 ft. in height, 7 ft. higher than the similar image at Kamakura. It stands in the Daibutsu den, or 'Hall of the Daibutsu,' in the Todaiji Temple at Nara, the building for which, in 672, had been commenced by the命题 to erect, and, Hideyoshi being by this time dead, no immediate attempt was made to repair the disaster.

A year or two later, however, Tokugawa Ieyasu, being anxious to reduce the family of Hideyoshi to impotence, suggested to Hideyoshi that the completion of the daibutsu and temple would form a very fitting tribute to the memory of his great father. Hideyoshi and his mother fell into the trap, and ruined themselves financially with the carrying out of this colossal and extravagant design. Hideyoshi's structure was 190 ft. in height, 272 ft. in length, 167 ft. in depth. The roof was supported by 92 pillars, with an average diameter of 3 ft., and the sitting figure of Lochna-Buddha was 53 ft. in height. When the whole was finished, Ieyasu picked a quarrel with Hideyoshi over an insult, real or pret- tended, supposed to be conveyed to him in the inscriptions on the bells. The dedication cere- monies were prepared when it was not long before Ieyasu took up arms against the family of Hide- yoshi and crushed it for ever.

Hideyoshi's daibutsu was destroyed by earthquake in 1602, and the copper used for coinage. No interest attaches to its successors. The present Kyoto daibutsu dates from 1801.

3. Daibutsu at Kamakura.—This image, though smaller than the one at Nara, is much better known. It stands in the open, amidst beautiful surroundings, and is constantly being pho- tographed. No illustrated description of Japan would be complete without it. It is an image of Amida, 49 ft. 7 in. in height, and may be taken as marking an era in Japanese Buddhism. The daibutsu at Kyoto had no real spiritual significa- tion: it was erected by men devoid of religious faith, for purposes of self-glorification. That at Nara symbolizes that union of Buddhism and Shintoism which was made possible by an accep- tance of the principal tenets of the Kegon school, with Vairocana as its chief Buddha. The Kamakura daibutsu is an image of Amida, and marks the period when Vairocana was going out of fashion in Japan, with the sects devoted to his worship, was coming to the front.

It is said that the idea of having a daibutsu at Kamakura first occurred to Minamoto Yoritomo in A.D. 1195, when he was assisting at the cere-
monies of the re-dedication of the Nara image after its restoration. Yoritomo, dying in 1195, did not live to see the completion of his design. It was not, however, suffered to fall to the ground, Ita no Tsunoe, one of the ladies of Yoritomo's court, undertaking to collect funds for the purpose. Its no Tsunoe's efforts were supplemented, by a priest named Dōkō, who was also active in collecting contributions. The image was erected in 1231, the bronze one in 1252. The first was dedicated to Amida, the second apparently to Sākyamuni. But the present image, representing Amida, is said to be the very image erected in 1252, in which case we have an image with a double dedication—to Sākyamuni and to Amida. This, however, presents no difficulty. *Ni son ichi* ('two blessed ones with one personality') is a common doctrine of the Jodo sects, Sākyamuni and Amītābha being looked upon as identical in essence whilst distinct in personality and name. Like the *daiibutsu* at Nara, this image was originally enclosed within a temple. But the temple was destroyed by tidal waves in the year 1369 and again in the year 1494, and no attempt has been made since the last catastrophe to rebuild it. Strange to say, the metal does not seem to have suffered at all from the inclemencies of the weather.

A. LLOYD.

**DAITYA.**—The word *daitya*, the formation of which is explained by Panini (iv. 1, 85), etymologically means 'descendant of Diti,' just like *danava* and *danavas*. If occurring at the beginning of Sanskrit literature from the Epics downwards, and is there synonymous with *asura* and *dānava*, which are already found in Vedic literature. This article must, therefore, treat of all three—Asuras, Dānavas, and Daityas—as denoting one kind of demons or enemies of the gods.

The word *asura* originally had not an altogether evil meaning, and it is still used in the Rigveda as an epithet of the higher gods, especially of Varuna; but even there it has in other places the meaning 'imetical to the gods.' In the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads the latter meaning is exclusively given to the word *asura*, which is the common name of demons as enemies of the gods. Both the Asuras and Danavas are the children of Prajapati. According to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Asuras were created from the downward breathing of Prajapati, and entered the earth; they had darkness in magic (mokṣyit) assigned to them by him, and had to untruth. Originally they had divided the world with the gods, and once built three strongholds, one in each world. But they continually contended against the gods, and, though they were more numerous or more powerful than the latter, they were in the end always defeated by them. Frequently they were put to flight by Indra, with or without the assistance of Bhṛṣṇapati. Thus at last they were driven from the earth and the heavens above.

From these statements it appears that the authors of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads regarded the Asuras as the pre-eminent evil ones; once it is even said that their alleged battles with the gods and their subsequent destruction degraded through their own wickedness. It is, however, to be noted that they are enemies only of gods, not of men; some peoples (the Easterns and others) are even said to be of Asura-nature, and it is added that they make their burial-places round and line them with stones.1 This seems to imply that some peoples were supposed to worship Asuras.2

As regards the second synonym of Daitya, mentioned also in the Satapatha Broahmaṇa, and translated as 'later as dānava, from which it is derived, used in the Rigveda very much in the same sense as the later *asura*. A female dānava is mentioned (i. xxiii. 9) as the mother of Vṛtra (*ätryaputṛ).* She came in later times to be the object of the Daityas, and dānava as well as dānava might be taken as a metonymic from dānava, and mythologists, of course, gladly availed themselves of this etymology in drawing up their legendary genealogies. The word dānava is derived from Diti, as the Dānavas from Dānu; but there is this difference, that dānava was an ancient name for demons which gave rise to a myth of their descent, while daitya is a name derived, after the Vedic period, from a word which was originally not popular, dānava. She is mentioned thrice in the Rigveda3 and several times in the Atharvaveda, almost always in conjunction with the well-known great goddess Aditi, apparently as her sister, and in whom she must have once existed, through a popular etymology which regarded *aditi* as formed by a privative and *diti*, just as *asura* was derived from *sura*. Diti, a product of priestly speculation, would scarcely have given rise to the popular name Dānavas, and it was apparently formed as a 'pendant' of Aditya—a name which already in the Rigveda denoted a class of deities including some of the highest gods, and at the same time had been regarded as a metonymic from the Divine Mother.4

The only myth related of Diti in the Bhārata-yantra (i. 46) and the Purāṇas5 betrays a similar tendency. It is to the following effect:

In the battle between the gods and the Daityas, which ensued on the chartering of the ocean, the latter were worsted and slain. Diti then performed austerities, and asked the gods for a boon, viz. that she might give birth to a son who should vanquish Indra. Kāśyapa granted the boon on condition that she should remain entirely pure for a thousand years. During her pregnancy Indra watched her closely, and at last found her in an impure position. Thereupon he entered her womb, and divided the embryo into seven parts, which became the seven lords of the Murtras, or the Daityas.

The present writer is of opinion that this myth was invented in order to explain that the Daityas are the elder brothers of the gods. For *marut* is also used at least in classical Sanskrit literature as a synonym of *deva*, 'god.' The motive of the myth lies, obviously, in an etymology which derives *diti* from the root *dā*, 'to cut.' The myth itself is evidently not an old one, for it rests on the assumption that the Daityas are the children of Diti, and that they were killed in battle by the gods.

In epic and classical Sanskrit literature, where Asura, Dānava, and Daitya are interchanged in terms, the Daityas continue to be represented as rivals, and, occasionally, as deadly foes, of the gods; but the attitude of the writers has decidedly changed since the composition of the Brāhmaṇas. Thus, the historical epic contains several stories in which the Asuras—Vṛtra, Bali, Sambhara, Namuchi, and others—are spoken of as virtuous and wise;1

1. *Asura* (adv. and subst.) in the Rigveda refers to gods, and not to demons.

2. *Xi. 1. 6, 8.*

3. *Ii. 3. 5, 6.

4. *Ii. 5. 1, 12.*

5. *Ii. 5. 12.*

6. *Irjha Aranyaka, i. 3. 1.*

7. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 3. 1, 5.*

8. *Iv. xii. 1. 6, 9.*

9. According to Boehtlingk-Roth (*Stb. Wörterb.* St. Petersb., 1879, i, 'Diti'), the Diti of the Rigveda is different from the Diti of the Atharvaveda.


11. It may be mentioned that the word *maru* (iv. 38, 82 евр.) contains an entirely different account of the origin of the Murtras; they were formed from the vital seed of the ṛṣi Mahā-kayapā falling into the river Saravati.
and some Asuras are acknowledged by gods as their friends and protectors, e.g. Prahlāda by Viṣṇu, and Kṛṣṇa by Viṣṇu. Moreover, they were not believed to lead a life of wickedness, but to conform to the precepts of the Veda. They had a teacher and priest of their own, a purāṇa, in whose person of the six Vedas, Uṇāsas, a descendant of the great āśīṣa Bṛgūna.

Finally, the abode of the Asuras, Pātāla, is described not as a dwelling-place of demons, but as an equalizing, and even surpassing, abode of the heavens. Dakṣa, king of the Daityas, of whose sons, had these most skilled of all the Vedic authors, is described by his will a son, Kaśyapa, a prajapati, or secondary creator. He married thirteen daughters (putrīkās) of Dakṣa, who was also a prajapati. The first place in the list of these thirteen daughters of Dakṣa is always given to Aditi, who was devoted to Diti; but the latter was the eldest, as is expressly stated in Mahāb. xii. 297, 298. Diti had but one son, Hironyakāśipu, the ruler of the Asuras. He had five sons, Prahlāda, etc.; Viṣṇa had three sons, Virochana, etc.; and Kaśyapa’s son was Bāla, whose son was Rāma. These Asuras and their progeny are, properly speaking, the Daityas; but popular usage takes no account of this genealogy, and regards all enemies of the gods as sons of Diti.

By Dakṣa, the father of Dakṣa, Kaśyapa had 33 or 40 sons, among whom are enumerated the most famous Asuras. The sons and grandsons of these are said to be becomest; they are the Daityas proper, and the above account of the Daityas applies therefore to Kaśyapa’s son by the fourth daughter of Dakṣa, Śimhikā, the famous Asura, Rāhu, whose head was cut off by Viṣṇu, and who ever since persecutes sun and moon, and occasionally swallows them (mythological cause of eclipses), Daityas, the fifth wife of Kaśyapa, became the mother of Bāla and Vṛtra, the Asuras who were killed by Indra; and Kāla, the sixth wife of Kaśyapa, gave birth to the Kālakaṇyas, a class of Asuras. Accordingly, for Mahābhārata v. 62, describing the whole race of Asuras from five daughters of Dakṣa.

According to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Śimhikā was the sister of Hironyakāśipu, and wife of Vṛtra, cñitti, a son of Diti. The same source does not mention the above-named wives of Kaśyapa, or at least does not make them the ancestresses of separate Asura families, there are practically only two races of Asuras acknowledged by the Purāṇa, viz. Daityas, and Asuras.

1 May be mentioned in this connexion that Indra, by killing Bala, Vṛtra, Nāmauchi, Trisūras, Jambha, and Pūka were slain by Indra; Madhu, Kaiṭabha, Bāli, Mura, and Nākika by Viṣṇu (who is thence called Dattāyī, foe of the Daityas) or Kaśa; Praalamba by Balarāma; Sambhala by Pradvyumnas; Andhaka by Siva, who also destroyed Trisūras, Sūmbha, Nāmauchi, and Madhu; Tāraka and Rāma by Kārttikeya; and Ivala and Vatāpya by Agastya.

2 Not enumerated in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, but in some others, e.g., Viṣṇu Purāṇa (Bihāl. Ind.), u. 744.

3 See Wilson, op. cit. ii. 69.

The Purāṇas, however, have another account of the origin of the Asuras at the first creation of the world. Bṛhat, being desirous of creating the four orders of being—gods, demons, progenitors, and men, collected his mind into itself. Whence, it is said, the qualities of promotion perverted his body, and hence the Asuras were first born, issuing from his thigh. Bṛhat then abandoned that form which was composed of the radiance of darkness, and which, being deserted by him, became night.

Wilson says in a note: "These recounted, and not always very congruous, accounts of the creation are explained by the Purāṇas as referring to different kalpas, or revolutions of the world, and therefore avoiding no combination of the former reason for their appearance is the probability that they have been borrowed from different original authorities."

As regards the origin of the Asuras, it is probable that the myth described above has been developed from the statement in the Brahmaṇas mentioned at the beginning of this article. The genealogy of the Asuras is of later growth, and introduces a new element of confusion into all Indian sects. Thus, however, could Hiranyakāśipu, the first-born of all Daityas and Danavas, rule over the whole race of Daityas and Danavas, who, according to the Pauranic theory, sprang from his children and grandchildren.

It has been said above that the Asuras reside in Pātāla, and the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa already states that they entered the earth. Yet they are not restricted to Pātāla, but may have their towns and castles in heaven. Thus it is in the Mahābhārata that three sons of Tāraka possessed three towns, which, united into one, became the famous Tripura, which Siva reduced to ashes with his mythical arrow. The Paulomans and Kalakaras inhabited the Tripura town Hiranyakāśipu, which was destroyed by Arjuna (Mahāb. viii. 33 f., xii. 173). Another tribe of the Danavas, the Nīvatākavas, live on the shore of the ocean, where Arjuna vanquishes them (ib. xii. 168 f.). In most stories, the scene is laid in the upper regions, where they acquire power even over the three worlds, till some god slays them.

The belief that the Asuras dwell in the regions below has been common to all Indian sects. According to the northern Buddhists, the world of the Asuras, who, besides the Daityas, comprise the Rākṣasas, Yaksas, and similar demons, is the uppermost of the four Ayādalokas, or worlds of suffering; and it is situated above that of the Daityas, as the world of Indra is above it. Among the Asuras the foremost rank is held by Rāhu, the demon who causes eclipses of the sun and moon. The Jains reckon the Asuras, as, or, as they call them, the Asurasukāmāras, as the lowest class of the Bhayavānas or Bhayameyaka gods, and assign them the uppermost part of Rasaprabhā, the highest hell-region, as their residence.

A great many names of Asuras are given in epic and classical Sanskrit literature, some of which have already been mentioned. We add the names of a few more who are frequently mentioned in connection with the god who slew or overcame them: Bala, Vṛtra, Nāmauchi, Trisūras, Jambha, and Pūka were slain by Indra; Madhu, Kaiṭabha, Bāli, Mura, and Nākika by Viṣṇu (who is thence called Dattāyī, foe of the Daityas) or Kaśa; Praalamba by Balarāma; Sambhala by Pradvyumnas; Andhaka by Siva, who also destroyed Trisūras, Sūmbha, Nāmauchi, and Madhu; Tāraka and Rāma by Kārttikeya; and Ivala and Vatāpya by Agastya.

1 Wilson, op. cit., in his notes to pp. 26, 28 ff. It may be mentioned that the Viṣṇu Purāṇa gives the progeny of Danavas (C. 1, 20 f.).

2 Wilson, op. cit. pp. 97 ff.

3 Kero, Manmade of Indian Buddhism (G.I.A.P. ii.), 1806; and the works quoted there, p. 57, n. 7.

4 Tattvārthadīpaṁga Satra, iv. 11, tr. in ZDMG ix. 319.
DANAIDS

The Asuras (Daityas, Dānavaš) constitute the highest class of demons, they are the enemies of the gods, and not of mankind; indeed, men seem, as a rule, excluded from their sphere of action. This is the principal point in which they differ from the remaining classes of demons, such as Rākṣasas, Yākṣas, Yāgīs, etc., who sustain hostile or friendly relations with men. See art. BRAHMANISM.

In conclusion, an opinion must be noticed which has been put forward by some writers—most recently by the Danish scholar V. Frensdorff 1—viz., that the wars of the Suras and Asuras are put in a mythological account of what originally was a strife between the Aryans and the aboriginal inhabitants of India. Frensdorff includes among the Asuras other classes of demons, Rākṣasas, and an ascription of the springs. With regard to this, it should also be noted that the springs themselves are given to the Asuras, Dānavaš, or Dānavaš.

LITTERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the course of the article. HERMANN J. JACOB.

DAKHIMA.—See DEATH AND DESTRUCTION OF THE DEAD (Parsi).

DANAIDS.—The Danaids (Dānavīā) were the daughters of Danaus. Their number is variously given; Hecataeus (schol. on Eurip. Orest. 572) enumerates twenty; and Heriod (ap. Hecateus, loc. cit.) fifty; the latter figure has won general acceptance. Their fame is enshrined in two legends— the one telling how they murdered their bridegrooms during their wedding night; the other, how, after death, they were condoned to pour water into vessels full of holes.

1. The standard form of the first legend is that given to it by Aeschylus; it forms the basis of the story as found in the Bibliotheca of Apollodorus, (iii. 12 f., ed. cit.); and in Hyginus’s Fabulae, 168 (cf. schol. on Stat. Thb. ii. 522); schol. Strizz. on German. Arata, p. 172, ed. Creyssig). We find part of it in the extant Isthros of Aeschylus—the first portion of his Danaides, which served as the opening myth of the Prometheus in Prom. Vinct. 535 ff. The story is as follows. The fifty Danaids flee, under their father’s direction, from Egypt to Argos, in order to escape from the unwelcome suit of their cousins, the fifty sons of Phryxus; they were condemned to pour water into vessels full of holes, and, by mere superiority of force, compel the maidens to marry them. Danaus, however, commands his daughters to kill their respective husbands, and all of them obey save one, Hypsipyle, who betrays herself to her father. These, Hypermena, saved from her father’s vengeance, and at length reconciled to him, continues the lineage of the family, and by inheritance secures for her acknowledged husband the over-lordship of Argos. The scene of the myth is thus Argos, and, indeed, the mere name of the father and his daughters indicates this locality, as in Homer the Argives are most frequently referred to as Asōi. Since the publication of Preller’s Griechische Mythologie (cf. ii. 251 [Berlin, 1861] 45 ff.) the myth has been commonly interpreted as relating to the scarcity of water in ‘thirsty Argos’; the slaying of the bridegrooms is taken to mean the drying up of the springs. This hypothesis is still adhered to by (1. Meyer (Pfänderungen zur alten Gesch. i. (Halle, 1898) 74) and Waser (in Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 2089),

but its lack of evidence is on a level with its failure in lucidity (cf. F. Frieslander, Argolica, Berlin, 1905, p. 24). It is certainly true that the full, though not identical, lists of the Danaids given by Apollodorus, ii. 16, and Hyginus, Fab. 170, contain at least one name, Anymone, which is also the name of a Syrian race which would be another here and there which could be appositely applied to a spring, this cannot be said of the majority. Anymone, moreover, is the subject of a special myth, which bears the name of the Ambassadors. But it can be another here and there which could be appositely applied to a spring, this cannot be said of the majority. Anymone, moreover, is the subject of a special myth, which bears the name of the Ambassadors. But it can be another here and there which could be appositely applied to a spring, this cannot be said of

the earliest traditional antagonist of the Amazons in Lycia, came originally from Argos (II. vi. 186). Now, as we find Amazon-like women—the Danaids, namely—in Argos, it is natural to suppose that the Danaids, had they taken the same journey as Hellephoros—had come, that is, from Argos to Lycia. As a matter of fact, the Danaids bear the name of a pre-Hellenic tribe. For, since the Cauntulite Philistines have been identified with the Athlaios mentioned in the documents of Ramesses III. (1200-1175 B.C.)—one of the tribes which worshipped Minos and brought their civilization to its highest development in Crete during the 2nd cent. B.C. (cf. Bethe, in Hell. u. Philol. [v. 119 (1903)] 200 ft., with its and proofs—we can no longer doubt that the Argive Danaoi and the Danuoi mentioned in Egyptian documents as early as the 11th cent. B.C. were one and the same people (Ed. Meyer, Gesch. d. Alterthums, I. [Stuttgart, 1899] 226).

A word or two must be added regarding Hyper- mnestra, the only one of the Danaids who spared her bridegroom, and the mother of the royal race of Argos. Her story, even more than that of Amy- nesus, and the specific bearing of the Danaid myth. Account must also be taken of two additional facts. (1) Of all the Danaids, Hypermnestra alone had a cult in Argos (cf. Hygin. Fob. 168 = schol. Strozz. on German, Aratus (172, ed. Meyer), 21, 5. According to this passage which, after the tomb of Hypermnestra and her husband in the city of Argos. (2) Lynkeus, again, is a standing figure in Peloponnesian legend, while the other sons of Egyptus are but empty names. No may, however, equally reasonable to suppose that Hyper- mnestra, like Amymone, was a later addition to the group of the Danaids, designed to bring each of them into the imposing genealogical fabric of Argive mythology. This is confirmed by the legend that Lynkeus killed his sisters-in-law and their father (schol. on Eurip. Hekuba, 886). According to Archilochos (fr. 150, in Malalas, Chronogr. iv. 68), Lynkeus was depicted as a conqueror who robbed Danaus of both his dominion and his daughter.

The process of reducing the originally Amazon-like Danaids to human proportions, as we find it, already consummated in Aeschylus, led at length to the complete obliteration of their characteristic quality of womanhood. After the murder of the Egyptians they all marry again. Their father gives them, without a price, as rewards to the victors in the games (Pindar, Pyth. ix. 162 ft.)—a story which had originally no connexion with the Danaids (R. Friedlander, op. cit. p. 177). The scene of the man-slaying was laid among the streams of Lerna (Pausan. ii. 24. 2; Paracroniographi, i. 108), but also in Argos itself—on the acropolis, where, as noted by Panasias (loc. cit.), there stood some memorial of the sons of Egyptians.

2. The earliest literary record of the tradition that after death the Danaids were doomed to the endless and aimless labour of pouring water into vessels with holes in them is the pseudo-Platoan Axiouchus (3rd cent. B.C.), 371 E. In the 5th cent. B.C. Polydorus, in its pictures of the under- world, had portrayed men and women—characterized as "unconsecrated"—engaged in a like task (Hipp., ii. x. 31. 9; cf. Plat. Gorgias, 433 B. Rep. 363 D). Accordingly, Wilamowitz-Molendoff (Homer. Untersuchungen, Berlin, 1884, p. 202) and Rohde (Psyche, Tübingen, 1891-94, pp. 292-297) have advanced the hypothesis that this penalty of fruitless labour forms a part of the tradition of the Danaid myth. But Rohde's assertion that the Danaids were άραξι, i.e. that they had not attained their σάξα by marriage, suggests that the conception of the Danaids as aimless water-drawers in Hades may possibly be older than he believes.

This drudgery, in fact, was regarded among the Greeks, and is regarded even to-day, e.g., in the Tyrol, as the lot of the unmarried in the under world (Wasner, K. der Schurw. iv. 2087, 69 ff.; P. Friedlander, op. cit. p. 28).

The relative antiquity of this element in the story is likewise borne out by a further remark of Rohde, viz. that the Danaids could be associated with the task of pouring water only at a time when they were still thought of as unmarried. Even in Pindar's day (Pyth. ix. 112), however, this was no longer the case; while, according to Aeschylus, at least two of them, Amymone and Hypermnestra, also became mothers during their life time, we may perhaps think that the Danaid myth, which, as made known to us by the surviving verse of the epic ἄραξι, represented the Danaids as Amazon-like women hostile to men, we are thus brought to a date not later than the 6th cent. B.C. It must, therefore, have been about that time that the lot of the unmarried in Hades—the unending labour of drawing water—was first ascribed to the Danaids.

Once this feature had been added to their story, however, and had become effectually grafted on to it, the Danaids would come quite naturally to be regarded as drawers of water even in their lifetime. In this way they would then be brought into connexion with Lerna in Argos—perhaps originally the district limited by the waterless, and in later times, the water-nymph Amymone would be numbered with them. It accords with all this that Danaus was extolled as the hero who provided Argos with water: so Hesiod, fr. 24 (ed. Rtsch.), a verse given by Strabo, viii. 2. 9, by a later rendering, which, however, is of special interest, as it states that it was not Danaus, but the Danaids, who made Argos, once waterless, a well-watered land.


E. BETHE.

DANCING.—See Processions and Dances.

DANDIS.—See Yogis.

DANGI ('highlanders,' Hindi धाँगी, 'a hill').—A tribe of Dravidian origin, which at the Census of 1901 numbered 97,422, almost entirely confined to Central India, Râjputâna, and the Central Provinces, in which last they are described as originally robbers and freebooters, whose home was in the Vindiyah range. They are doubtless ethnologically connected with the Gond and Bhil tribes which occupy the adjoining hills; but they are rapidly becoming Hinduized, and have now gone so far as to call themselves Râjputs, and to claim descent from a mythical Râjâ Dâng of the Raghunânti sept. In the Jhânsi District, from which we have the most complete account of the religion of the tribe, they rank as low-caste Hindus; they cremate their adult dead, and perform the śraddha, or mind-rite, through Brâhmans. Like all castes on their promotion to a higher social rank, they are particularly careful to avoid ceremonial pollution. This results in its most serious form from the killing of a cow. In this case the offender, in order to procure restoration to caste rights, must make a pilgrimage to the Ganges, feed his tribesmen and Brâhmans, or perform the mock marriage with the tâlā or holy basil tree. This rite, of course, necessitates the payment of liberal fees to Brâhmans. If the offender prefers to do so, he may purchase restoration to caste by paying the marriage expenses of two poor children of the
DANTE.

1. Life.—Dante Alighieri was born at Florence, some time between June 5 and July 26, 1265. His father, Cenni di Nottura di Cen

nucci Alighieri, a notary who attended to the Guild of the Flee
ters, was a member of the great family of the Comune. Dante was the

son of Guido Alighieri, a poet and satirist of note, who had written

in Latin and Italian. Dante's mother, Beatrice Cenci da Bardi, was a

member of an influential family. Dante was born in a period of war

and treachery, with the Church and the State in opposition to each

other. At the age of four, Dante's father was exiled and Dante was

brought up by his mother and his aunt, Caterina Giunti. His edu-

cation was in the hands of his uncle, Guido Cavalcanti, a poet and

humanist. Dante studied with the best scholars of the time, includ-

ing the famous poet and scholar, Giovanni Boccaccio.

Dante's early life was marked by the political turmoil of Florence,

which was ruled by the Guelfs and the Ghibellines. The Guelfs

were opposed to the power of the papal Curia and sought to

establish a Florentine republic. The Ghibellines, on the other hand,

supported the papal authority and the imperial power. Dante was

drawn into the political conflict and was exiled from Florence in

1302.

2. Works.—Dante's works fall into three periods: (a) the period of his youthful love and putting, which is represented by the Vita Nuova; (b) the period of the Rime, his later

lyrics, his linguistic and philosophical studies and researches, bearing fruit in the Italian prose of the Convivio, the Latin prose of the de Vulgar Elo

cutia, and the revival of the pastoral mode of Vergil in the Vita Nuova of Dante Alighieri. (1) The Vita Nuova, Dante's first book, which is dedicated to Guido Cavalcanti, tells the story of his love for Beatrice in thirty-one lyrical poems, symmetrically arranged, and connected by a prose narrative. (2) The Rime, which include the Bucolica, three canzoni, and two shorter poems in the canzone mould, written from 1283 to 1292, cover a period of nine years, while the prose com-

mentsary, composed between 1292 and 1295, weaves the whole into unity. Its essential theme is the influence of the Provençal troubadours, together with the philosophical re-handling of their themes of chivalrous love which we find in

trite. They now worship the holy Imita
defies, Ranaeandra, Kypp, Siva, Durgā,

des, and others. Special regard is paid to the minor gods

of the village, especially to those who remove cause

disease, such as Sitala, the goddess of smallpox,

and Hardaul Lāl, the deity hero who

cured children of smallpox (June 6, 1896; 1, 138 f.). Bhumiyā, the god of the soil, is

represented by an old snake, which is worshipped in

June—July. At marriages they perform a rite to

propitiate their "santa mother's gods;" but they have no definite idea of

their nature or functions. Their sacred trees are

the pīpal (Ficus religiosa) and the chhonkar (Pro-

sopis spicigera). The cows of the household, as

emblems of Lakṣmi, the goddess of fortune, are

worshipped at the Divali, or feast of lamps; and

horses at the Dashāra.

LITERATURE.—W. Crooke, Tribes and Castes of the North

West Provinces and Central India, 1896, ii. 240 ff.; General

Provinces Gazetteer, 1870, p. 290; Census Report Central Pro-

dinces, 1901, i, 160. W. Crooke.

DANTE.
the poetry of Guido Guinizelli of Bologna, whom Dante elsewhere claims as his father in the "sweet and gracious rhymes of love" (Purg. xxvi, 93). The first of the three *canzoni*, "Donne ch'avevete intelletto d'amor," marks an epoch in Italian poetry. The later portions of the book are already strongly coloured with the Christian mysticism which inspires the *Divina Commedia*. There is much sheet allegory in the details and episodes, but the word is, in the main, not to be taken in an allegorical sense. It is a mystical reconstruction of the poet's early life, in which earthly love becomes spiritual, but, being thus exalted above itself, fails to earth again when its sustenance is removed. Although earthly love is no more than a remembrance in repentance and humility to a clearer vision and a larger hope, with the resolution to turn to the daily work of life until such time as the soul may become less unworthy to attain the ideal which it has received.

(2) Besides the pieces inserted in the *Vita Nuova*, there exists a large body of lyrical poetry from Dante's hand, known collectively as the *Rime* (or), less correctly, the *Ballate*, occasional verse in the *ballata* and sonnet form, composed at various times in Dante's life, which have not yet been satisfactorily collected or freed from spurious pieces; (b) a series of fifteen *canzoni*, which Dante elaborates and projects into a complete work, arranged in a definite order to form a complete work. Two of these *canzoni* seem to belong to the period of the *Vita Nuova*; the rest represent the period in Dante's life between the death of Beatrice and the inception of the *Divina Commedia*. They give variety, dignity, and technical perfection to the metrical form which the early Italians had received and developed from the Provencals, and introduce, partly from the Provencal, two entirely new varieties of verse, only to be measured, only to rise once more in the grace and power of its construction. This love-song matter is partly philosophical, in which the seeker after wisdom depicts his quest with all the imagery of an earthly lover's pursuit of an adored woman; partly, it would seem, more tangible human passion; partly, ethical and didactic themes. One of the noblest of the series is the *canzone* of the three ladies: 'Trem donne intorno al cor mi son venute' (probably written c. 1294); in this the legend told by Thomas of Celano and St. Bonaventure, the Penitent Host, is transformed into an allegory of Dante's own impassioned worship of Justice, which contains the *Divina Commedia* in germ.

(3) The *Convivio*, Dante's chief work in Italian prose, is an attempt to put the general reader of the epoch into possession of an abstract of the entire field of human learning, as attainable at the beginning of the 14th century, in the form of an allegorical commentary upon fourteen of the poet's own *canzoni*. Its basis is the saying attributed to Pythagoras, to the effect that the philosopher should not be called the wise man, but the lover of wisdom—a conception which Dante elaborates in the terms of the chivalrous love poetry of his age, personifying Philosophy as a noble lady whose soul is love and whose body is wisdom, and identifying love with the study which is 'the application of the art of love' and an action, a thing of which it is enamoured.' The work shows the influence of the *de Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius (its professed starting-point), Isidore of Seville, the *Dissertation* of Hugh of St. Victor, the *Trésor* of Brunetto Latini, and the *Summa contra Gentiles* of St. Thomas Aquinas. Dante's aim is to make the medieval encyclopaedia a thing of artistic beauty, by wedding it to the highest poetry, and to show that the world that the Italian vernacular was no less efficient than Latin as a literary medium. At the same time, it was to be his *apologia pro vita sua*, justifying his own conduct as a man and as a citizen, and, incidentally, explaining certain of his stanzas of earthly love as inspired purely by philosophical devotion. Internal evidence shows that it was composed between 1306 and 1308. It was left unfinished, only the introductory treatise and the commentaries upon three *canzoni* having been written. In the first book, starting from the origin of language, Dante considers the rival claims for pre-eminence of the three romance vernaculars—French, Provencal, and Italian—and proceeds to examine in detail all the various dialects of the last, none of which he finds identical with the ideal language of Italy:

'The illustrious, cardinal, courtly, and curial vulgar tongue in Italy is that which belongs to every Italian city, and yet seems to belong to none, and by which all the local dialects of the Italiots are measured.'

As Mazzini well said, Dante's purpose here is 'to found a language common to all Italy, to create a form worthy of representing the national idea'—the purpose which he was ultimately to fulfill by writing the Latin *Divina Commedia*. In the first book, he defines the highest form of Italian lyrical poetry, the *canzone*; distinguishes the three subjects alone worthy of treatment therein—Arms, Love, and Virtue; and elaborates the poetical art of its construction. The whole body of the *Convivio*, in the great dialects of Dante, is a variation of the *Provençal troubadours* (Bertran de Born, Arnaut Daniel, Girart de Bornel, Folquet de Marseilles, Aimeric de Bélequy, Aimeric de Peglihan, together with the French poet, king Thibaut of Navarre), the poets of the Sicilian School (Toscanelle Colonne and Rinaldo d'Aquino), and the poets of the *dolce stil nuovo* (Guido Guinizelli, Guido Cavalcanti, Cino da Pistoia, and himself). Dante refers to his own *canzoni* as those of the friend of Cino da Pistoia, and it is possible that he intended to dedicate the work, when completed, to Cino, as he had done the *Vita Nuova* to Cavalcanti.

(4) The election of Henry of Luxemburg to the Empire, in November 1308, drew the poet back from these philosophical and linguistic studies to the political strife that was about to convulse Italy. Confronted with this new situation, of apparently unassailable position, and with the hand of the imperial power already on the city of Rome, he felt that all that he had hitherto written was fruitless and insignificant. It was probably about 1309, in anticipation of Henry's coming to Italy, that Dante composed the *de Monarchia*, fearing lest he 'should one day be convicted of the charge of the buried talent.' For Dante, the purpose of temporal monarchy or empire, the single prince over men in temporal things, is to establish liberty and universal peace, in order that the whole body of Christ's race, for thought and for action, may be realized. In the first book he shows that this universal monarchy, thus conceived, is necessary for the well-being of the world; in the second he attempts to prove, first, that the Inquisition is a necessary reason and then from arguments based on Christian faith, that the Roman people acquired the dignity of empire by Divine right. It is a cardinal point in Dante's reading of history that the history of the Jews and the history of the Fratres and Profratres and *Divina Commedia* on parallel lines, the one race being entrusted with the preparation for the Gospel, the other with the promulgation of Roman law. For him, as for mediæval political theorists in general, the Emperor of his own day, when duly elected and
crowned, is the successor of Julius and Augustus no less than of Charlemagne and Otto. The third book proves that the authority of such an Emperor does not come to him from the Pope (the coronation of Charlemagne being an act of usurpa-
tion), but depends immediately upon God, 'descending upon him without any mean, from the fountain of universal author-
ity.' Divine Providence has ordained man for two ends; blessedness of this life, which consists in the exercise of his natural powers; and is figured in the
Earthly Paradise; and blessedness of life eternal, which consists in the fruition of the Beatific Vision in the Celestial Paradise. To these two diverse ends, indicated by reason and revelation respective-
vies, by the diverse means of philosophy and spiritual teaching, and, because of human cupidity, he must be checked and directed:

'Wherefore man had need of a twofold directive power ac-
cording to resistance to the Sovereign Pontiff to the human race to eternal life in accordance with things revealed;
and the Emperor, to direct the human race to temporal felicity in accordance with philosophical teaching.'

This, then, is the purpose of Church and State, each independent in its own field, a certain superiority pertaining to the former in that 
 perishable life is ordained for immortality. We here find 'in its full maturity the general conception of the nature of man, of government, and of human destiny,' by the diverse means of 
intransfigured, without being transformed, into the framework of the Sacred Poem' (Wickshead).

(6) Dante's political letters are a pendant to the de Monarchia, but coloured by the realities, and finally embittered by the circumstances of the Emperor's expedition. From the Messianic fervour of his appeal on Henry's behalf to the princes and peoples of Italy (Ep. v. ["Oxford Dante"], written in 1306, after the destructive fury and acer

seggio indignato of his address to "the most wicked Florentines within" (Ep. vi., March 31, 1311), and his rebuke to the Emperor himself (Ep. vii., April 16, 1311), when the former were organizing the nation to the Imperial power, and the latter seemed to tarry. To the latter part of 1314 belongs the eloquent letter to the Italian cardinals in conclave at Carpentras after the death of Clement v. (Ep. vii.), urging the elec-
tions of the Italian Pope to return to Rome and reform the Church. Of Dante's private and personal correspon-
dence, the only specimen that can be unhesitatingly accepted as authentic is the famous letter to a Florentine friend refusing the amnesty in 1316 (Ep. x.); but two others, ap-
parently accompanying two of his lyrical poems, addressed to Cino da Pistoia (Ep. iii., c. 1305) and Morcello Malaspina (Ep. iv., c. 1306 or 1311), are probably genuine.

(7) The authenticity of the letter to Can Grande della Scala, though much disputed, is gradually becoming generally recognized. Written appar-
tently between 1318 and 1329, it dedicates the Paradiso to Can Grande, interprets the opening lines of its first canto, and explains the allegory, subject, and purpose of the whole poem. It is the

starting-point for the study of the mystical aspect of the Divina Commedia, alike in its appeal to the authority of St. Augustine, St. Bernard, and St. Bernardino. Vergerio had failed to discover the measure of humanity, and in its unmistakable claim for the poet himself that he has been the personal recipient of a religious experience too sublime and overwhelming to be adequately ex-
pressed in words.

(8) Dante's first Elegy, a pastoral poem in Latin hexameters, was written about 1319, in

answer to a Latin poem from Giovanni del Virgilio, a lecturer at Bologna, who had urged him to write a Latin poem and come to that city to receive the

laurel crown. It is a beautiful and gracious poem, in which the Vergilian elegy becomes a picture of the poet's life at Ravenna in the com-
parative peace and calm of his latest years.

(9) The Quasidio de Aqua et Terra professes to be a philosophical question concerning the relative position of water and earth on the surface of the globe, publicly discussed by Dante at Verona on January 20, 1320. Its authenticity has of late been regarded as highly problematical.

(10) It is impossible to decide at what date the

Divina Commedia was actually begun. According to Boccaccio, the first seven cantos of the Inferno

were composed before the poet's exile, and he was induced to take up the work again in consequence of

his recovery of the manuscript in 1306 or 1307. Although this seems contradicted by internal evi-
dence, yet there are something, which were originally conceived on a different plan from that

ultimately adopted in the poem. It is possible that the poem, as we now have it, was begun about 1308, interrupted by the Italian enterprise of Henry of Luxemburg and resumed in the years

after the latter's death. While there are no certain and definite allusions in the Purgatorio to events later than 1308, there are references in the

Inferno, by way of prophecy, to occurrences of 1312, and a consequence of the last (or second question) of 1314, while the Paradiso (xii. 120)

contains what appears to be an echo of a Papal bull of 1318. An allusion in the first Elegy shows that, by 1319, the Inferno and the Purga-

torio ('mirum circumcursa corpora astrolaque') and we learn from Boccaccio that the

last thirteen cantos had not yet been made known to the world at the time of the poet's

death. In any case, it seems clear that the Divina Commedia as a whole, whenever it may have been begun, although the action is relegated by a poetic

fiction to the assumed date of 1309, should be regarded as the period of the last years of the poet's career, when the failure of his earthly hopes with

Henry of Luxemburg had transferred his gaze from time to eternity, and, himself purified in the fires of experience and adversity, he might

lawfully come forward as ver prediscus justitiam, 'to remove those living in this life from their state of misery, and to lead them to the state of felicity.'

Dante's primary source of inspiration for the

Divina Commedia is the actual life of his own times which he saw around him, interpreted by the story of his own inner life. His aim is to

reform the world by a poem which should present man and Nature in the mirror of eternity. But he

had, inevitably, his literary sources. While the

sixth book of the Aeneid may be called his starting-

point, Dante was probably acquainted with some of the many medieval accounts of visits of a living

man, 'whether in the bosom or out of the bosom,' to the other world, the transcendent idea of the

Visio Saneti Pauli and those recorded in the Dialogues of St. Gregory the

Great, became especially abundant in the latter part of the 12th cent.; though the only one that has

left any trace is the Visio Tungdali of the Irish Benedictine

Marcus (1149). Of the Latin poets, next to Vergil,
he was most influenced by Ievi, while Ovid and Statius are his main sources for classical mythology, and Livy and Orosius for classical history. Cicero was familiar to him from his early manhood; but he shows surprisingly little acquaintance with Terence and Horace. The Latin versions of the Greek of Augustine, of which the Augustinian de Genesi ad litteram and the Dionysian writings (either in the translation of Secundus Erigena or through the medium of Aquinas), were a constant companion of Dante's. Certain eleventh century treatises of Bonaventura are a constant companion of Dante's. Indeed, the Neoplatonic mysticism of the whole poem is largely based upon the de Preparatio eneae ad Contemplationem and the de Contemplatione of the last named writer. Of the poet's own works, the Vita Nuova and the Monorchia, is entirely Dante's achievement.

There is a certain element of Joachism in the Divina Commedia, but Dante was probably acquainted with the doctrines of the Abbot of Flora only at second hand, in the Arbor Vite Crucifae of Ubertino da Casale (1303), which is chronologically before Dante's acquaintance with the mystical treatises of Mechtild of Magdeburg and Mechthild of Hackeborn, though it is questionable whether either of them can be identified with the Matelda of the Earthly Paradise.

Above and around the material universe is the celestial rose of Divine Beauty, flowering in the rays of the sun of Divine Love, still to be completed by man's correspondence with Divine Grace; while on earth—the throning floor of mortality—by use or abuse of free-will, character is formed, and human drama is played out. The dual scheme of the de Monarchia is transplanted from the sphere of Church and Empire to the field of the individual soul. Man, in the person of Dante, vainly attempts to escape from the dark wood of alienation from truth, and is barred by his own vices from the ascent of the delectable mountain (fidelity, or, perhaps, knowledge of self); but Vergil, representing human philosophy inspired by reason, guides him to the nine circles of Hell (realization of the nature of sin and error), and up the seven terraces of Purgatory (setting love, the soul's natural tendency to what is apprehended as good, in order, and purifying the soul from the stains still left after conversion) to the Earthly Paradise, which in one sense is the happy state of a good conscience, and in another the life of Eden regained by the purgatorial pains. This life is personified in Matelda, the realization of Leah, who, in the mystical system of Richard of St. Victor, symbolizes 'affection inflamed by Divine inspiration, and composing herself to the norm of justice.' Then the soul can rightly comprehend the history of Church and State, as represented in the allegorical pageant, and the works of St. Gregory, St. Augustinian de Genesi ad litteram and the Dionysian writings (either in the translation of Secundus Erigena or through the medium of Aquinas). Certain eleventh century treatises of Bonaventura are a constant companion of Dante's. Indeed, the Neoplatonic mysticism of the whole poem is largely based upon the de Preparatio eneae ad Contemplationem and the de Contemplatione of the last named writer. Of the poet's own works, the Vita Nuova and the Monorchia, is entirely Dante's achievement.

In describing the 'spiritual lives' of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, Dante has given a summary, looking into the human and Christian sphere of all that is permanently significant in the life and thought of the Middle Ages. He is throughout lacking back to a primitive ideal of Christianity, freed from the corruptions and accretions of the subsequent centuries. He has the Church, the Empire renovated by the power of the Cross, Revelation seated on the bare ground as guardian of the chariot of the Church, with no attendants save the theological and moral virtues, which are the companions of the Holy Spirit. But the ideal is never realized, because, side by side with the conquest of the world by Christianity, had come the conquest of the Church by the world. The alleged donation by Constantine of wealth and territory to the Papacy is for Dante the turning-point in history, and the primal cause of the failure of Christianity, which was bearing such bitter fruit in the corruption of mankind. The supreme significant event of his own century is thus the rise of St. Francis, and his marriage with Lady Poverty, as the first attempted return to the ideal of Christianity that Christ had left. This, in its turn, having proved but a passing episode, the poet can only look forward to the coming of the Eternal City, by which the Church shall be 'Five Hundred Ten and Five,' to be sent from God to renovate the Empire and to reform the Church by other methods. For the rest, men at all times 'are masters of their fate,' through the supreme gift of free-will, to put violence upon which, as Richard of St. Victor had said, 'neither buts the Creator nor is in the power of the creature.' The soul of man works out its own salvation or damnation; and the tragic fact consists simply in the soul's deliberate choice of one path.

The Inferno departs less than the other two canticles from medieval tradition in its structure and machinery; but it is here that the dramatic side of Dante's genius is especially displayed. The tragic impression is intensified, on the one hand, by the wasted virtues of the lost (the patriotism of Farinata degli Uberti, the fidelity of Piero delle Vigne, the scientific devotion of Brunetto Latini, the high conception of man's origin and nature that impels the poet to Dante), and on the other, by frequent and effective use of dramatic contrasts between the souls in Hell and those in Purgatory or Paradise (Francesca da Rimini and Ficorona Donati; St. Peter Celestine and King Manfred; Guido and Buonconte da Montefeltro). In the Purgatorio, with its sunsets and starshine, its angel ministers, its allegorical quest of liberty,
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in which the souls find the very purgatorial pains a solace to be willingly undergone, Dante breaks almost completely from legend and theological tradition, and plunges him in a realm which is entirely his own. The Purgatorio depends less than the Inferno upon the splendor of certain episodes, though many of these are among the most beautiful in the poem. It is in its sustained harmony and all-pervading tenderness that it makes immediate and universal appeal to heart and mind. The noblest passages of the Paradiso are lyrical rather than dramatic, and there is naturally less action and less individualization of character. With the exception of St. Bernard, who is a singularly vivid character, the human aspect of the souls in bliss is somewhat lost in the glory of their state since they have become 'semipaternal flames'—the suggestion of humanity being held in abeyance after the third sphere where the stretch of the earth's shadow is passed, until it reappears in celestial splendour in the tenth heaven. Notwithstanding this, we are sensible of no monotony in the passage through the paradisiacal sphere; there are youthful, without being of great variety, but subtle differences in the possession of it, in which the previous life has been a factor. As Wicksteed puts it, 'the tone and colour, so to speak, of the heavenly fruition of the blessed is affected by the manner in which the moral want through which they rose to spiritual victory.' The human interest in the Paradiso seems concentrated in such episodes as the appearance of Piacenza Donati and Dante's colloquy with Caccagnola, or the exquisite passage where Beatrice, her allegorical office completed, resumes her place, in the unveiled glory of her human personality, in the celestial rose. The mystical poetry of the Paradiso is unsurpassable; above all, in the closing canto it reaches a height of spiritual ecstasy for which it would be hard to find a parallel elsewhere in modern literature. Shelley wrote of the Paradiso that it is 'a perpetual hymn of everlasting love'; and Manning, "Dantis paradisum nihil restat nisi visio Dei.'

The metre in which the Divina Commedia is written, the terza rima, seems to have been created by Dante from the sirventes, the Italian form for which there have been quite different solutions in troubadour for political or satirical compositions in contrast to the steller conso or canzone, of love. His style has the highest qualities of terseness, condensation, variety of imagery, passion, vividness. The closely packed imagery is hard, even for its own sake, but to exemplify and clarify his meaning. Even at the heights of the Paradiso, he does not shrink from uncompromising realism in his smiles and images. The beauty and fidelity of his transcriptions from Nature are likewise unapproachable. He can render a complete scene in a few lines, sometimes in a single line, whether it be the flight of birds, the tumbling of the sea at dawn, or the first appearance of the shore, yet there are only gradations of light and shade, no great peaks, the open sea and external nature in a degree new among poets. ... But light in general is his special and chosen source of poetic beauty (Church, Dante, 1901, pp. 149, 165). Dante's fidelity to Nature has been well expressed with touching words by Wordsworth. And, when he turns from Nature to the mind of man, 'his haunt, and the main region of his song,' no such revealer of the hidden things of the spirit, save Shakespeare, has ever found utterance in poetry.

3. Position and character.—Dante is the last poet of the Middle Ages, and the first of the modern world. He has given perfect poetical utterance to what would be the condition of the second millennium, and has proved the most influential interpreter of medieval thought to the present day. If it can no longer be said, without considerable reservation, that he created the Italian language, or that he founded Italian literature, it is certainly true that he is the poet of Italian authority, but no less enkindled with prophetic fire against the abuse and corruption of that authority, whether in Church or State, and absolutely fearless in his returning zeal; relentless in his hatred of baseness and wickedness, above all in high places, but with a capacity for boundless tenderness and compassion; liable to be carried to excess, both in speech and in action, by his impassioned hunger and thirst after righteousness; conscious of his own greatness, but not of his own infirmities; an artist of the utmost subtlety and discriminating skill, insisting on a detached and overwhelming that it came upon him with the force of a personal and special revelation; but this was not all; we gather from the letter to Can Grande that the poet himself experienced one of those ecstatic contacts with the Divine attributed to the great saints and mysteries of all creeds—in which, as George Tyrrell puts it, the mind touches the smooth universe of the infinite, but is unable to lay hold of it.

LITERATURE.—I. BIOGRAPHY.—Our earliest sources for the life of Dante, in addition to his own works and a few extant documents, are a chapter in the Istoria Fiorentina of Giovanni Villani (1340), Il Vite di Dante e Boccaccio (1370), the indescribable sketch by Filippo Villani (c. 1405), the most authoritative and critical treatise of Leonardo Bruni (1144), and the recent commentators. The contemporary commentators upon or the whole of the Divina Commedia, including both Dante's sons and the author of the so-called Ottimo Commento, who profess to be personally. The most important is Benvenuto Rambaldi da Imola (1491), edited by Verner. In the last 60 years Among recent publications should be especially mentioned: G. Biagi-Passerini, Odoio diplomatico dantesco (documents, 1916); C. Baracchi, Dante in Alighieri, Milan, 1891; M. Scherillo, L'Integrale della vita di Dante, Turin, 1886; various volumes of Iacopo del Lungo; P. Trescony, A Dante Dictionary, Oxford, 1898, also Alighieri, his Life and Works, London, 1919; N. Zingaretti, Dante, Milan, 1896 (a work on an extensive scale with full bibliographies). For the disputed story of the letter of Frode Iano, cf. Wicksteed-Gardner, Dante and Giovanni del Verdel, London, 1899; Raggi, in Dante e la Linguistica, Milan, 1909; V. Biagi, Un episodio celebre nella vita di Dante, Modena, 1910.

II. Minor Work.—A critical edition is gradually being produced by the Societé Danteasca Italiana, of which the del Fogliano Echevraut (Florence, 1850), F. Pilet (Rome, 1866), and F. Pilet (ed. Bard, Florence, 1897) have appeared. The Rime are incomplete and unsatisfactory even in L. Moore's Tutti le opere di Dante, 1894 (the 'Oxford Dante,' which is of the highest authority for the text of all the other works). A more recent edition, F. N. Moriz (Frascati, 1897), and a modern translation of Rimes by Richard Moon, with critical introduction, is much desired. There are critical editions of the Folger by Wicksteed (In Dante, 1900, 1901, 1904) and L. C. G. Alinari (Florence and London, 1896), and of the translation of the Latin works (Honewart and Wicksteed) and of the metrical language (Wicksteed) in the Temple Classics, with full critical commentaries; a more recent version of the Commedia is by W. W. Jackson (Oxford, 1909). For the problem of the book andTerza, see Moore's Dante and his Works, series, Oxford, 1899, and V. Biagi's ed., Modena, 1907.

III. DIVINA COMMEDIA.—The best modern editions with commentaries are those of Scrignazzani (edi. Bard, Florence, 1874, and now a little out of date), Casini, and Terrossa: of the text with English translations and notes, by A. J. Butler, the Temple Classics
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editors (Wicksteed, Oelner, Okky), and W. W. Vernou (Readings... chiefly based on the Commentary of Benvenuto da Imola, new ed. Lond. 1866–69).

Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, 399

The reader must be referred to Toynbee's Dante Dictionary and the bibliographies included in Dallmayr. Recent literature has, happily of late years, assumed collegiate proportions. Among English works stand pre-eminent the three volumes of Moore's Studies in Dante, Toynbee, D'Urso and Researches, and Perkins and Stein, and Dinsdale in English Literature, Lond. 1909. Church's well-known essay still occupies a place as a suggestive introduction to the divine pool. The Floricced quarterly publication, Il bollettino della Societa Dantesca Italiana, is indispensable to students.

DAPHLÀ (Dafià, Dalià, Dophlià).—A tribe occupying a section of the Himalaya lying N. of the Darrang and Lakhimpur Districts, Eastern Bengal, and Assam. They numbered 594 at the Census of 1901, but the greater part of the tribe is found in independent territory beyond the British frontier, whence, driven by famine or oppression of the Abors, they have recently shown a tendency to migrate into the Darrang and Lakhimpur Districts. They call themselves Niso, Nising, or Bangui, the last name meaning 'men.' According to Mackenzie (Hist. of the Relations of the Government with the Hill Tribes of the N.E. Frontier of Bengal, 541), Miri, Daphia, and Abor (see p. 322) are given by the Assamese to three sections of the same tribe inhabiting the mountains between Assam and Tibet. Their principal crops are summer rice and mustard, maize, and wheat. They live in villages, or in the jungles, and cultivate a certain kind of rice or hote in the forest or in the jheels of their villages. Their villages, usually placed on hilltops, are occasionally surrounded by houses built on platforms raised above the naked surface of the plain, presenting a strong contrast to the ordinary Assamese village... Under the houses live the fowls and pigs which furnish out the village feasts, and the more prosperous villages keep herds of buffaloes also, though these people, like so many of the non-Assamese, are as a rule 'uncleaned' (Mackenzie, op. cit. 541).

1. Ethnology. —The Daphias are probably connected with the great Bodo (q.v.) or Bara race, which includes the Kachái, Rabá, Mech, Garo, and Tipperá tribes, and they are said to have migrated from Tibet. Bumrains, who followed the Mon-Anam from N.W. China between the waters of the Yang-tze-kiang and the Ho-ang-ho (Census Report Assam, 1901, i. 120). Their language is closely related to that of the Aká, Abor-Miri, and Mishmi tribes.

1 We know a good deal about Abor-Miri and Dapha. Robinson (J.R.A.S., 1864) gave the language and vocabularies of both in the middle of the last century, and, to omit mention of less trusted times, Mr. Hamilton has given a grammar of the former, and Mr. Hamilton one of the latter (G. A. Grierson, Census Report India, 1901, i. 262; and see E. C. Allen, Cessors of the Lakhimpur and Darrang Districts, Calcutta, 1905).

2. Relations with the British Government.—The independent portion of the tribe has long been accustomed to make raids in British territory. Even in 1811, when it was first formally met, they carried off a boy. They were a warlike, pillaging, and wandering race (Mackenzie, 31).

3. Religious beliefs.—Much information regarding their religion has been collected since, in 1872, E. T. Dalton gave the first account of them (Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, 36).

The Daphias have a priest, but what he says have priests who pretend to a knowledge of divination, and by inspection of chickens' entrails and eggs declare the nature of the future. They are the writers of sacred formulas and the spirit to whom it is to be offered. The office, however, is not hereditary, and it is taken up by those who care for it. It is, in fact, a priestly office which engenders and it is, in fact, a priestly office which engenders. The religion consists of invocations to the spirits for protection, prophecies, the cattle, and sacrifices and thank-offerings of pigs and fowls. They acknowledge

1 The origin of the name, which, as pronounced in the Lakhimpur District, would be written Demphiola, is unknown.

2 The tribe, however, do not worship, one Supreme Being, which, I conceive, meant that they have been told of such a Being, but know nothing about him.

During the census of 1891 (Report, 297 590), E. A. Gait (Census Report Assam, 1901, i. 120) gives an account of similar beliefs among the Mikirs and Daphia, worship Yapun and Orom, the latter the malignant spirit of the dead, the former a sylvan deity or demon, who suffices for the needs of the dead. He says that when a family has been really divided, and conjunctures some great god has to be gained over by the sacrifice of a mithom or gauyil (bea frontalis).

'The mountain I see to me he had once, while a boy, actually seen in Yapun, a kind of spirit in the character of a great tree, and all the beasts of the forest obey him. My informant was throwing stones in a thicket by the side of a road, and suddenly became aware that he had hit the Yapun, who was sitting at the foot of a tree in the guise of an old grey-bearded man. A dangerous illness was the consequence, from which the boy was saved by an offering of a dog and four fowls made by his parents to the offended Yapun, who has since visited him in dreams.' (Mackenzie, 540.

They also count the Sun among their deities; but their great god, who must be propitiated by the sacrifice of a mithom, is Us or Wi, of whom no one knows the name, which Daphia cares to speak much for fear of incurring his displeasure. His character may be guessed from the Assamese equivalent of his name, Yom or Yoma, the Hindu god of death (ib. 544). E. A. Gait (Census Report Assam, 1901, i. 120).

1 The general name for God is Us, but there are also special names for each particular deity. Most of their gods are either causal to men or require to be propitiated. Most of the chief gods are Solok, the god of heaven; Siki, who presides over the delivery of the harvest; and Anglu, the god of households; and Yequ, who injures children. The most feared of the Daphia gods is the god of trees, who frightens to madness people who go into the forest. Chil, the god of water; Iren, the god of diseases; Sotu, the god of dumbness; and numerous others. There are a few beneficent deities, such as Pepkong, the god of breath, and Yedan, the goddess of wealth. To all these gods, sacrifices are offered. When a person is ill, a sorcerer (deenda) is called to his house, and chants an incantation which is often to make use of his name, and he sometimes keeps up till he works himself up into a frenzy of excitement. The Daphia believe in a future life, but cannot say much about it, except that they expect to meet their parents and near relations there. The dead are buried in a sitting position, and a small mound is put up at the grave; in it rice and drink are placed, and a fire is kept burning for five days. The mourners sacrifice fowls, pigs, and sometimes mitham, the blood of which is sprinkled over the grave; the flesh they eat themselves.

B. C. Allen (Census Report Assam, 1901, i. 146 ff.) gives an account of similar beliefs among the allied tribes of this group—the creation legends of the Mikirs and Garos, and the conception of the other world held by the Miris, Mikirs, and Garos.

Literature.—E. T. Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, Calcutta, 1872; A. Mackenzie, Hist. of the Relations of the Government with the Hill Tribes of the Assam Frontier, Calcutta, 1884; Reports of the Census of Assam, 1891, 1901, 1911; and W. Crooke, Allen, Cessors of the Lakhimpur and Darrang Districts, Calcutta, 1905.

W. Crooke.

DARDS.—The Dards are an Aryan race inhabiting the country round Gilgit, between the Kashaub and the Hindit Kush, and down the course of the Indus to near which it debouches on the plains. Colonies of the tribe are also found farther east in Baltistan, where they are known as Drupos, or Highlanders. Along with the Khos of Chaldr and the Hindit Kush Kafirs of Kafiristan, Dards are classed by the present writer as descendants of the Pashkas, or Zoogdies of Sanskrit writers. This is not accepted by all scholars, but no alternative has hitherto been suggested. Although of Aryan origin, their language cannot be classed as either Indian or Iranian, having issued from the parent stock after the former branch had emigrated towards the valley of the Indus. It has therefore the typical characteristics of Iranian speech which had become fully developed. They are mentioned by Herodotus (iii. 102-105), though not referred to by their present name. On the other hand, Sanskrit writers knew them as Drupos, and they are mentioned by Megasthenes and Strabo, the Dalurdos of Tolomey, and the Dardos of Pliny and Nonnus. Most of the Dards belong to the tribe of Shins, whose headquarters may be taken as Gilgit, and their

ledge, but do not worship, one Supreme Being, which, I conceive, meant that they have been told of such a Being, but know nothing about him.
language is either Shina or some closely allied form of speech. By religion, the Dards of the present day are nearly all Musalmans, but the Brokpas of Central Baltistan profess the Buddhist faith and hold their neighbours. It is not known at what period the Muhammedan Dards were converted to Islam, but, down to the middle of last century, when a reformation was carried out by Nāthā Shah, the Governor of Gilgit, on behalf of the Sikhs, it held but a nominal sway. Even after Nāthā Shah's time remains of the old pre-Islamic beliefs have survived, so that many Dard practices are very different from those enjoined upon the followers of the Qurān. For instance, until about a dozen years ago the dead were burnt and not buried, and this custom lingered on sporadically down to the last recorded instance in 1577. A memory of it still survives in the lighting of a fire by the grave after burial. Instead of considering the marriage of cousins, which is frequent among true Musalmans, is looked upon with horror by the pure tribes of Shina as an incestuous union. At present, the Muhammedan calendar has been introduced, an ancient solar computation, based on the signs of the zodiac, still exists. According to Biddulph, 'Islam has not yet [1880] brought about the seclusion of women, who mingle freely with men on all occasions. Young men and maidens of different families eat and converse together without restraint. The levirate custom has a strong hold, and this often leads to two sisters being the wives of the same man simultaneously. Yet, this is a practice forbidden by Muhammedan law.

The Dards received Muhammedanism from three directions. From the south (i.e. Afghanistan) came the Shina language, and at branch of Islam is now prevalent in Chilas. From the Pasirs in the north came the Maulāi sect (famous for its wine-bibbers), and this doctrine is now commonly held north of Gilgit. On the other hand, the people round Gilgit to the south are mostly Shāhīs converted from Baltāstān.

On the Buddhist Dards, or Brokpas, of East Baltāstān their nominal religion sits even more lightly than on their Musalmān fellow-tribesmen to the south. The only exception to this, which they have adopted seem to be the dress of the men and the custom of polyandry. The religious ideas of the Brokpas were examined by Shaw in 1876, and of late years by A. H. Francke, who researches into the ancient customs and religion of the neighbouring Ladakh are well known. The information gathered from these two sources agrees closely with the traces of the ancient Shina religion observable in other portions of the Dard area, and from the whole we get a fairly clear, if incomplete, idea of its general character.

According to Francke, the origin of the world is believed by the Brokpas to be as follows: 1. 'Out of the Ocean grew a meadow. On the meadow grew three mountains. One of them is called "the White-jewel Hill," the second "the Red-jewel Hill," and the third "the Blue-jewel Hill." On the three mountains three trees grew. The first is called "the White Sandal-tree," and the second "the Blue Sandal-tree," and the third "the Blue Sandal-tree." On each of the trees grew a bird, "the Wild King of Birds," "the House-hen," and "the Black Bird," respectively. Francke adds: "as regards the system of colours, we are decidedly reminded of the gling cho, or pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet (see Dzocho case). I am inclined to believe that the three colours were thought to exist in the top of the tree: the lowest being the blue mountain and tree forming the Under-world, the red mountain and tree being in the middle and representing the present world, and the uppermost being the white mountain and tree forming the Land of the Gods. But in other cases, the three colours are thought of as the Tree of Life and death, according to which the world is framed out of the body of a giant, while it grows out of the water, as in Buddhism."

Nothing like this cosmogony has been noted in other Shīn tracts, and it may be that it has been partly borrowed from Tibet. At the same time it may be noted that the Kuson or Ngīnas, who are prominent characters in this, are probably met, under the form of snakes, in Gilgit tradition, and, according to Leitner, the earth is there known as the 'Serpent World.'

From the hymn from which Francke has culled the preceding account he also extracts the following two names of deities, Vandring and Mandelde Mandeschen. These names are, at any rate, not Tibetan, and are therefore probably Dard. In another prayer, the name Shina occurs as that of the race, who also honours almost like a god. Francke mentions water, milk, butter, and flower offerings as sacrifices and also burnt offerings of the pencil-cedar (see below). Sheep and goats are also offered to the gods, and in one song—that of the ibex-hunter—the hunter carries all the necessary provisions along with him when going to his quarry, and after the lucky shot they are at once offered to the gods.

Further west, we also come across traces of Buddhism. A rock-cut figure of the Buddha is still to be seen in a defile near the village of Shanktso, and about the Gilgit and Astor valleys, as well as elsewhere, there can be found ruined chortens (q.v.), whose forms can even now be distinctly traced. One of the Shin festivals, the Toleai, which commemorates the destruction of an ancient king who devoted himself to his subjects, seems to have a connexion with a similar festival among the Iranian fire-worshippers of the Pasirs. In neither case, however, can we consider such remains as part of the true ancient Dard religion. They are just as probably as Islam.

The practical side of Dard religion, as distinct from speculative theories regarding cosmogony and the like, is best described by Shaw in his account of the Brokpas (p. 29 ff.), which fully sets forth the ancient customs and beliefs of the people. The real worship is that of local spirits or demons, much like the cult of similar beings in the neighbouring Ladakh. Closely connected with this is the custom of the, a great tree (Jingkong) called the Shina' shal, and by the Brokpas shaluka. In every village in which Shina's are in a majority there is a sacred chūlī stone, dedicated to the tree, which is still more or less the object of reverence. Each village has its own name for the stone, and an oath taken or an engagement made over it is often more binding than when the Qurān is used. Shaw's account of the local Brokpa goddess of the village of Dāh may be taken as a sample:

'Her name is Shring-mao. A certain family in the village supplies the hereditary officiating priest. This person has to purify himself for the annual ceremony by washing and fasting for the space of seven days, during which he sits apart, not even members of his own family being allowed to approach him, although, as he washes, these consecrate drink from onions, salt, chung (a sort of beer), and other unclean food. At the end of this period he goes up alone to the rocky point above the village, and, after worshipping in the name of the community the deity who dwells there in a small cairn, he removes the branch of the "shingma" (Jingkong) that was placed there the previous year, the old branch being carefully stowed away under a rock and covered up with stones.'

1 Sandal-tree, or gling cho, is a well-known term in Tibet, signifying the tree of the world, and representing the human body. It is a common belief that the doctrine of the gling cho is very ancient and is derived from China, and that it was introduced into Tibet by the Buddha and the followers of the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet. The gling cho is described as a tree divided into three parts: the lower part representing the Under-world, the middle part the present world, and the upper part the Land of the Gods. The three colours of the gling cho are red, blue, and white, corresponding to the three worlds of India, China, and Japan, respectively. The gling cho is also regarded as the symbol of the human body, with the trunk representing the spine, the branches the arms and legs, and the leaves the hair. The gling cho is also used as a symbol of the tree of life and death, with the trunk symbolizing the tree of life and the branches the tree of death.

2 It is an interesting fact that all over the Pancha region there are traditions pointing to ancient cannibal customs which were put a stop to by some hero or god. The Sanskrit word Pancha means 'eater of raw flesh.'
by the demon, and in that state to dance a devil-dance, giving forth inspired oracles at the same time; but these manifestations have ceased for the last twelve or fifteen years [written in 1856]. The worship is now simply one of propitiation inspired by fear, the demon seeming to be regarded as an impersonation of the forces of nature adverse to man in this wild mountainous country. Sacrifices of goats (not sheep) are occasionally offered at all seasons below the rock, by the priest only, on behalf of pious persons. They take a deer's head, which has a garden containing only one tree composed entirely of pearls and coral. Although they are capable of forming love-attachments with men, like Lokhirmun they have a secret, and they never forgive the human being who discovers it. 1 They play night and day, and used to rule over the mountains and oppose the cultivation of the soil by man. They often dragged people away into their recesses, but, since the adoption of the Muhammadan religion, they have lost their possessions, and only occasionally trouble the believers. Their oath is by the sun and moon, and they are not invariably malevolent. On the occasion of their weddings the foremen of the property of the thakur was instructed to send [for rejoicings, and restore it faithfully, without the lender being aware of the loan. On such occasions they have kindly feelings towards the human race. The shadow of a demon falling on a person causes madness.

Fairies, known as Barai, are also common. They are as handsome as the demons are hideous, and are stronger than they. They have a castle of crystal on the top of the mighty mountain of Nanga Parbat (supposed, in spirit, to be the roof of Mahamandamoo.) The diviner, or Dringuel, is one on whom the shadow of a fairy has fallen in sleep. When performing his or her office, the diviner is made to inhale the smoke of burning juniper wood till he becomes drunk. Then, with the neck of a newly slaughtered goat is presented to him, and he sucks the blood till not a drop remains. He then rushes about in a state of ecstasy, uttering unintelligible sounds. The fairy appears and sings to him, he alone being able to bear. He then explains her words in a song to one of the attendant musicians, who translates its meaning to the crowd of spectators.

Among miscellaneous customs, we must first of all mention the remarkable abhorrence entertained for everything connected with a cow (we have already remarked the fondness for dogs). The touch of the animal contaminates, and, though they are not afraid to milk bullocks in laughing tones, the Dards scarcely handle them at all. They employ a forked stick to remove a calf from its mother. They will not drink milk or touch any of its products in any form, and believe that to do so causes madness. There is nothing in this, for they look upon the cow as bad, not good, and base their abhorrence on the will of the local gods. Marriages are celebrated with much ceremony, for an account of which the reader is referred to Biddulph (p. 78 ff.). We trace a survival of marriage by capture in the bridegroom setting out for the bride's home, surrounded by his friends and equipped with weapons. A red-hot axe-head, as an essential part of the dress of a Shin bride is a fillet of cowrie shells bound round her head. When the bride and bridegroom take their first meal together, there is a scramble for the first morsel, as whenever eating, they all have the mystery during the future wedded life. After the birth of a child the mother is uncleane for seven days, and no one will eat from her hand during that period. Ordinarily fire is still practised. Seven paces are measured, and a red-hot axe-head has been referred to in the foregoing pages. In former years the worship of this tree was performed with much ceremony, and hymns were sung in its honour. In prayers to it for the fullfillment of any desire, it was addressed as 'The Dreadful King, son of the fairies, who has come from far.' The chilli stone, at the entrance of every Shin village, has already been mentioned. On it offerings to the chillies were placed, and from it omens were deduced. A full account of the ceremonies connected with its worship will be found in Biddulph (p. 106 ff.).

To sum up, the present writer has met in none of the authorities on the Dard religion any reference to a Supreme Deity, corresponding to the Kahir Iwari. In short, there is nothing in the literature, the Musalmān word Huḍa has to be used for 'God.' The centre of the worship seems to be the chilli tree, a mighty son of the fairies; and the whole mountain region in which the Dards dwell is peopled by spirits, some benevolent, some malevolent, probably personifications of the powers of Nature, who exercise a constant influence on the lives of the human beings who dwell under

1 So also in India. Compare the hoods of the European devil and the Diable boitier. Whitley Stokes tells of an Irish legend, according to which the devil could not kneel to pray, as his knees were turned the wrong way.
DARSANA—DARWINISM

their way. Most of the worship is in the form of the malevolent spirits, though we occasional spirits and demons are deduced to the benevolent "chilis." Over the whole is spread a complex mist. We see traces of the Magian religion of Iran; of Buddhism, left behind on its way to Central Asia; and, in modern times, Islam, in strong possession. The Utter Dard religion has nothing in common with any of them. Attempts have been made, but in the opinion of the present writer entirely without any justification, to connect it with the religions of India, and (with better reason) with the ancient religion. It is a pure Nature religion of an agricultural and pastoral people, dwelling in a barren land, amidst the highest mountain ranges in the world. The languages of the Pishach people, of which the Dard languages form an important group, are, as has been stated, something between Indian and Iranian, and one of their most characteristic marks is the wonderful way in which they have preserved ancient Aryan forms of speech almost unchanged down to the present day. The same may be said of the Dard religion. It retains many of the characteristics of the oldest form of Aryan religion with which we are acquainted. There is the same adoration of a special plant (in the Vedas the soma, and among the Dard the chilis), and the same worship, mixed with terror, of the personified powers of Nature.


DARKNESS.—See LIGHT AND DARKNESS.

DARSANA.—The term darsana, the literal meaning of which is 'seeing,' 'sight,' is more usually employed in Sanskrit literature with a derivative or metaphorical significance, as 'insight,' 'perception,' i.e. mental or spiritual vision. It is the once known expressive of one of the most characteristic and fundamental thoughts of Indian philosophy—the meditative and mystical attitude of mind which frames for itself an idealistic conception of the universe; e.g. Manu, vi. 74:

"He who is possessed of true insight (darsanaamamam) is not bound by deeds, but by the act of insight (darsana vikara) it involved in the cycle of existence.

The word is also used of the vision of sleep, a dream or dreaming, wherein the mind perceives and learns independently of the exercise of the bodily senses.

Thus darsana is thought, perception in general, the application of the mental faculties to abstract conditions and problems; and ultimately denotes thought as crystallized and formulated in doctrine or teaching—the formal and authoritative utterance of the results to which the mind has attained. In this sense it is practically equivalent to sikhsa.

As a technical term, darsana is applied to the six recognised systems of Indian philosophy, which give many-sided expression to Indian thought in its widest and most far-reaching developments. These form the six darsanas, systems of thought and doctrine properly so called, viz. the Purav and Nyaya (the former more usually known as the Vedanta); the Sthitikya and Yoga; the Nyaya and Vaiśiṣṭikya. Of these, the first consists mainly of explanation and comment on the ritual texts of the Vedas, while the second expounds the widely known speculative system of the Vedanta.

sophy of India. The third and fourth are nearly related to one another; and of these the ancient Sāṅkhya is primarily a materialistic theory of the universe, which the Ṭrāyop—its essential elements equally ancient—then takes up and interprets in a theistic sense. The Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika are not systems of philosophy at all in the ordinary acceptation of the term; the former treats largely of materialistic and literary criticism, the latter of natural philosophy and the physical constitution of the universe. The precise date at which these systems originated or were first reduced to order and writing is unknown; they represent, however, the outworn thought and final residue of Indian thought and speculation, extending probably over many centuries.

There is no reason to believe that the six darsanas contain all that the mind of ancient India conceived; or to which the early thinkers endeavoured to give expression. It would seem probable, however, that, while much has been lost, and the extent treatises are often fragmentary, enigmatic, highly figurative, and difficult of interpretation, there has been preserved in these systems, in the traditional and literary sources upon which they have drawn, the best that India had to give of speculation and thought upon the problems and conditions of life.

A somewhat similar word is tertha, 'investigation,' 'inquiry,' 'discussion,' which also in course of time was used to denote the science or system which was its outcome and fruit. It was then later employed in the same manner as darsana, as a designation of the recognized philosophies.

The former term, however, seems never to have obtained the same degree of acceptance or currency as the latter, which in the usage of writers of all periods was the ordinary and appropriate designation of the six systems to which alone orthodox rights and authority are ascribed.

At first sight the Origin of Species accomplished nothing in itself very remarkable. The theory of evolution had long been in the air. While the conception of continuous development in the universe had come down to us from the Greeks, the neutralized and scientific theory had become commonplace of knowledge by the middle of the 19th century. Kant's nebular hypothesis, further developed by Laplace and Herschel, had familiarized the world with the idea of development as applied to the physical universe. In Geology, workers like Murchison and Lyell had brought home to men's minds the same conception in connection with the history of the earth. Even in the biological sciences the idea of continuous development by the modification of existing forms was strongly represented by Lamarck and many other distinguished scientists. But before Darwin all these separate developments lacked vitality. In the last resort they rested largely on theory.

1 For the literature and detailed expositions of the six systems see the separate articles VEDANTA, etc.
In particular, the idea of the evolution of life by gradual modification was unsupported by any convincing argument drawn from facts and evidence of the existing conditions of life. The most characteristic position was that which had been reached in biology. Controversy turned upon the meaning of species. These were held to be permanent and immutable. While it was admitted that there might be a certain amount of small variation of forms, species were considered to represent special acts of creation at various times in the past history of the earth. Among the leading representatives of the biological sciences, permanence of species was the accepted view. Down to the publication of the Origin of Species, said Darwin, all the most eminent living naturalists and geologists disbelieved in the mutability of species. I occasionally sounded not a few naturalists, and never happened to cross a single individual who seemed to doubt about the permanence of species (Life and Letters, ch. vi)

Lamarck's theory, by which he accounted for divergence of types by the accumulation of the inherited effects of use and disuse of organs, was rejected by the doctrine of prevailing opinion, according to which the past history of life was one of constant cataclysms and of constantly recurring creations. Finally, this scientific view was powerfully reinforced by all the inductive and scientific opinion of the day, which took its stand on a literal interpretation of the Hebrew account of creation in six days, contained in the first chapter of Genesis.

It was into these intellectual conditions that the doctrine of organic evolution by Natural Selection was launched by Darwin in 1859. The distinctive feature of the doctrine of development which it put forward was that it accounted for the evolution of life by the agency of causes of exactly the same kind as are at work in progress. It exhibited modifi-

The theory of the mechanism by which the transmission of species is effected, and then by supposing in the Origin of Species an enormous and well-organized body of facts and evidence in support of it, that Darwin instantly converted scientific opinion and succeeded in carry-

This tendency to increase beyond the conditions of existence is accompanied by an inherent tendency in every part, organ, and function of life to vary. As many more individuals of each species are born than can possibly survive, and as, consequently, there is a frequent struggle for existence, it follows that any being, if it vary, in any manner profitable to itself, under the complex and sometimes varying conditions of life, will have a better chance of surviving, and thus be naturally selected. From the strong principle of self-preservation it tends to pass its new and modified form (ib. Introductory p. 5 in 1860 ed.)

This is the Darwinian doctrine of the survival of the fittest. It presented the whole modern success of life as a theory derived from simpler forms, under the stress of the process of competition for the conditions of existence.

The far-reaching effect produced by the publication of the Origin of Species and by Darwin's theory of Natural Selection was undoubtedly due to two main causes. The first of these was the immediate illumination which it threw on some of the most difficult problems of the special sciences which were most closely concerned. This has been often discussed, and the views on intellectual tendencies are now well understood. The second cause was the character of the impression which the doctrines produced on the general mind. The nature of this impression is much less clearly understood. It is, however, in this second relationship that the full and more lasting significance of Darwinism has to be appreciated.

The general mind almost from the beginning perceived with sure instinct, and far more distinctly than the representatives of the special sciences concerned, the bearing of the theories to the estab-

The accumulated tension of scientific progress burst upon the mind, not only of the nation, but of the whole intelligent world, with a suddenness and an overwhelming force for which the strongest material metaphors are poor and inadequate. Twice the bolt fell, and twice, in a way to which history furnishes no parallel, the opinions of mankind may be said to have been changed in a day. Changed, not on some minor points standing alone, but each time on a fundamental position which, like a keystone, brought down with it an arch of connected beliefs resting on long-cherished ideas and prejudices. What took place was not merely the acceptance by millions of new opinions, but complete inversions of former beliefs involving the rejection of views which had grown sacred by long inheritance.

The new doctrine seemed, in short, to gather up into a focus the meaning of a number of developments long in progress and revolutionary in their nature, the recognition of which in their dependence and importance had long been resisted in Western thought. It seemed to give cumulative expression to intellectual tendencies which, since the period of the Renaissance, had been urged against the overwhelming power of accepted and often intolerant religious beliefs. The first condition, therefore, was a kind of intellectual Saturnalia. The effects were felt far and wide, at almost every centre of learning, and in almost every department of thought,
philosophy, and religion. Huxley in England, Renan in France, Haeckel in Germany, were representatives of one aspect of movement in which Darwin in biology, Tyndall in physics, and Grant Allen in popular science represented another.

Most extravagant conceptions became current even in circles of sober and reasoned opinion. Religious beliefs were said to have been so far shaken that their future survival was assumed as the object of pious hope rather than of reasoned judgment. They were, according to Renan, destined to die slowly out, undermined by primary instinct and by the predominance of a scientific education over a literary education, or, more certainly still, according to Grant Allen, to be entirely discredited as grotesque fungoid growths which had clustered round the thread of primitive ancestor-worship.

The deepest effects of the movement were felt in England and the United States, and this for reasons to which still other causes contributed. When Darwin published the Origin of Species, the reaction to which the doctrine of Natural Selection, making for progress through the struggle for existence, bore to the doctrines which had come to prevail in business and political life was recognized. Almost every argument of the Origin of Species appeared to present a general far-reaching effectiveness of competition. Darwin lifted the veil from life and disclosed to the gaze of his time, as prevailing throughout Nature, a picture of the self-centred struggle of things in nature, ruthlessly pursuing their own interests to the exclusion in his own mind of all other interests; and yet unconsciously so pursuing them—as it was the teaching of the economics of the day that the individual pursued them in business—not only to his own well-being, but to the progress and order of the world.

It soon became apparent that the crudities of conception which prevailed in such inflamed and excited conditions of thought were carrying men altogether beyond the positions which the doctrine of evolution involved. It also became gradually evident, as these first impressions were lived through, that the acceptance of the evolutionary faith implied conclusions which were not only different, in kind, but more striking, and even more revolutionary—although in quite a different sense—than those which the first Darwinians contemplated.

Those who had realized the depth and reality of the doctrine held of religion in the human mind perceived from the beginning how superficial were judgments like that quoted from Renan, to the effect that religious systems had no place in the future development of the race. But it was when the subject came to be approached in the light of the evolutionary doctrine itself that the true nature of the situation became apparent.

The Darwinian doctrine of biological evolution had its roots in the principle of utility. Every part, organ, and function had its meaning in the stress out of which types and races had come. Nothing had come into existence by chance, or without correspondence with environment. The existence of each of all the first Darwinians had been to give prominence to the necessity for the establishment and reinforcement of this—the central arch of the doctrine of evolution by Natural Selection. It was evident, therefore, that while, on the one hand, the sanctions of faith and experience must remain exacting and essential in the religious life, the concept of revolutionary nature was the explanation which the doctrine of evolution would be itself bound to give of the phenomena of religion in the light of its own central principle. What was the meaning of these systems of religious belief which had filled such a commanding place in the social evolution of man? To dismiss the phenomena as merely mechanical and functionless was, the present writer pointed out, impossible and futile, in the face of the teaching of the doctrine of evolution. They must have some significance to correspond with the magnitude and the universality of the scale on which the facts represented themselves.

As observation was carried from primitive man to the most advanced civilization, the importance of the subject was not diminished but increased. The history of the several phases of this race—largely the history of a group of Western peoples which had been for many centuries the most active and progressive nations of the world. The civilization of these peoples was the most important manifestation of this kind to us; first in effect on the nations included in it, and now, to an increasing degree, through its influence on the development of other peoples in the world. This group of Western peoples had been held for thousands of years in a system of belief, giving rise to ideas which have profoundly modified their social consciousness, and the influence of which has saturated every detail of their lives. These ideas had affected the development of the Western civilization, they had influenced the conception of human society, and of the intellectual and political conflicts to which they had given rise. They had deeply influenced standards of conduct, habits, ideas, social institutions, and laws. They had created the distinctive ways of Western society and culture and direction to most of the leading tendencies which are now recognized to be characteristic of it (cf. Civilization). How could it be possible to dismiss from consideration the enormous phase of human history of which this was an example, giving rise to ideas which have profoundly modified their social consciousness, and the influence of which had saturated every detail of their lives, these ideas which had affected the development of the Western civilization, which had influenced the conception of human society, and of the intellectual and political conflicts to which they had given rise. They had deeply influenced standards of conduct, habits, ideas, social institutions, and laws. They had created the distinctive ways of Western society and culture and direction to most of the leading tendencies which are now recognized to be characteristic of it (cf. Civilization).

Further consideration, therefore, made it evident that, if the theory of organic evolution by Natural Selection was to be accepted in human society, it would have to be accepted, like any other principle in Nature, without any reservation whatever. It would be necessary, accordingly, to seek for the religious function of other religions and direction to most of the leading tendencies which are now recognized to be characteristic of it (cf. Civilization). How could it be possible to dismiss from consideration the enormous phase of human history of which this was an example, giving rise to ideas which have profoundly modified their social consciousness, and the influence of which had saturated every detail of their lives, these ideas which had affected the development of the Western civilization, which had influenced the conception of human society, and of the intellectual and political conflicts to which they had given rise. They had deeply influenced standards of conduct, habits, ideas, social institutions, and laws. They had created the distinctive ways of Western society and culture and direction to most of the leading tendencies which are now recognized to be characteristic of it (cf. Civilization).

Throughout the forms of life below human society, the stress through which Natural Selection operated was that of the struggle between individuals. But in human history the fact upon which attention had to be concentrated was that we were watching the integration of a social type. It was the more organic social type which was always winning. The central feature of the process was that it rested ultimately upon mind, and implied the subordination of the individual, ever long tracts of time, to ends which fell far beyond the limits of the individual's consciousness. Correspondence with environment in the case of human evolution, therefore, involved projected efficiency. It was a process of mind. If we were to hold the process of evolution as a mechanical one with no spiritual meaning in it, there would be no rational sanction whatever for the individual to subordinate himself to it. The race was destined, therefore, under the process of Natural Selection, to grow more and more religious. The ethical, philosophical, religious, and spiritual sanctions which were subordinating man to the larger meaning of his own evolution constituted the principal feature of the world's history, to which all others stood in subordinate relationship.

As the early Darwinians continued to struggle with the laws and principles of the stress
of existence between individuals enunciated in the *Origin of Species*, and as it has become increasingly evident that the application of the law of Natural Selection to human society involves a first-hand consideration of all the problems of mind and philosophy, a remarkable feature of the situation has presented itself. This has consisted in the extremely limited number of minds of sufficient scope of view and comprehending nature of the other evolutionary considerations, and the intellectual ability of the Darwinians. He put forward claims for a new science, *Ethics*, which he has defined as a science which would deal with all the influences that improve the inborn qualities of the race, and would make them the third advantage of man as a *scientific breeding.* The list of qualities which Galton proposed to breed from included health, energy, ability, mindliness, and the special aptitudes required for various professions. Mores he proposed to leave out of the question altogether 'as involving too many hopeless difficulties.' Here once more we see the difficulty with which the naturalist is confronted in attempting to apply the merely stand-book principles of the individual struggle for existence as it is waged among plants and animals. The entire range of the problems of morality and mind are necessarily ignored. The higher claim of the race, that all the absolutely characteristic phenomena contributing to the highest organic social efficiency, remain outside his vision.

We are as yet only at the beginning of this phase of our consideration. The remarkable situation, here of necessity only lightly referred to, in which the biologists and the philosophers remain organized in isolated camps, each with the most restricted conception of the nature and importance of the struggle, and the bearing of the conclusions of the bearing on its own conclusions, cannot be expected to continue. One of the most urgent needs of the present time is a class of minds of sufficient scope and training to be able to cover the relations of the conclusions of the study of the individual, with each of these sets of workers to those of the other and to the larger science of society. See also art. EVOLUTION.


**DASNĀMĪS.**—See SALVEMU.

**DAWŪD B. 'ALĪ B. KHALAF.**—Dawūd b. 'Alī b. Khalaf, called al-Zahīrī (with the khwās Abū Sulaimān), a jurist celebrated as the originator of the Zahirīyya school in Muslim theology, was born in Kāfā, A.H. 209 (=A.D. 254), according to other authorities, A.H. 192 (=A.D. 817), of a family belonging to Isfahān. Among the many eminent teachers under whom he studied in his youthful travels were two of the leading theologians of Islam, viz., Ibn b. Rāhwawī (†A.H. 353 [=A.D. 847]) of Nisabūr, with whom he enjoyed personal relations of the most intimate character, and Abū Thaur (Ibrāhīm b. Khālid) of Baghdad (†A.H. 240 [=A.D. 854]). Having completed his course of study, he settled in Baghdad, where he soon established a great reputation, and began to attract pupils in large numbers. His audience, in fact, commonly numbered about 400, and included even scholars of established repute. At this time his teacher, al-Hasan b. Ḫanṣāl, the Nestor of ultra-conservative orthodoxy, whose name is borne by the Ḫanṣālite party, Dāwūd sought to come into friendly relations with and met with, and he lay under the suspicion of having affirmed, while at Nisabūr, that the Qur'ān was a created work—a doctrine which Ahmad b. Ḫanṣāl had attacked with great vigour and at heavy personal cost. It was even said that Dāwūd had been punished for his error by Isḥāq b. Rāhwawī. Though Dāwūd met
these allegiations with a distinct denial, Ahmad still refused to receive him; nor was the enmity relieved by the fact that the system promulgated by Dâwûd coincided in many respects with that of Ahmad, and was even fitted to lend it support. Indeed, Dâwûd, in his travels as a student, had applied himself eagerly to the study of the hadîth, 'prophetic tradition,' he has no outstanding reputation as an authority on that subject. In point of fact, he is said to have given currency to only one Taphetic dictum of note, which cannot be associated with his name through the instrumentality of his son, Abû Bakr Muhâmmad, a well-known hadîth of his day. The saying is as follows: 'He who loves pines and hides (his torment), and dies the more, is to be regarded a martyr.' As a teacher of jurisprudence, on the other hand, Dâwûd's influence was enormous, and here he ranks as the founder of a distinct school. He allied himself with the system of the Imâm al-Shâlî'î, juristic the speculative, which, according to the prevailing doctrine, the least juristic deduction were (1) the ordinances attested by the Qur'ân; (2) those which had the support of tradition; (3) the consensus (ijmâ') of recognized authorities; and (4) the conclusions established by analogy from precedent cases (iqâ'âs). And by deduction of the ratio legis (illât al-sharî'î) from given ordinances. In cases where positive injunctions derived from the first three sources proved too refined to be religion insight (vela', qiyas prudential) involved in the fourth was regarded as valid for juristic reasoning. Dâwûd, however, denied the legitimacy of this last-mentioned source, i.e. the vela', and all that it involved as justifying the reasons of the Divine laws and the analogical arguments founded thereon. The only sources of juristic deduction which he recognized in the positive, or, as he calls them, the 'evident' (zikîrî), i.e. the Qur'ân and the Sunnah, and admitted it restricted it to the demonstrable agreement of the companions of the prophet (ijmân al shâbâh), assigning no more precise limits to the scope of this factor. In thus running counter to the procedure of the dominant schools, Dâwûd found himself in alliance with the extreme section of the party known as the ashâb al-khâtîtâh (traditionalists)—in contrast to the ashâb al-râ'y (speculative jurists)—and became the founder of the Zabîrîyya school, which is accordingly also called the movement Dâwûd. It is true that he brought himself to the point of conceding the admissibility of the 'obvious analogy' (iqnas jaldi) plainly indicated by positive injunctions, but only as a last resource. As a discipline of sacred judgment, moreover, he demanded an independent investigation of tradition, and deprecated a mechanical adherence to the established doctrine of a master or a school (taglî'). The automatic repetition of the teaching of one who is not infallible, he argued, as pernicious, he showed blindness of judgment. 'Out upon him who, having a torch (i.e. tradition) wherewith he may light his own way, extinguishes his torch, and moves only by another's help. Men should not blindly follow any human authority, but should examine the sources for themselves.

Of Dâwûd's writings, a list of which is given in the Kitâb al-Fâhrist, nothing is now extant, but it would be possible to reconstruct his doctrines from quotations in later literature. Biographical writers are at one in extolling the piety and sincerity of his character, and his abstemious mode of life. His fame spread far beyond the confines of his travels, and (from the further limits of the Muhammedan world those who were perplexed with theological problems came to him for light. He died in Baghdad in A.H. 270 (=A.D. 883). Vast as his influence was, however, his system, which and criticized (its defects), and did not adequately meet the requirements of juristic practice, failed to gain a firm footing in public life. Numerous Muslim scholars associated themselves with it, but their adherence was largely personal and theoretical, and, except in a single instance, the system never attained an authoritative position in the official administration of justice. Its solitary success in this respect was achieved in the empire of the Almohads in Spain and North-West Africa, the founders of which, repudiating all adherence (taglî') to particular schools, held that the appeal to the traditional sources was the only permissible procedure. The history of Muslim learning long, the Almohad authority, and, of the 9th of famous adherents of the Zâhirî method in principle in many different countries. The most important, and, in a literary sense, the most eminent, of these was the valiant Andalusian, Ibn Hazm, the Alh. Ali b. Ahmad, a devout follower of the Zâhirî method in his works, and applied it not only to the jurisprudence of Islam, but to its dogmatic theology as well.

LITERATURE.—Taj al-din al-Suhhâ, Tabâqat al-Shâfi'îyya (Cairo, 1924), lii. 42-43; biographv Dâwûd; I. Goldziher, Die Zabîriten, die Lehrsysteme u. ihre Geschicchte, Leipzig, 1894; for the Almohad movement, the sources are too late. The work of Le livre de Muhammed ben Sumayr, Matrub des Almohades, Algers, 1905, pp. 20-54. I. Goldziher.

DAY OF ATONEMENT.—See FESTIVALS (Hebrew).

DEACON, DEACONESSE.—See MINISTRY.

DEAD.—See ANCESTOR-WORSHIP, DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD, STATE OF THE DEAD.

DEAE MATRES.—The Deæ Matres are divinities of uncertain character and function, whose worship was a matter of tradition among the peoples of the Roman Empire (cf. art. CELTS, vol. iii, pp. 290, 296, and passim). How far they are to be identified or associated with so-called 'Mother-goddesses' among other peoples is a matter of dispute and will be discussed later. But there is evidence on Celtic and Germanic territory, and to some extent outside these limits, of a fairly definite cult of goddesses called usually Matres or Matronae, and depicted in accordance with well-established conventions. Knowledge of them is derived entirely from inscriptions and monuments, of which a large number (over four hundred inscriptions) have been preserved; apparent survivals of their worship have been detected in the beliefs and traditions of the Celts and Germans of later ages; but no certain reference to them has been found in ancient literature. There is no reason for applying to them, as is sometimes done, a passage cited from a source in the Dei Augustini (vii. 3, 'Unde dicit etiam ipsa Varro, quod diis quibusdam patribus et deabus matribus, sancti hominibus, ignobilis acceidisset'). Varro's reference is probably general, and certainly the context in St. Augustine does not suggest an application to any particular divinities in question.

The inscriptions discovered up to the year 1857 were published and classified by him in his very important monograph on the Matres, which is cited here by this shortened abridgment (for the recent references, see the Literature at end of article). Additional material
Matres and Matrona. Matrona, however, offspring, women cultus, dative perhaps singular are be discovered forms • rtanea it. Thurneysen, at is of 3\textsuperscript{rd} judgment, no. (RCel, in the five inscription of inscription, which is generally held to show a Celtic (Gaulish) form of the name. This is preserved in the Museum at Nimes and reads, in Greek letters, Ματρόνα Ναςακοῦσαντα βασιλεύει. The epithet Ναςακοῖον is almost certainly local — to the Neronian Mothers, and the dative of basileus is more doubtful. If it contains the root of the Ir. brath, ‘judgment,’ it may well mean \textit{ex judicio}, and be equivalent to the common formula \textit{ex imperio}.

Matres and Matrona appear to be synonymous, though their geographical distribution, as will be seen later, is somewhat different. They even occur as equivalents on a single inscription: \textit{Matribus sive Matronibus doméstisis} (\textit{Matronenkultus}, no. 207); and the same epithet is sometimes found in combination with both terms (cf. \textit{Matribus [\textit{V}a]calit]\textit{michin}} [ib. no. 213] with \textit{Matronis Vactalihein}} [ib. nos. 224, 225, 227]). But such close association of the two is exceptional, and certain distinctions have been pointed out in their use. Ihm (Roscher, p. 2465) shows that Matres is accompanied by epithets of greater elevation (’saugstae,’ ‘deae’). Hild (Daremberg-Sauvage) tries to make out a difference in the fact that men pray often to Matres, and women to Matrona; but his figures can hardly be regarded as significant. Roach-Smith (in his \textit{Collectanea Antiqua}, vii. [1875–80] 215) argues that the two contrapose each other with the feminine principle in Nature, with maternity and offspring, while the Matres presided over the fruits of the earth and, in general, over public and private business. None of these distinctions, however, is really established as valid. It is perhaps a significant fact, which is pointed out by Haverfield (\textit{Arch.\ El.}, xv. 320), that Matrona does not occur in any land where the cult is demonstrably imported; and the name may therefore be really the Celtic Matrona, which survives in the name in Borneo and in a few other names of places, rather than the Latin Matrona. Since there is no evidence outside of

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Matres}, see Hirschfeld, \textit{CIL} xiii. 4575; among the \textit{Matres}, see ibid. 4569.
  \item See Haverfield, \textit{Arch.\ El.}, xiv. [1923] 82. Sommer, \textit{Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- u. Formenlehre}, Heidelberg, 1902, p. 369, explains such forms by the analogy of dealing. Matronaba also occurs (see \textit{Notizie degli scavi di palest.}, 1897, p. 6).
  \item There is one record from Germany; see \textit{Weltdeutsche Zeitschrift}, 1938, p. 125, and Bonner Jahrbiicher, ev. [1900] 56.
  \item See Thurneysen, \textit{Handbuch des Alt-Frischen}, Heidelberg, 1906, p. 10, and Bliss, ‘Kelt. Inschr. of France and Italy,’ Proc. Brit. Acad. 6, [1906–6] 291. It should be said that some scholars do not treat \textit{Matres} as an inscription to the Celtic Dard of Juveinville (\textit{RCel}, 1906, p. 2924) explains it as \textit{mater} Latin; and Bliss, ib. [1906–7] 291, \textit{et sic} it. The latter scholar translates \textit{Matrona} by \textit{matrona} of \textit{mater matrona}. Inscriptions, the quantity of the \(o\) must be regarded as uncertain; and, if it was pronounced long, as is likely enough, this might simply mean that the familiar Latin word had been substituted for the Celtic. The substitution was not entirely natural, and the two words would have come to be regarded as identical. The fact that \textit{Matrona} appears regularly in the singular, whereas the \textit{Matronae} are named in the plural and depicted in groups, might be a convenient device of the two cults, but would not preclude a common origin. Moreover, there is some doubt, as will be shown later, whether the \textit{Matres} or \textit{Matrona} were not sometimes conceived and represented singly. Even if the identification of \textit{Matrona} with \textit{Matrona} should be accepted, it would not become any easier to make a distinction between \textit{Matres} and \textit{Matrona}, for the Celtic (or possibly pre-Celtic) \textit{Matrona}, like the Latin, appears to be the derivative of the inscription \textit{Matres Patriae}. The characteristic of the divinities bearing the name \textit{Matrona} is also quite uncertain. On the whole, then, \textit{Matres} and \textit{Matrona} seem to be equivalent in sense, and neither of them is probably Roman in origin. In conclusion we can only say that, if the two words will be used interchangeably, except where a distinction is explicitly made between them.

The dates of the monuments to the \textit{Matres} or \textit{Matrona} range all the way from the time of Caligula (\textit{Matronenkultus}, no. 237) and the Neronian \textit{Matronae} (ib. no. 361). They are found chiefly in Cisalpine Gaul, Gallia Narbonensis, Gaul proper, and Lower Germany, and to a limited extent at Rome itself, in Britain, and in Spain. Those at Rome and in Britain are apparently due to soldiers or tradesmen, and do not prove the local existence of the cult; and the same may be true of the few inscriptions preserved on the Spanish peninsula. The latter, however, are taken by Arbois de Jubainville as evidence that the Celts had the worship in common with the Gauls; and the epithet ‘Galliaci’ favours the supposition. Still more remote provinces are brought into relation with the cult by the inscription \textit{Matres Patriae} at Delmaratum, preserved at Lyons (\textit{Matronenkultus}, no. 394), and \textit{Matres Afric. Ital. Gallae}, preserved at York (ib. no. 318). But no inscription to \textit{Matres} or \textit{Matrona} has yet been found in other Africa, or on the two sides of the Danube, and it seems probable that the names indicate simply military service in those regions on the part of the dedicants or of their soldiers. Monuments are commonest on the west bank of the Rhine and in the vicinity of Lyons; and the tribes among whom the worship chiefly flourished appear to have been the Vocontii, Arecomici, Allobroges, Sequani, Lignenses, and Ubii. There are almost no traces of it in Aquitania or western Narbonensis, and few in the region east of the Rhine. The geographical distribution of the names is, in general, as follows: \textit{Matrona} seems to be the only form in Cisalpine Gaul, though some abbreviations are doubtful, and it is the prevailing form in Germany; \textit{Matres} occurs chiefly near Lyons.

\begin{enumerate}
  \item The comparison between \textit{Matrona} and \textit{Matrona} is old. See, for example, Pictet in \textit{RCel}, ii. 8. On the occurrences of \textit{Matrona}, see Hölder, \textit{Alldeut. Sprachschatz}, s.v. For the view that it is Ligurian, not Celtic, compare H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, \textit{Premiers habitants de l'Europe}, Paris, 1897, p. 49. G. Dottin, \textit{Manuel pour servir à l'étude de l'antiq. celtique}, Paris, 1896, p. 237.
  \item For a map showing their distribution, see Haverfield's art. in \textit{Arch.\ El.}, xv. \textit{RCel} xiv. [1900] 376; also J. Leite de Vasconcellos, \textit{Religiões de Lusitânia}, ii. [1905] 176 ff. See Ihm, \textit{RCel}, p. 259; \textit{Weltdeutsche Zeitschrift}, 1906, p. 229, for inscriptions to ‘Campestres,’ ‘Divinae,’ etc., in Africa and the Danube provinces.
  \item On certain coins of the region for such worship in the Palatinate, see Grinewald, \textit{Weltdeutsche Zeitschrift}, 1906, p. 235 ff.
\end{enumerate}
and in Gallia Narbonensis; and Matres is common in Gaul proper and in Britain.

Since we have direct evidence, then, concerning the worship, it belongs to the Celtic and Germanic provinces of the Roman Empire, the chief points of radiation being Gaul and Lower Germany. With regard to its origin and early history there is difference of opinion. The theory that it was a general Indo-Germanic institution (set forth most fully by Becker, Kuhn's Beitrag, iv. [1868] 146 ff.) is rejected by most recent investigators, though the relation of this to other cults of Mother-goddesses among various peoples presents obscure problems which are not by any means to be summarily dismissed. This subject will receive further mention, but in the meantime clearness will be undoubtedly served by confining the discussion, as Ihm has wisely done, to the narrower range of forms which are evidently related. These are common to Celts and Germans, and both peoples have been held to be the original possessors of the worship. The problem is rather in favour of the view that the Celts first developed it and that the Germans borrowed it from them. The oldest dated monument (Matronenkultus, no. 35, of the age of Caligula) has been found in northern Italy, and it is not certain that was not an imported native also of southern Gaul. It is unlikely that the Celtic population of either of those regions derived it from the Germans, and all that is known of the relations of Germans and Celts down to the beginning of the Christian era favours the theory that the Germans, in such matters, were the borrowers or imitators. It is possible, of course, that both peoples possessed the worship equally from the beginning (cf. Sieburg, op. cit. p. 97; also Maehl, 39 f.), or that they derived it independently from older populations which preceded them in the occupation of western Europe. Attention has already been called to the uncertainty concerning the history of the names Matres and Matronae themselves.

The Mother-goddesses, in the restricted sense in which they are now being considered, were apparently conceived in triads. Only one inscription (Matribus tribus Campestribus, CIL vii. 510, preserved in Britain) designates three goddesses; the others are either Matribus alone or Matronae without the 408

It is doubtful how far monuments representing groups larger or smaller than five are to be associated with the worship of the Matres. Five women on a relief at Avignon probably do not themselves represent the goddesses, though the monument is inscribed 'Matronis' (see Matronenkultus, p. 35, fig. 2). The monument of two figures on a relief at Poitiers, holding cornucopias and baskets of fruit, has also been taken to represent Matres. But the existence of other goddesses known to have been worshipped in pairs renders the identification of this as Matronae doubtful. The single dancing figure of a goddess riding a horse, often referred to in the past as an 'equestrian Matrona', are now held to be Epona, a divinity of distinct character, whose worship appears, however, in the same regions as that of the Matres. Occasionally, in Epona and the Mother-goddesses are associated on the same monument. It is, of course, possible that Epona was originally, as Renel (Les Religions de la Gaule avant le christianisme, Paris, 1906, p. 251) suggests, only a Matrona with specialized function (mère spécialisée).

Of dubious connexion with the Matres, likewise, are numerous statuettes of single figures, without names, more or less resembling the inscribed representations of the goddesses. Some of these figures carry fruit or cornucopias, and have the head-dress as appears on the larger monuments; others represent women with babies—a conception in itself suitable enough to Matres or Matronae. According to Becker, many of these figures are found in the usual convention. Ihm rejects all such figures, insisting upon the triadic group as characteristic of the cult (Matronenkultus, p. 53 ff.); and the existence of statuettes of the regular triad rather counts in his favour, making it more difficult, as Sieburg has argued, to identify single figures as Matronae. It is even doubted whether the numerous statuettes of women with babies or fruits represent goddesses at all. They may be merely votive offerings or talismanic images; but in the case of many of them the symbolism appears to indicate local or personal divinities similar in function to the Matres. The most reasonable conclusion, perhaps, is to recognize the probable existence of the number; other interpretations are in the present state of knowledge a mere matter of hypothesis. In any case, it does not seem wise to extend them by the inclusion of doubtful monuments. The term 'Mother-goddesses,' which is applied, especially by French archaeologists, to a great number of these statuettes of various types, is sometimes used very

1 Cf., for example, the inscription, *Deus Verumseae et Nemetanae, at Trevae: and see, for other references, Matronenkultus, p. 53 f., and Sieburg, Bonner Jahrb. cr. 98 ff. Becker's 'reitende Matrona,' Bonner Jahrb. xxvi. [1858] 21 ff.
2 See Matronenkultus, p. 55 ff.; S. Reimach, RA, 1895, p. 163 ff. Reimach gives a number of the distributions of the goddesses, and it is with the present state of knowledge that it does not seem wise to extend them by the inclusion of doubtful monuments. The term 'Mother-goddesses,' which is applied, especially by French archaeologists, to a great number of these statuettes of various types, is sometimes used very

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loosely. Thus Gassies, pleading against the restriction of the Mother-worship to Gaul and Germany, cites Venus, Juno, and Deucetius as "des ses mères;" and other writers (see, for example, A. Wirth, Danae, Vienna and Prague, 1892, p. 95) have compared the Matres with the Semitic Aratria. Statutes, moreover, of the sorts just referred to will often be found in semi-separate regions outside of Gaul: for example, in Greece, Italy, and Northern Africa.1

The difficulty, if not the impossibility, of keeping the worship of Matres and Matrona distinct from all other cults in lands and cities in the case of inscribed than in that of uninscribed monuments. For the ancients themselves associated, and doubtless to some extent identified, these divinities with others. Just as in the case of the Celts and Germans, so with regard to the Matres, the modern investigator is puzzled by the uncertain meaning of the interpretatio Romana. Roman conquerors and romanized provinces alike were at once given the title of to a northern barbarians with those of the old classical pantheon, and the resulting equations are neither consistent with themselves nor easy to understand.2 The Matres are not, it may be said, associated with the Parcae, on the evidence of a few inscriptions "Matriss Parcis." But it is not clear that an identification of the two groups was intended by the dedicants in question. Moreover, the modes of representing the Matres and the Parcae are quite different, and their fundamental characters appear to have been dissimilar (see below, p. 410, and cf. Matronenkultus, p. 66 ff., and Haverfield, Arch. Âl. xxv. 230). The association of the Fates with the Matres is also doubtful, and finds no positive support in the inscriptions.3 In the case of the Nymphe, whom some investigators have brought into relation with the Matres, there is little reason for the comparison, beyond the fact that both kinds of divinities have numerous monuments inscribed with local epithets.4 Evidence is slightly better, as Hm has shown, for connecting the Matres with the goddesses of the cross-roads (q.v.) named on various monuments as McCruorates, etc., and in connexion with Matrona or Matrona, and it is hard to say whether they stand for goddesses originally distinct and later identified with the Matres, or whether they were originally mere epithets of the Matres and after-wards came to be used indiscriminately. At all events the divinities concerned were closely associated in the end with the Mother-goddesses. The Junones, in the sense now under consideration, should probably be distinguished from the Roman Juno, even when given the title of the goddess of women. They are very likely only Matrona worshipped under another name, and the chief seat of their cult appears to have been Caisaline Gaul.5

The Comptostes have sometimes been described as goddesses of the fields, but it is more probable that they were the special protectors of a military camp, or rather that their name was the epithet applied to the Matrone when conceived as exercising this function.6 In the case of the Sulover it is more probable that we have divinities originally of a widely separate regions from the Matres, though of closely similar character and function. Inscriptions to them are far less numerous than those to the Matres or Matrona, but their geographical distribution is similar. The origin and meaning of the name is less apparent, and it is tempting to compare the British Des Sul, worshipped at Bath (Aqua Sulis), and to seek an etymology in the Celtic root sul (O. Ir. sul, "eye"). If this theory is right, the meaning of the word would be similar to that of Tydeus.7

In the absence of all ancient literary treatment of the Mother-goddesses, the only evidences of their divine functions are those furnished by the artistic representations of the divinities, and by the epithets applied to them. Of the Matres, though the identity of the goddesses is not always clear, the application of this to the Matres is not certain.3 "Nemites" is possibly equivalent to "sanctae," but seems rather to be connected with the tribal name of the Nemeta or Nemetae, "omnium gentium," "Nemite" or "Nemeta," ". . . indigentes." By far the greater number contain the names of nations, tribes, or localities, such as "Aurelia Galle," "Italic Gallic Germano Britannia," "Omnium gentium," "Norice," "Traveller," "Thor," and the numerous non-Latin or half-Latinized names, which though largely unexplained, are held to belong chiefly to this class. A few of the latter have been brought into relation with definite place-names like "Julii Placentii," "Africani," "Germani," "Iberi," etc., and it is possible that the matter is by no means certain.6 But the divinities who may with most probability be identified with the Matres are those who were called "Campestres," "Junones," and "Sulevic." All these names appear both on monuments and in connexion with Matrona or Matrona, and it is hard to say whether they stand for goddesses originally distinct and later identified with the Matres, or whether they were originally mere epithets of the Matres and afterwards came to be used indiscriminately. At all events the divinities concerned were closely associated in the end with the Mother-goddesses. The Junones, in the sense now under consideration, should probably be distinguished from the Roman Juno, even when given the title of the goddess of women. They are very likely only Matrona worshipped under another name, and the chief seat of their cult appears to have been Caisaline Gaul.5

1 See Siegburg, de Sallarda Campestres Fatti, Bonn, 1886; Ihm, Matronenkultus, p. 76 ff., and Roscher, etc. v. Matres, p. 2475.
2 See Siegburg, de Sallarda, etc., and Bonner Jahrb. cr. [1900] 80 ff.; and Ihm, Matronenkultus, p. 79 ff.
3 See Matronenkultus, p. 95, and Ihm, Celtic Heathendom, 1892, p. 102 ff., the latter comparing the Gaulish Compenda. Even this is not beyond dispute, an its meaning is not particularly individualizing at least. It is generally translated the "Givers," the "All-Givers" (et Pan- dona)—a name which is quite consistent with the representations of the goddesses. The etymology is easy in Germanic (cf. geben, "give," etc.), where

1 See Siegburg, de Sallarda Campestres Fatti, Bonn, 1886; Ihm, Matronenkultus, p. 76 ff.; and Roscher, etc. v. Matres, p. 2475.
2 See Siegburg, de Sallarda, etc., and Bonner Jahrb. cr. [1900] 80 ff.; and Ihm, Matronenkultus, p. 79 ff.
3 See Matronenkultus, p. 95, and Ihm, Celtic Heathendom, 1892, p. 102 ff., the latter comparing the Gaulish Compendia.
4 On this character of the seminary "deh-" in "meha with Avestan Mehrana,
5 See Roscher, etc. v. Matres, p. 2475, and Ihm's remarks in the Bonner Jahrb. cr. [1886] 165, and Haverfield in the Arch. Âl. xxv. 230.
6 On this peculiar "hmn's name, "Junoni II." in Roscher. The Prozenose, sometimes identified with the Matres, seem to correspond rather to the regular Roman Junone (cf. Matronenkultus, p. 67).
several other divine names are perhaps to be derived from the same root; \( \text{gab} \) in the Celtic languages, in which the root \( \text{gab} \) usually means 'take,' rather than 'give,' the explanation is more difficult. It is possible, therefore, that the epithet is Germanic in origin, and that the form 'Olo-
gabias,' in which the prefix has a Celtic appearance, is simply a case of the Celtic adoption of the Ger-
manic 'Alagabias.' The interpretation proposed for Gabies is supported by several divine names in Lithuanian ('Matergabia,' 'Polegabia') which have the same root and meaning.\(^1\)

With regard to the nature and function of the goddesses, various theories have been held. According to older views, now generally abandoned, they were defined druidesses of the ancient Celts, or prophetesses of the Gauls or of the three seasons.\(^2\) The occa-
sional association of the Matres with the Parce has led to their interpretation as divinities of destiny; but the evidence for this has already (p. 405) been shown to be very slender. And the repre-
sentations of the goddesses, together with the few epithets that seem to bear on the question ('Indulgentes,' 'Gabae,' etc.), indicate that they were primarily friendly local divinities of wealth and fertility. As such, their functions would resemble those of Fortuna or Pomena rather than those of the Fates, though the two concepts would be naturally associated, and occasional equations between Matres and Parce might be expected to appear in the course of time.

At the same time, the sphere of the goddesses should not, on the evidence of the reliefs, be too narrowly restricted to the care of lands and flocks. The conventional representation of them, which was doubtless of classical origin, may have been purely artistic in purpose and in no sense a complete expression of the cult. Even the number three, which is also characteristic of monuments of Proserum, Parce, and Nymphs, may be a formal device for represent-
ing the usual number and have no literal significance. Certainly the distribution of the worship, the occa-
sional association of the Matres with Mars, and such epithets as 'campestres' and 'victrices,' all connect the goddesses with a considerable extension of their powers in one direction; and various dedications by women imply their influence over still other phases of life. Their functions were undoubtedly vague and confused by the worshippers, and ought not to be narrowly defined. As the tutelary genii of tribes or localities, they presided over all the interests of the people, and gave success to all kinds of undertakings. They belong, in short, to a stage of religion in which all determinate duties were regarded as not clearly defined, and their cult doubtless survived, with slight alteration, even after the development of gods with specialized functions.\(^4\)

Although the cult of the Matres was widespread and in a sense universal, as is shown by the numerous monuments and also by occasional references \( ^5 \) to the goddesses on ancient coins, in literature, etc., it is not probable that they ever became the object of popular worship, as the goddesses of the Roman period, from which our evidence comes, does not appear to have belonged to the higher social classes. All the dedicants, so far as can be determined, are persons of low rank, except perhaps the triobulsum militum of a single inscription (Matronae vulgares, no. 394), and it is possible that he is offering on behalf of his soldiers. The fact, too, that the worship is not mentioned in literature is further evidence that it belonged mainly to the humbler classes.\(^6\)

So popular a worship can hardly have failed to leave traces of itself in later ages in the regions where it flourished, and apparent survivals of the ancient cult have been detected in the beliefs of both Celts and Germans in medieval and modern times. There can be little doubt that the fairies of western European folklore, particularly in the Celtic countries, correspond in part to the Matres. It is hard to speak precisely of the history of the lower mythology, which is the three Marys own distinctions; and one cannot expect to keep by themselves the descendants of a single group of minor divinities. The modern fairies undeniably derive some of their characteristics from the ancient Fates, and perhaps from the Pomena. But the Matres also, in their character of divinities of wealth and good fortune, have much in common with the benignant fairy; they were associated in antiquity, as has been seen, with the Parce; and they may have been introduced into the modern mythology of the fairy as a goddess of destiny in the later development of fairy mythology.\(^2\) The identification of Matres and fairies, moreover, is occasionally supported by definite evidence, such as the existence of an ancient incantation monument in the neighbourhood of a fairy mound or dwelling.\(^2\) Possibly, too, one of the modern Welsh names of the fairies, Y Manau ('The Mothers'), may point back to the old relation.

In some peculiar instances the worship of the Mother-goddesses appears to have survived in a quasi-Christian form. The representations of the Matres at Metz are said to have been venerated until the 18th century, and the Matrona, or Matergabia, is reasonably believed to have corresponded to the Conception of the Virgin.\(^2\) Similarly, at Thum, near Nideggom, the worship of three maidens representing Faith, Hope, and Charity has been brought into connexion with traces of the Mother-cult, and the same is said of an account of the 'Drei Merjen,' Belmarsh, Schwelmarsh, and Krieschemar, who are worshipped at Dürboslar, near Jüllich, as protectors of infants.\(^5\) It is possible that the images of the Matres may have started such cults even after the actual worship of the goddesses had been entirely forgotten. Thus various local dedications to the Madonna are probably due to the discovery of old statues which were conceived by the worshippers as belonging to some other deity, possibly as the goddesses of Roman and medieval mythology, but these statues, in so far as they represent single figures, have been seen to be of doubtful connexion with the cult of the Matres in the restricted sense of the present discussion.\(^1\)

One conspicuous modern literary reference to

1. On temples of the Matres, see Matronae vulgares, p. 61; Kneuffmann, op. cit. i. [1902] 361; Grimmendorf, Westdeutsche Zeitschriften, 1906, p. 290 ff. On the dedications, Matronae vulgares, p. 62 ff. and Index; Rhys, Celtic Heathendom, 163; Siebourg, Donner-Jahrh., cf. 31 ff.; and Lehner, d. c., 301 ff.


6. For references to these explanations, see Matronae vulgares, p. 65 ff.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.

I. Introduction.

The horror of death is universal among mankind. It depends not so much on the pain that often accompanies dissolution as upon the mystery of it and the results to the subject and to the survivors—the cessation of the old familiar relations between them, and the decomposition of the body. This horror has given rise to an obstinate disbelief in the necessity of death, and to attempts, continually repeated in spite of invariably disastrous experience of failure, to escape it. Even the most natural and inevitable decrease is persistently ascribed to causes not beyond human control; and, on the other hand, legends of the origin of death are familiar and wide-spread. The picture thus presented of the desperate refusal of mankind to accept the conditions of existence is one of the most pathetic in the history of the race.

II. Origin of death.

The best-known type of the story of the origin of death is that contained in Goethe's Faust. There, according to the Germanic divinities, the soul can only enter the body through the natural means of conception. The corpse is the substitute for the living body, and is therefore filled with the most painful sensations. In the old Germanic religion, the heavenly world is the realm of the dead, and the dead are supposed to be happy and free from pain.


Indians, non-Aryan (W. Crooke), p. 479.

Jain (H. Jacob), p. 484.


Jewish (H. H. Bennett), p. 497.

Muhammadan (S. Lane-Poole), p. 500.

Parsi (N. D. Fereiro), p. 499.

Phoenician. See Babylonian.

Roman (G. Showmer), p. 505.

Slavic (O. Schrader), p. 508.

Syria. See Babylonian.

Teutonics. See Aryan Religion, and Death (Pre-historic Europe).


Vedic. See Vedic Religion.

Among various tribes of New South Wales it is said that the people were meant to live for ever. But they were forbidden to approach a certain tree below the sky. The wild bees made a nest in the tree, and the women covered the honey. In spite of warnings by the men, a woman attacked the tree with her tomahawk, and cut down a tree which was henceforth free to roam the world and claim all that it could touch with its wings (A. Langlois Parker, The Enchanting Tribes, London, 1905, p. 98; R. Brong Smyth, The Aborigines of Victoria, London, 1875, 1. 425). The story told by the Egyptians of Central Africa is to the effect that Kintu, the first man, after undergoing various tests well known in folk-tales, is allowed to marry Namib, one of the daughters of Muguhi (Heaven, or the Above). Her father sends them down to the earth with gifts, which include a horn, telling them to hurry lest they meet with Namib's brother Warumbe (death), at the moment he is about to marry her, and forbidding them to return to fetch anything that they may have forgotten. On the way Namib remembers that it is time to feed the horns, and consents to Kintu's immediate return for the milk she has forgotten. Muguhi is angry at the disobedience, and the result is that Warumbe uses his horns to go with Kintu It is vain to object. Warumbe accordingly goes and dwells with Kintu and Namib on the earth. Namib gives birth to their children. When Namib is about to die, Kintu puts off her hand. In course of time many more children are born; but, when Warumbe reports his request, Kintu again postpones. Out of patience, he threatens to carry them all off; and the children begin to die. On appeal to Muguhi, another of his sons, Kuizui (the Digger), is sent to bring back Warumbe. Warumbe, however, sinks into the earth. General silence is proclaimed, and Kuizui goes into the earth to pursue him. He forces Warumbe out; but some of the Diggers feeding goats at the place, and seeing him, cry out. The cries break the spell; Warumbe returns into the ground, and by Muguhi's command he is allowed to stay (Johnston, Uganda Prot., Lond. 1902, ii. 700). According to the Masai of the Uganda Province, a superior being is absent, and Muguhi, when a child is dead, throws away the body, uttering a spell, 'Man, die and come back again to this place of man away.' But, when a child that was not his died, the Masai disobeyed and reversed the spell. Afterwards, when he tried the spell on one of his own children, he found that it had come back, and now, when the moon dies, it comes back, but man does not return (Hollis, Masai, Oxford, 1916, p. 71).

In the legend of the Ojibway, death is the result of a god's curse unconnected with an act of disobedience.

The Batak of Pahawang in the Philippine islands relate that their god used the earth as the dead to his place. But they received him once with a shark wrapped up like a corpse. When he had discovered the laws, he caused them to refrain from suffering and deaths (Ethnol. Survey, Phil. Islands, 1895, 185). More poetical is the Japanese tale of Prince Ninigi, who fell in love with Princess Hisakoi, the Flowers-dwelling like-the-Flowers. Her father, the god of the Great Mountain, consented to her marriage, and sent with her her elder sister, Long-as-the-Books. This

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Mother-goddesses, the familiar passage on 'Die Mutter' in the second part of Goethe's Faust, has been sometimes associated with the Celtic and Germanic divinities in question. But Eckermann (Gespräche mit Goethe, Jan. 10, 1830) testifies that Goethe himself acknowledged no source except a passage in Plutarch which said that the ancient Greeks spoke of 'Mothers' as divinities. The reference seems to be to Plutarch's Morcellus, cap. 20, where the Sicilian Matrona, worshipped at Enogyon, are mentioned. Very little is known of their cult or nature, and what little does not indicate any close resemblance between them and the Matres of the Celts and Germans.
lady, however, was frightfully ugly, and the bridegroom met her hand with a shudder, declaring that her posterity should be shunned as the flowers (Ritu, 1900, 292). But the Hindus have another legend, according to which men were made by the Brahmins, and that there should be no inferior. The death of the hero was conveyed by the Brahmins under their grave-seafools (Joseph, 1900, 218, 255). The Kurnames of British Columbia, where Eagle and Raven are the joint authors of things as the gods, attest the present day that men die and come to life again. Raven, however, opposes this, and has his way. He regrets it when his own daughter dies and cannot be restored to life. However, he has been too late (op. cit. 11).

The eminence or the weakness of all of the lower animals is regarded by many people as the cause of death.

A story very wide-spread in Africa among Negroes, Basuto, and Hottentots alike, is found in two forms. The Hottentot version is that the hare was charged by the moon with the necessity of a new life to men, and to life again, so you also shall die and rise to life again. But the hare conveyed the message thus: "Like as I die and do not rise to life again, so you also shall die and not rise to life again." The angry moon split the hare's lip with a blow; but the mischief was done and was irreparable. Hence the hare is a talisman to the Hottentots. Among the Basuto the melaneron is the moon; the messenger. But he is a slow creature, and after his departure the moon changed shape and dispatched the likeness with the message of death. The lizard overtook the melaneron and arrived first. When afterwards the melaneron delivered his message, the next day too; the discoverable devil had transmitted (Bleek, "Elmgard the Fox," 1861, pp. 71, 74). In China the story is that the spider is the messenger; and it is through the fault of the dog that we die (Journ. Afr. Soc. vii. [1900] 194). The ill-will of the antelope is alleged by a tribe on the Ivory Coast, as the reason for death. A man was sent to the great fetish of Cavalla for a charm against death. He was given a stone to block the path by which it came. But the antelope, mistaking it for a thing to eat, bit the stone and was killed. The seed of the stone rooted the stone to the spot (Journ. Afr. Soc. vii. [1901] 77).

The Melanesians of New Pomerania tell the story of the message wrongly transmitted. TheWarowi say that the spider is the messenger; and it is through the fault of the dog that we die (Journ. Afr. Soc. vii. [1900] 308). In the Shorland Islands the people (also Melanesians) relate that the great hermaphrodite snake, whose skin is valued for its value at intervals and remained eternally young. The catastrophine of her death occurred because she was once disturbed in the operation by the screaming of her child, who was unheeded by her. The child too, was disturbed by its sleep, and men should shun her skins and live for ever. His brother, the Churl, reversed the decree (A.B.W. x. [1907] 508).

In the Balbina, on the borders of the Congo State; but there the operation is interrupted by the woman's husband (Globus, lxxxvii. [1906] 103). According to the Umpa of California, people used to renew their youth, when they grew old, by sleeping in the sweat-house. But this happy condition came to an end, when they learned to perform a ceremony, a form of it being the lightning bird, in which, in revenge, they took the two children they had borne him, and buried them alive. When the children came up again, they put them back, declaring that henceforward everyone should do that way (Godard, "Hupa Texts," Umpa, California, i. [1903-4] 57, 306). The Eskimo of Greenland relate that the first woman brought death by saying: "Let these die to make room for their posterity" (Crantz, "Greenland," 1820, 289).

In these stories, death is the result of curse or spell. Another Eskimo tale accounts for it as the issue of a dispute between two men, one of whom desires men to be immortal, the other to be mortal; their words are probably also spells (Ink, Folk, Eberges, 1875, 11, citing Egede). A tale widely known in North America relates that, when the first death occurred, an attempt was made to bring the soul back from the land of the dead. But some prohibition was broken, the returned soul was greeted too soon, and it vanished; wherefore there is no return for mankind from the spirit-land (the

Czechote stories [19 RBEW, 1900, pp. 252, 436] may be taken as typical).

Similar tales, though not cited are some Australian stories. The Kaitish and Umatarras say that formerly, when men were new created, the same to life again in three days; and the Kaitish declare that permanent death is a recent event. The man was dispersed with this arrangement and wanted men to die once for all. He secured this effect by the body of one of his who had just died and been temporarily buried (Spencer-Gillen, 515). So also the Wolofaehi story runs that, when he dies, the deceased used to say, "You up again!" and an old man said, 'Let them remain dead,' and since then none has ever come to life again except the possessed.

The phases of the moon naturally suggest death and restoration to life. It is, therefore, not wonderful to find that among the Australians, as among the Hottentots, the moon plays a considerable part in the legends. We have space to mention only one more.

The Arunta relate that, before there was any moon in the sky, a man died and was buried. Shortly afterwards he rose from the grave in the form of a boy. When the people ran away for fear, he followed them, shooting that if they fled they would die altogether, while he would die but rise again in the sky. He failed to induce them to return. When he died, he re-appeared as the moon, periodically dying and coming to life again; but the people who ran away died altogether (Spencer-Gillen, 301). The Chansu of Further India see a female figure in the moon. She was a great sky-god, tired of this interference with the eternal laws, transported her to the moon (Cabanon, "Nouvelles Recherches sur les Chansu," 1901, p. 19). Many other nations connect the moon with death.

Once more. The Todas of the Nilgiri Hills say that at first no Todas died. After a time a man died, and at his funeral, instead of weeping bitterly, were taking the body to the funeral place when the goddess Teikirizi took pity on them and came to bring him back to life. But she found that, though some of the people wept, others seemed quite happy. She therefore closed her mind, and, in the dead man, ordained the funeral ceremonies (Rivers, Todas, Lond. 1906, p. 400). When in the Scandinavian mythology Baldur was slain, the goddess Hel promised to release him if all things were for his death. This, too, though not in its present form an etiological story, possibly arose to account for the permanence of death.

The foregoing are but specimens of the sagas told in the lower culture concerning the origin of death, that they exhibit the extraordinary antiquity of mankind as to its naturalness and necessity.

III. Death believed to be unnatural.—1. The escape of the soul.—In practice, among the races of the lower culture, death, if not caused by violence, is generally described to the ascendant human beings, as gods or spirits, or to witchcraft. In a few cases, as among the Wadjagga of Central Africa, the weakness of old age may be reckoned among its causes (Globus, lxxxix. [1906] 185). Sometimes sickness and death are ascribed to the escape of the soul from the body. Thus, among the Hareksins of Canada, sickness is believed to be due to this cause, and it is the task of the medicine-men to capture the errant soul and oblige Etsina, the supernatural being, by perhaps a personification of death, to enter the patient for the purpose of replacing it (Petiot, "Trav. ind.," Paris, 1886, p. 278, cf. p. 334). The details of the belief in the soul, its escape and restoration, cannot here be discussed. It will be sufficient to say that from Siberia to Australia, from Puget Sound to the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, means are taken to prevent the soul from wandering, and to bring it back if from any cause it departs; for the permanent loss of the soul means nothing less than death.

Some peoples have developed the theory that the soul is not single but multiple, and that some, or one only, of these souls reside in or about the body.

Thus, according to the Balog of the Cameron, one soul is housed in the body of the man himself, a second may be chambered in an elephant, a third in a wild hog, a fourth in a
leopard, and so on. This seems to multiply a man's chances of personal disposal. For every mishapness suffered by one of the secondary souls—more strictly of the body in which it is imured—reads on the person concerned, and is able to draw after death a different result. If, for example, one person goes home from hunting, or from the field in the evening, and says: 'I shall soon die,' then death really occurs. It is clear that one of his 'outside souls' has been killed by a hunter through the slaughter of a wild hog or a leopard or some other animal in the vicinity. The Warramunga's view of death is the natural consequence (Globus, bix. [1896] 277).

2. The act of a supernatural being.—The act of a god or of the spirits of the dead is also an act of death known widely in the lower culture. Death by lightning is an obvious instance of the former. But it is by no means the only one. Death by accident is due either to a supernatural being or to witchcraft.

On the island of Keisar, one of the Mochuca, sickness is sometimes ascribed to the malignant spirit Lintanwul, or to the god who protects the dead. They have variously disposed of Negroes who have died on the island, the act of a fetish, and that of a deceased relative are equally assigned. In the Andamanese (Société des Sciences du Feu, Paris, 1906, p. 363; Spith, Eew-Stamme, Berlin, 1906, p. 256). The Andamanese attribute 'almost all deaths, sickness, and misfortunes' to the machinations of the spirits; and all undue deaths are ascribed to the malign influence of the evil spirit of the wood, or to that of the evil spirit of the sea (JAFI. xix. [1906] 254, 256). In the northwest of Australia every illness is ascribed to the djuma, an evil spirit otherwise known as warrawa or warrawi (Internat. Archiv., xvi. [1904] 5).

3. Witchcraft.—But by far the most usual cause assigned for a death is witchcraft—the malicious act of some open or secret foe, performed not by the obvious means of violence, but by the subtle arts of magic. This does not exclude the action of angry or envious spirits, for they are frequently held to inspire the evil-doer; or his ill intentions may be accomplished by their aid. The Mission Indians of California, indeed, in the ordinary religious rite of disposing of a deceased, have assigned the first death in the world to witchcraft. No one had died before; but, with the success of the first practitioners of witchcraft, death came into the world (JAFI. xix. [1906] 55). Witchcraft, in fact, is the ordinary reason given by savage and barbarous peoples for a death. On such an occasion, one of the foremost duties of the survivors is to discover the exact cause of death, and to ascertain and punish the author of the mischief. For this purpose, the dead body is opened, and the spirits are questioned—just as slaves, if detected, the unfortunate wretches were executed with fire and all sorts of torture (Cesar, de Bell. Gall, vi. 19). Peoples as far apart as the Balang already mentioned and the Kowais of Sikoria make a post-mortem examination. In the Wimmern district of Victoria (Australia) the clever old men and relatives of the deceased watch the corpse through the night. They see the path of the slayer approaching with stealthy steps to view the result of its machinations. Having apparently satisfied itself, it disappears in the direction of the hunting grounds of its own people, and the relatives of the deceased are satisfied, and put to rest. So far toThi, a man on the New South Wales the Tharumba repeatedly rub the body with a mixture of burnt bark and grease. Some of the old men scrape a portion of it off when dry, and throw a few pinches of it on the end of a stick, kindled with a boomerang. This way the smoke rises they judge the direction of the murderer's camp. A party is sent out to avenge the death. After identifying the murderer by a repetition of the process, this is accomplished, but by mutilations and terrifying the victim, so that he really believes he must die (Mathews, Ethnol. Notes, 1905, pp. 145, 72).

Among the Warramunga the divination is accomplished differently. A little mound of earth is raised on the exact spot where a man has died. A ceremonial visit is paid to it within a day or two after the occurrence, and a search is made for tracks of any living creature. According to the tracks found, conclusions are drawn as to the nature of the crime. For the Warramunga commit the body not to the earth but to a tree. Similar ceremonial visits are paid to the tree for the discovery of something which the person who has caused the death. If unable to identify the person or his relation, the relatives may at length find a kind of supposed tree, and by killing it may ensure the death of the enemy, whoever he may be. When everything else fails, they pay a further visit and thrust a fire-stick into the body, in which it is customary, and certain cases, an assumed voice believed to be that of the ghost (Spith, Eew-Stamme, 258, 260, 266, 542, 536, 752). So in Europe it has been believed, up to certain times, that the ghost of a murdered man (though not through the medium of any popular or religious rites) will communicate the fact of his murder and call for vengeance on the slayer.

Other Negroes draw the information from the corpse. The Aga of Indigenous has carried through the villages on the heads of two men, who are made by the priest to run and turn round in all directions, until by some movement or arrest of the bearers it points out the guilty person. The ceremony practised by the Ngunguru is not so laborious. Three stakes are fixed in the earth, one representing the fetish (god), another a deceased relative, and the third a living inhabitant of the village, presumably suspected beforehand. If the corpse touches the stake representing the fetish, a sacrifice of a few fowls is offered, and there is an end of the matter. If, on the other hand, the supposed guilty person is, or in case of avowal, he is led away to the bush to execute (Chaoz and Villanum, op. cit. 1906, p. 144). In Africa the ordeal is usually by means of some sort of poison, and, frequently, in the case of chiefs and important persons, all the relations are compelled to undergo the test. Among the Wadjagga, a Bantu people on the Eastern side of the continent, however, it takes the form of an oath upon the ashes of the fire at which the funeral feast is cooked (Globus, lxxxix. 1918). Ordeals, it need hardly be said, were for ages applied to persons in Europe and states of a criminal character by means of witchcraft. A common method was that of the ordeal by water, reported, so early as the 3rd cent. B.C., by Phylarchus, of the Theli (Phylarchus, 277), who travelled through the country about Trebizon (see Ordeals, Witchcraft).

Elsewhere it is deemed enough to convey to a wise man some relics of the deceased. Among the Shi of the northwest of Brazil on the occasion of a death no amount of clothing, together with the alleged 'poison' conjured by the witch-doctor out of the body of the person, were sent after his death to a distant tribe, which included practitioners of renown. They inquired into the matter, performed their conjurations over the relics, calling the medicine and relating how the deceased was believed, according to a well-known principle of witchcraft, that at the instant 'the poison' fell into ashes the enemy, whoever he was, died (Globus, xc. [1900] 252).

In general, throughout South America, it would
seem that it is the duty of the medicine-man to put himself into communication with the spirit-world and discover the culprit, who, at all events among some tribes, is thereupon put to death, and buried alone in his family cabin. If this work were omitted the deceased would himself avenge his death on his relatives (Internat. Archiv., xiii. [1900], Suppl. 70; Anthropos, i. [1906] 380).

Pied Bushmen were held to be in the hands of the gods (atsa), either of their own motion or because they had been bribed by an enemy. It was the business of the priest to ascertain to which of the gods the death might be attributed. We took a canoe and paddled slowly near the house in which the corpse was carried for the flight of the soul, which it was believed he could see. Frederick implied by the smile which he gave in departing he judged of the cause of death (Ellis, Polyn. Res., Lond. 1853, ii. 299). 414

IV. Abandonment and premature burial.—I. Abandonment of the dying.—Among many savage peoples it is customary to abandon the dying to their fate.

The Yoruba of Dahomey, when death approaches, leave the dying person alone, as comfortably as possible, near a fire, and quit the neighbourhood, not returning for a considerable time (Howitt, 440). The Bushmen of the French Sudan with loud cries abandon a dying man, for fear that he may take the place among them (Steinmann, Rocheblaves, Berlin, 1853, p. 191). The fear lest the eyes of the dying man will fasten on them, and his ghost then molest and curse them, comes in some kindred among savages of the Ho in German Togo (Spiegl, 635). The Selung of the Mendi, thinking to restore the patient, take the patient across to a desert island, and leave him there (L'Anthrop., xxv. [1904] 434). The Dorosche of Central Africa led a dying person away from the house, and left them, with some cane scissors or ears of cora and a gourd of water, to his fate (L'EBW 115).

2. Burial before death.—As an alternative to leaving the sick or the aged to die, they may be burnt while still living.

The Indians of the Paraguay Chaco, oppressed by the feeling of hopelessness and by superstition, when hope of recovery is gone, have the patient eat any food that he may desire, lest he should die in the village during the night, he is removed to the open and there left to die, in solitude, or death is hastened by premature burial (Grubb, Among the Indians of the Par. Choc., 1904, pp. 41, 45). The tribes of Navitejuve, Fij, place the dying man in the grave, with food and water. As long as he can make use of them, the grave remains open; when he ceases to do so, the earth is filled in and the grave closed (JAI i. [1883] 144). In the Guazil Peninsula of New Panama one, who is too long in dying is wrapped in pandanc leaves and carried out to the dead-house (JAI x. [1907] 309).

Among the Northern Maidu, persons who were long sick were securely tied up, in a squatting position, in a bear-skin, with美术 objects described as pecuniary use (the usual case of preparing a bed for the grave), and buried before death (Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., xlvi. [1896] 249). The Hottentots used either to bury old and sick persons alive, or to carry them away to the cleft in the mountains, and leave them with provisions for a few days, and then to fasted to death or starved by some wild beast (Tambung, Travels, Lond. 1795-6, ii. 191). The various Bantu tribes of South Africa either abandoned the dying or burnt them to death (Campbell, Afr. Travers, Lond. 1835, pp. 445, 515; Rieud, Essential Kafir, Lond. 1904, p. 247).

Practices like these may have had more than one origin. Economic causes doubtless played their part. The care of the living was more pernicious than that of the dying; and, where conflict arose between these two duties (as it often must in savagery), customs would grow up out of and necessity, which would be continued, when the necessity had ceased. Such causes have been adduced by the beliefs current in the lower stages of culture. In West Africa it is not uncommon that a prostrated sickness wearies the attendants. "They decide that the body, though not habitually inarticulate words and aimlessly fingering with its arms, is no longer occupied by its personal soul; that has emerged. 'He is dead'; and they proceed to burn him alive. Yet they deny that they have done so. They insist that he was not alive; only his body is going moving." (Nunnan, Pathogenesis in W. Africa, Lond. 1904, p. 54).

More potent, perhaps, is the universal dread of death and horror of a corpse. This horror is very lively in the Yakuts. Among them old people hurriedly put down their children to put an end to their life. The funeral feast was held for three days; neighbours and friends were invited to it, and the dying person received the place of honour and the choicest morsels. Then he was led out into the forest, thrust into a grave dug beforehand, and buried alive, with his arms, utensils, provisions, and horses (EHR xlvi. [1902] 212).

3. Removal from house or bed.—Where it is not customary to go to the length of burial alive, horror of the corpse leads very generally to the removal of the dying from among the living.

It is a common practice, e.g., of the North American tribes to carry a dying person out of the house or camp (L'EBW 122, 104, 137, 201; FI RBBW [1887] 457). The Sinhalas frequently take a person dangerously ill from the house and place him in an adjoining temporary building, in case the patient may escape pollution (Davy, Ceylon, Lond. 1821, p. 490). The house burnt down by the snow in departing he judged of the cause of death (Ellis, Polyn. Res., Lond. 1853, ii. 299).

The motive of the procedure in all these cases would seem to be the same—the horror of the corpse and the fear of pollution of the dwelling by its presence. A description is given by the Geologist of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1902 of a Samaritan assembly to celebrate the Feast of the Passover in 1898, at which a woman became very ill and a cry was raised to remove her to a tent outside the camp, lest the camp should be defiled by a dead body—a ritual ban perhaps derived from some passages in the Hebrew law. In this case the defilement would extend to the whole congregation.

There are, however, some cases of removal of the motive of which is different. In the Reef Islands there are certain houses called 'holy houses,' which, if we may trust the report, seem to be connected with the cult of, or at all events with the belief in, the female spirit (van der Burgt, Warwari, 1904, art. 'Temple'). There is an account of the ceremony by the Cossacks and a custom has been described by the Ottoman Jews for one in extreme cases. It is to carry him to the cemetery and lay him down dead for twenty-four hours. 'He may die there; but, if he has the good luck to live, he will quickly make a complete recovery' (Melusine, viii. [1896-7] 278).

In Europe a very wide-spread custom is to take a dying man out of bed, and to lay him down on the earth or on straw. This is practised from Ireland to the Caspian Sea. In the Malay Peninsula a dying man's mosquito-curtains are opened, and in some cases, at all events, he is taken out of his bed and laid upon the floor, thus taking the place of an 'Huis'-grass (van der Burgt, Warwari, 1904, art. 'Temple').
be the regular incantations of an expert, similar to those in uncleaning sickness, as among the Dayaks of Borneo (Furness, Home-Life of Borneo Head-hunters, Philad. 1902, p. 50). A survival of some such custom may be found in Europe, on the death of a Pope or of a king of Spain. In these cases and local customs historians sometimes relate how, with a loud voice three times the name of the deceased, and, receiving no reply, he certifies the death.

VI. Before the funeral.—Death having occurred, a number of religious customs are observed only some of which can be enumerated here. Others will be reserved for a subsequent section.

1. Opening of doors and windows.—In the British Islands and all over Europe it is usual to open all doors and windows of the house of the deceased, all water-vessels are emptied. Various reasons are assigned for this custom, the most usual being perhaps a desire to prevent the ghost from drowning itself. The ghost is certainly conceived in many places as thirsty or needing a bath; and a special jar or bowl of water is provided for its use. In Greece, bread and water are placed in the death-chamber (J.A.I xxxiii. [1903] 103); and this used to be the practice of the Basuto wherever a man died within the hut (Journ. Afr. Soc. iv. [1903] 204).

2. Observances in the house.—Throughout Europe it is a common practice to keep all clocks in the house, and to cover all mirrors, or to turn them with their faces to the wall, immediately after a death. It may be conjectured that the latter was done to avoid puzzling and misleading the ghost in its efforts to quit the house. But water-vessels are emptied. Various reasons are assigned for this custom, the usual one being perhaps a desire to prevent the ghost from drowning itself. The ghost is certainly conceived in many places as thirsty or needing a bath; and a special jar or bowl of water is provided for its use. In Greece, bread and water are placed in the death-chamber (J.A.I xxxiii. [1894] 37). In some parts of France a jar of water is placed beside the corpse (ITF iv. [1890] 245), and a dish filled with water under the bench on which the corpse is laid out, for which a sanitary reason is now given (von Schelenburg, op. cit. 112). The Morvids put a cup of water on the window-sill of a dying man’s house, for, on quitting its corpse, the envelope, the spirit must wash (Smirnov, i. 357). Hindu rites require the heir (but apparently not until after cremation) to place in the habituation of the deceased a small vessel full of water, over which he has to fill a jar of water, and let it hang down as a sort of ladder for the pranava (life-breath, spirit) to descend and slake its thirst during the ten days following; and a handful of rice is placed as food every morning beside the vessel (Dabbs, London, Hindu Cremations, Oct, 1906, p. 488). It is probable, therefore, that the object of throwing away water standing in any vessels for household use is to prevent the death-pollution conceived as contamination by the touch of the ghost. This custom is observed in some districts of the Landes in the south-west of France where, after the death of the father or mother, for a whole year the cooking vessels are covered with old cloth and the provisions order reversed, though the reason now alleged for the practice is to recall the memory of the deceased and renew the grief (Cuzacq, Naissance, mariage,
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3. Telling the bees.—Another custom is that of "telling the bees." When a Dyaak dies, as soon as the body is removed the head of the household calls upon all the members of the household to prevent the soul of the dead from hurrying their souls away, in which case they would die. This ceremony is repeated on the return from the funeral (Int. Arch., v. [1892], 4, 235). The catastrophic story to be prevented here is exactly that which it is desired to prevent by the practice common in Europe of telling the bees of the death of their owner. Some one goes to the hive, knocks, and whispers the fact to the tenants, some time before the new owner is foreseen. A humming inside the hive is taken as an indication that they will remain. If the ceremony be not performed, they will all die or go away. Sometimes they are put into mourning by their means; they are killed by the story, the hive, or the hive is turned round or removed, or a piece of turf laid on it. These are all expedients against the attempt of the ghost to lure the bees away, though other interpretations have been given by the people who practice them and who have lost the real reason. The precaution is by no means confined to bees. In Cornwall the bird-cages and outdoor plants are put into black. In various parts of France all the domestic animals must be in mourning, and cattle must be attached to the pigsties and the cat. Even the trees must be told, and sometimes put into mourning. Elsewhere similar customs obtain (Choice Notes, FL, 1829, pp. 65, 98, 139, 210; Schlob, Feldl. Forsch. de France, Paris, 1804-iiii, 103, 375; Lloyd, Posts Life in Sweden, Lond., 1870, p. 131). Among the Chemis the people even avoid watching a funeral procession from the window, for fear that the dead man may take them with him (Smirnow, 1837). The reason against watching a funeral procession from a window is not uncommon.

4. Wailing and dirges.—The custom of wailing is universal. The wailing frequently begins before death, as among the Nootkans, who are said to surround a dying person, and "set up such a terrible howling as were enough, one would think, to fright the soul out of the body." But this is nothing to what succeeds the death. The kral shades under the dead, and the bear they have killed is placed by their heads. The mourning is renewed at certain intervals of time—on the anniversary of death, or at certain feasts, or on the occasion of the exhumation of the bones. Elsewhere, among the Kaffirs, a son away at a distance, when his father dies, must wait on his return every time he enters the kraal during the next six months (Kidd, 250 f.). In many cases the men join in the wailing, while in others, perhaps among related peoples, it is left chiefly or entirely to the women. Sometimes it is not interrupted (at first, at all events) by the wildest demonstrations of grief, amounting to temporary insanity. At a stage less than that, Dr. Junker describes the conduct of the women and slaves of a ruler of the A-Kande of the Sudan. Six women went round the dying man, turning the somnambulists, rolling in the dust, pretending to search in every corner, crying out, "Oh my lord! Where is Fallul Allah?" Lie! Lie! Tidings of joy had been announced under the projecting roofs, constantly howling and lancunting. In the even-
that excessive demonstrations of grief may, in some cases, be traced to the desire to avoid suspicion of having been accessory to the death. Bentley expressly asserts that in the Congo basin, where the belief in witchcraft is so powerful and so cruel, an ostentatious exhibition of grief is to avoid the charge of witchcraft (Pioneering on the Congo, Lond. 1861, p. 27). An interesting case is supposed 'to drive away the spirits' (JALF ix. [1896] 16). Similarly, it is believed by the Klamath Indians of the north-west coast of the United States that for three days during the funeral ceremonies the dead person is supposed to leave the body of the deceased (Whitney, Am. Anthropologist, 1903, p. 12). In some of the Moluccas the wailing is intended to affect the departed, to bring the spirit to its senses, or to render it conscious of its new condition (Riedel, op. cit. 465).

This is the belief that affects the departed in some way seems to follow from the contents of the dirges, and from the fact that they are in many cases (perhaps usually) addressed directly to him. The sorrow expressed, the praises, the appeals to return—indeed, the whole spirit of the dirge is supposed to have an effect on the spirit, which is believed to be hovering near and to partake in the ceremonies performed. A wide and careful comparison of the customs of the South American Indians has led Theodor Koch to infer that it is believed the dirges are understood by the deceased; and he suggests that the chief motive is conciliation—the placation of one whose natural disposition would be hostile (Int. Arch. xiii., Suppl. 114, 117). That this motive does operate seems certain. A striking example is furnished by the Ja-Lue of East Africa. When a person dies, the whole village wails with great fervor for days, if not for months, and at stated intervals, according to the conventions laid down for the case. Where a barefoot woman dies, the wailing is commenced in the usual way. The brothers and sisters of the deceased hasten to the place; and the first who arrives takes a sharp stone from the bliss and breaks off the corner of the sole of his shoe. Immediately all wailing ceases, and it is never renewed (JAJI xxi., 344). Hobley, who reports this ceremony, could obtain no account of its object. There cannot, however, be much doubt that the woman is intended to prevent the deceased from walking after death and troubling the survivors. (A similar case is reported from the Moluccas by Riedel, op. cit. 81; see also § XI. 2 below.) A childless woman would naturally be envied and malicious, and would have no descendants over whose well-being she might be supposed to watch. Released, therefore, from the fear that she would leave the grave for hostilistic purposes, they would have no further motive for continuing the wailing.

But it cannot be admitted that fear is the only reason for wailing. There is abundant evidence that the dead are believed to regard their surviving relatives—in particular, their descendants—with a measure of anxiety (at least of friendly interest), not unmixed indeed with caprices, that they are often dependent on them for the sacrifices and other means of rendering comfortable their existence in the world of the departed, and that they grant them favours and good fortune if satisfied with their treatment and general conduct. In these circumstances, it seems inevitable to con-
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6. Mummification.—The process of mummifying, or drying up the body, either with or without embalment, is widely practised. In Egypt (see OP, p. 440, and 'Egyptian' art. below, p. 458). Where other peoples set up images of the deceased, those who practised desiccation or embalment were enabled to keep the bodies intact. Thus, the ancient Macroboid put the body, after drying it and covering it with plaster and painting it like the living man, in a large coffin, and set it either in the house for a year, or offered sacrifices to it, afterwards removing it and setting it up, with similar blocks, round the city (Herod, iii. 54). The aborigines of Virginia and Carolina placed the bodies of their kings and rulers in a large hut under the care of priests or medicine-men, apparently for a similar purpose (Reeves, 1801). Elsewhere, as among the Bangala of the Upper Congo (JAI xxxix. [1900] 451) and other African tribes, and in the South Sea Islands, mummification is a means of preserving the body until a convenient time for the funeral, which is frequently postponed for many years, sometimes for over months or even years. But this object does not of necessity exclude the former.

7. Feeding the dead.—Many other observations may be made, but we must not describe here. Two, however, may be referred to. The sitting in state of the dead, in the Aaru Archipelago of the Moluccas, has already been mentioned. While he so sits, food is offered him by the members of his family; offerings of food and drink to the dead before burial are frequent in the lower culture; sometimes, as among the Tho of Northern Tongking, they are even placed in his mouth. These offerings are found in both hemispheres, even among the European tribes they are not unknown. In the Department of Loir-et-Cher, France, everything in the house that is eatable is thrown into the death-chamber (ATP xxi. [1900] 322). De la Martinère reports, in the 17th cent., that, in Russia, after death, it was usual to bring a basin of hot water to the dead, and to pour it over the corpse's head, that he might not die of hunger on the long journey before him (ZV f. 85). On account of the probability that the corpse will put his fingers into his mouth, the watchers of the corpse about Königsberg, in the East of Prussia, avoid drinking brandy.

A different explanation was taken in the north-east of Scotland, where, 'immediately on death, a piece of iron, such as a knitting-needle, is thrust into the mouth to prevent evil spirits from entering the corpse' (Greger, s. v. 360). Although it is said that corruption followed the omission of this precaution, it is probable that it was an earlier custom to destroy the corpse so as to make it unattractive to them. Iron is a well-known preservative against the attacks of supernatural beings.

8. The wake.—A formal announcement of the death, and an invitation to the kindred and others whom it may concern to come and perform the funeral rites, are given by messenger or by drum, or, at the present day in many communities in low civilization, by firing the gun. Knowledge of the interval between the death of the individual and the final disposal it was watched—a ceremony known in this country as the wake, because it involves one or more all-night sittings.

The custom of watching an Australian of the Wimmera district of Victoria is watched by the clever old men and relatives, for the purpose of gaining a hint as to the future of the dead. (Mathews, p. 143). It is described by Cuzacq as a gorgeous assembly, which the object is to guard the corpse 'from the spirits' (Parky, op. cit. 55). It was probably, the real reason is to frighten away the ghost or other evil spirits and spirits (Fleming, 1901). Among the Gares of Assam the watchers are kept awake by the young men of the village, who dance, and play cards, and carry lighted torches in the face of the corpse and this is thought to prevent its being disturbed. Among the tribes of the north-east of America, the watchers are kept awake by the young men of the village, who dance, and play cards, and carry lighted torches in the face of the corpse. The reason is thought to prevent its being disturbed. Among the Zulu, children watch the dead in a separate apartment, and sing and dance. The watchers are kept awake by the 'spirits' (Howitt, P. 408). In the Zulu tribe, if they hold the funeral, they do not let the body be disturbed. As the body is intended to be buried in the ground, the spirit of the dead person is supposed to remain in the ground, as in the case of the Zulus. Among the Zulu, children watch the dead in a separate apartment, and sing and dance. The watchers are kept awake by the 'spirits' (Howitt, 1901). In the Zulu tribe, if they hold the funeral, they do not let the body be disturbed. As the body is intended to be buried in the ground, the spirit of the dead person is supposed to remain in the ground, as in the case of the Zulus.

9. Tabu at death.—The horror of the dead has already been mentioned. Everywhere, contact with a corpse entails a condition for the adequate expression of which we must have recourse to the Polynesian word tapu, or the Gr. word ἄπειρον. In English we use the word universally current 'defiled.' Since, however, neither of these words, nor any other in the language, conveys the full force of the Polynesian or the Greek, we have in modern times been fain to borrow the word tapu or tabu from the former tongue, for the condition
of a person or thing set apart and shunned for a religious or quasi-religious reason, including not only objects to be regarded with sanctity and invest with terror on (that account (as the Ark among the ancient Hebrews), but also such as excite (at least in our minds) horror, disgust, and execration.

A corpse is always taboo. And, as one of the most readily defined taboos, or the corpse is its

The rule observed among widely sunned peoples, that everyone who kills another—even a warrior who has slain an enemy in battle—must undergo purification, perhaps points to the earliest taboos. In consequence, from the contagious nature of taboos, the prohibitions consequent on a death reach far beyond the persons who have been compelled to perform the last offices about a corpse. They extend to the whole house, the whole family, the whole clan, the whole village, nay, to the very fields, and even sometimes to the heavens.

An unburied body fills the Yakute with horror and fear. All Natives are told to drive away, as though some is found, strange noise, mysterious cries, are heard; and, if it be a shaman who is dead, these manifestations are such as are produced by the spirits of the dead, which are considered to be able to do serious harm. This notion of the mysterious sympathy of the various elements is that no work is ever performed in the house of a shaman who has died (Jespersen, cit. p. 257). Among the Eskimos, singing and dancing are forbidden during the first days after a death. Moreover, for three days no one is allowed to work on iron, wood, bone, stone, ice, snow, lether, to empty the oil-drip- ping lamps of the dead, and no new head dress may be worn by the body; and all sexual intercourse is forbidden. It is believed that the soul stays with the body for three days after death. During that time any violation of the taboo affects it so much with pain that by way of retaliation it brings heavy snow-falls, sickness, and death (Bunz, Editions of Far East, 1891, pp. 131, 144). Among the Burens and Kunans of Abyssinia there is neither ploughing, nor sowing, nor grinding until the corpse is buried (Menzinger, cit. p. 258). In many of the Molucca islands all work is forbidden in a village while the corpse is unburied (Kieck, 168, 177, 235, 341).

At Athens, according to Cicero, after the burial the grave was sunk or plented as a kind of expiation, that the fruits might hereafter be of good crop. So is it in the South China (Jespersen, cit. p. 258). In many of the Molucca islands all work is forbidden in a village while the corpse is unburied (Kieck, 168, 177, 235, 341).

The corpses and the fulfilment of all the rites and customs in connexion therewith are to free the living from the dread of death and the guilt of the deceased. Until they are all ended, the soul is not finally dismissed to its place in the other world, it is not united to the company of the fathers, it is not elevated to its due position in the exalted and eternal, and it continues to haunt the survivors unpleasently. This belief is little short of universal in the lower culture, and might be illustrated from all quarters of the globe. The significance of the ancient Greeks and Egyptians is a commonplace of anthropology. In modern Europe the prejudice in favour of Christian burial in consecrated earth, with the full rites of the Church, may be traced to the same cause.

2. Denial of rites.—Yet for special reasons these rites are everywhere denied to certain classes of the dead.

(a) Babes and children under the age of puberty, or uninitiated in the trites.

In India, where the practice of burning the dead is prevalent, children are generally buried. In some cases at least, and possibly in all, this is done with a view to securing the birth, for the common practice is to bury in or quite close to the house, often under the threshold. Similar practices for the same reason prevail among the Kafirs of Natal and Zululand, the Am.Com., the New Worlds (Hartland, Prim. Pat., 1900-19, i. 227). Funeral honours are denied by the Thib of Tangking and the Buddhist sects of India. They are simply put into the tier and taken by the priest alone to the grave (Tongking, op. cit. 187). Among the Chinese, the Burman, the Annamese, and the Japanese, common burial is the rule. In Europe the custom is very general that those who have been at all initiated and have partaken of the rites of the Church are entitled to receive the dominical burial, with the full rites of the Church, and are permitted to have their bodies prepared for burial in ecclesiastical quality.

(b) Slaves and common people.—Among the Haida in Massed, slaves are thrown into the sea (Jespersen, v. 1900-54). To the Oregon they were thrown out into the woods or left wherever convenient (Mun. Amb. Anthro. Soc. 1, 1906). Very widely in Africa and Asia, and especially poor people, slave and indents are simply flung away and left to the wild beasts. Common people in the Marshall Islands used to be sent to a hut and put by the sea (Stebnegs, op. cit. 438). The Aths of Vancouver Island wrap old women and men and boys of no rank in the tribe in old blankets and throw them over the cliff after a short farewell. The Wadjanga throw children men and women into the forest (Globus, xxxix. 300).

The foregoing causes are probably regarded as sufficient for good reason, and if the death is not due to such cause as has been taken during life, and therefore needing no consideration. In other cases, however, this reason will not apply.

(e) Those who die a ‘bad death.’—The manner of death frequently determines the death rites to be performed, because it determines the fate of the deceased in the other world. The list of deaths regarded as ‘good’ is not identical all over the world, but a wholesome horror of suicide generally prevails. Christian Europe agrees with the pagan Africa in performing only maimed rites, or denying them altogether, in the case of such as have taken their own life.

Suicides are held by the Ewe of Togoland to have been driven mad, either by lightning or by the work in all lands, public and private offices, all business and market gatherings, and especially of weddings are forbidden to put on their jewellery, and neither men nor women may wear new apparel. All clothes refrain from amusements and public enterlains, and eat neither fish or meat, and are forbidden to enter public and private offices, all business and market gatherings, and especially of weddings. The suicides must therefore be fed. A state is driven through the body, which is dragged into the bush and there huddled into a hastily excava- ted hole. The left hand is always preserved, as the sign of love-making. No drum is heard, no dances are executed, no fire is lighted in the street, no sacrifices made. The marriage ceremony and ceremonies of festivity, and undertake no journeys to a distance (Chandra Das, Journal to Lest, 1907, p. 256). We may sup- pose that the suicides or of any sort of relation, or important person in the neighbourhood or the State, to be due to the same origin as those on the death of a king (Jespersen, vi. 224-25).

VII. Disposal of the corpse.—1. Object of rites.

—The chief objects of the proper disposal of the corpse and the fulfilment of all the rites and customs in connexion therewith are to free the living from the dread of death and the guilt of the deceased. Until they are all ended, the soul is not finally dismissed to its place in the other world, it is not united to the company of the fathers, it is not elevated to its due position in the exalted and eternal, and it continues to haunt the survivors unpleasently. This belief is little short of universal in the lower culture, and might be illustrated from all quarters of the globe. The significance of the ancient Greeks and Egyptians is a commonplace of anthropology. In modern Europe the prejudice in favour of Christian burial in consecrated earth, with the full rites of the Church, may be traced to the same cause.
DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Introductory)

Among the Bechuana, if a thunderbolt kills a man, no one complains, none weeps; all unite in saying that the Lord has done it, and wish to suppose the victim to have been guilty of some crime, probably stealing, for which the judgment of Heaven has fallen upon him. The beliefs of their neighbours, the Basutos and Zulus, are somewhat similar (Arbour, Excursions, p. 43). Dennett, Globus, 186, 1871, p. 131. But the Zulu, who have no religion, allow the body to fall in the bush, and if it falls on the remains of some one who has been killed, the body is left there, and the bush is set on fire.

Death by drowning is often regarded as the seizure by the water-spirit of a victim; hence no effort is made to save him.

Persons drowned, or shot, killed by wild beasts or by falling from a tree, are held in the Fabar Archipelago to be slain by the messengers of the dead, and the spirits, in order that they may feed on their souls. Their bodies may not be laid out in the house or seen by children; they are left naked. They are put in the grave with a red linen thrown over them. Sacrifices of pigs are offered to Upularo, who is invoked on the spot as a god. The pigs, however, are not eaten, for fear of misfortune. Utmost the body is laid on the ground in a spot set apart for such as have been slain by Kalawolli (Kabulu). In the northern peninsula of Balabera, the body of a king is sometimes buried, but is afterward disinterred and eaten. The pig is offered as a sacrifice. It is not eaten, but thrown into the grave, where it falls in battle (Int. Arch. ii. 209).

Everywhere those who die from the effects of the poison-ordal, so commonly administered in Africa to discover a witch, are held to be slain by the 'fetich.' For the body is not buried, but is denied sepulture, and is thrown into the bush. To die of certain diseases is to be struck by a god, or at all events tabued. Such diseases are choler and smallpox, commonly in India, smallpox or leprosy in the island of Nossi-Dé near Madagascar (Steinmetz, 378), consumption in Corein-China (Amonyolle, Excursions et Reconnaissances, xvi. [1883] 171). Among the Agni of the Ivory Coast, when by means of divination (§ 111) the corpse obstinately refuses to disclose whose witchcraft has caused the death, it is concluded that the deceased has offended some spirit, and he is denied burial as a punishment for the offence (Clozel and Villaman, op. cit. p. 120), or perhaps, we may conjecture, because of his fear of the enraged spirit. Greek executed criminals, though buried, were denied the customary rites; traitors and those guilty of sacrilege were refused burial at home (Rohde, Psichtr, Freib. 1808, i. 217). On Nossi-Dé executed criminals and outcasts from the family are not buried in the family grave; wherefore in the other world they are condemned to find no rest (Steinmetz, loc. cit.) and the Ewe bury them without rites (Globus, lxxii. 42). Down to quite modern times in Europe, and in ancient Greece, a criminal was buried without rites and without any funeral ceremony (Diodot. vii. 46). It was supposed that it was the fate of certain classes of executed criminals to have their remains exposed on gateways and other places of public resort, until they rotted away. Robbery, horror, dread, whether caused by the infliction of some penalty or by the anathema of supernatural beings, are doubtless the cause in all these cases of exceptional treatment and denial of the customary rites.

In ancient Rome, where vengeance are also under anantheia or tabu. Their sacred qualities set them apart from mankind.

The Maasai, whose reason for not burying ordinary persons is said to be, that the bodies would poison the soil, bury their medicine-men and rich men (Hollis, 305). The inhabitants of Corisco Island, off the West Coast of Africa, by their great men and women, placed their dead under a sacred tree (Nussan, 4). The Sea Dayaks expose their priests on a raised platform—a perilous place, which other men avoid, if they desire to keep their spirits. The rest are buried, except such as die in battle, who are left where they fall, surrounded with a paling to keep away the wild hogs (TSS, new ser. ii. [1850] 236). By way of special honour, the Papuans of the Sontal Purganas do not bury their priests, but lay them under the shade of a banyan (Brady, Hist. Indian Upland, 1895, p. 303). The Cuddoos of North America leave unburied the warrior slain in battle (Introductory, p. 60). Some of the African tribes bury their slain unburied, but in Africa, the dead warrior is buried. But among the Badjugga the reason is said to be that to bury him would draw a similar fate on others (Parr, 1841; Cunningham, 285; Globus, lxxii. 150).

(c) Women dying in childbirth are buried in Africa, both East and West, apart, and deprived of all ordinary rites. The belief that women thus dying is under a curse, and becomes a malignant ghost or vampire, is widely distributed. Special precautions are, therefore, taken against her depredations. A special rite in the shape of a sacrificial offering is made to the gods and vulture brackets. The custom is in Yunnan (Anderson, Report on Exp. to W. Yunnan, Calcutta, 1871, p. 131). A different expidient is mentioned below (§ XI. 2).

(f) Lastly, in the progress of civilization it has been held that burial cannot be accorded to the corpse of a man who has died in debt, until his creditors have been satisfied. This barbarous denial of rites necessary to future happiness seems to have been the law in medieval Europe. A corpse that was executed or guillotined, was immediately disinterred and buried in a spot known as 'Shoreditch' as lately as 1811; and, though damages were recovered against the creditors by the representatives of the deceased, the fact witnesses to the late survival in England of the belief that the corpse of the debtor could legally be distributed among the creditors (NQ, 7th ser. ix. [1896] 214; cf. 19, 336 and x. 63). Yet even in many places—the island of Celebes and West Africa, for example (L'Anthropologie, iv. [1893] 626; Globus, lxxii. 42; Dennett, Black Women, p. 330)—the corpse may be left unburied until his debts are paid; and among the Fantis, at all events, he who has the temerity to bury a man becomes liable for his debts (Crnkossack, Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast, Lond, 1853, ii. 221). The incident is the foundation of a number of folk-tales, from India to Ireland, and has repeatedly formed part of a literary plot.

3. Mode of disposal.—The modes of disposing of the corpse may be enumerated as (a) cannibalism, (b) sub-aerial deposit, (c) cave deposit, (d) water burial, (e) earth burial, (f) preservation in hut, (g) cremation.

(a) Cannibalism.—See art. CANNIBALISM, vol. iii. p. 194, and below, §§ XV, XVI.

(b) Sub-aerial deposit. To leave the body on the ground was probably the earliest, as it is the simplest and most savage, form of disposal of the dead. Ordinary people are still by many tribes, as we have seen, simply flung aside. Among the Maasai, burial is a honour conferred only on a man of wealth or a medicine-man. All medicine-men are descendants of one family of supernatural origin. We may conjecture that the meaning of the tradition of supernatural origin is that their ancestors were a race of beings to a tribe on a somewhat higher level of civilization, where burial was customary (Hollis, 305, 325). Burial is, however, not necessarily a mark of advancing civilization. The Dan, for instance, who are among the lowest of known savages, bury their dead (RBEW 284). On the other hand, the religion of Zoroaster seems to have imposed the rite of exposure of the corpse, to be devoured by dogs and vultures, in comparatively recent times by a reluctant people, who were previously in the habit of burying their dead. It appears, in contrast, with the rite of the Maasai medicine-men, to have been at first only the practice of the sacred caste, and to have been enforced by them on all believers under the most awful sanctions, both temporal and spiritual. A thousand stripes are denounced in the Zend-Avesta on him who shall bury in the earth the corpse of a dog or of a man, and not disinter
it before the end of the second year; but, if he delay beyond that time, there is no atonement for ever and ever. Death and damnation are his fate. Indeed, merely to omit the exposure of the corpse within a year, though the corpse be not in contact with, is to be liable to the same penalty as the murder of one of the faithful (SHE iv. xlv. 8, 31, 52). We may perhaps measure the difficulty of securing uniformity by the violence of the language and the severity of the threatened consequences, which have been almost as uncomformable to be a heretic in Persia as in mediæval and post-mediaeval Europe. Nor have the Parsees of India, in spite of their high civilization, abandoned this distinguishing characteristic of their faith. See 'Parsi' art. on present subject (p. 502).


Among the Australian tribes and those of Tasman the most varied methods of disposal are found, and they are all cremation. Where exposure was practised, it was usually on a rude platform of boughs, or in the branches of a tree. The latter is regarded by the farmers as having been applied to the very old and infirm, and to such as have violated tribal customs (Brough Smyth, i. 108-121; Howitt, 436-417; Spencer-Gillen, 560). The first, in New South Wales, is the best known (Gnomic, 1898, p. 190; Roth, Report of Tasmanian Commissioners, Lond. 1899, pp. 128-139). The same honour is also paid by the Andamanese to the most esteemed warriors (Ind. Cent. Roy. 1903, ill. 65). In fact the exposure of the dead on stages, or by suspension from the branches of a tree, or from cross-bows supported on poles, is very widely spread in the Eastern Archipelago, and is practised by some of the tribes of Assam.

On the American continent, deposit on scaffolds, or in the branches of trees, was extensively practised. In the greater part of North America it was the common mode of disposal, the object being to keep the body out of the way of carnivorous beasts and to facilitate desecration. The Hurons and some other tribes put the corpse into a coffin or box of bark or wood (often a hollowed log) - a custom also followed in British Columbia, where the 'grave-box' was frequently deposited on the ground and covered with leaves (C RBEW 1866-186, 188, 189, 190; 5 RBEW [1887] 111). The various Reports on the N.-W. Tribes in the Brit. Assoc. Repts deal with the custom of the Indians of British Columbia. See also Journ Expd. v. 54, x. [1906]143. Ruder than these was the custom of the Blackfeet. 'They think it a horrible practice,' writes Mr. Denby, 'and resemble them in the grave, or live in the ground.' So they leave it for the wild beasts and birds, above ground, on a level ground, with trees around it (B.A. Roy. Tract. Ind. du Canada Nord-ouest, Paris, 1856, p. 622). The Eskimos often leave the dead on the ground, 'though in some cases' reports the 'grave-box,' or 'corps-box' (11 RBEW, 175, 185; 15 RBEW [1899] 325). The Kamchatchiaks used to throw away their dead to be devoured by dogs. The Chukchi, Gilyaks, and other Siberian tribes followed the same practice, or else disposed of the corpse by cremation; the Yakuts, however, used to put them in boxes and suspend them from the trees or put them on rough scaffolds in the forest (Journ Expd. vi. 104; RHR vii. 211; Amer. Anthr. viii. [1900] 299). In New Caledonia the dead are placed on the summit of a cliff, on a bed of leaves or dried grass (L'Anthrop. xii. [1902] 547).

The necessity of sub-aerial deposit either on the ground or on scaffolds or in the branches of trees has been, in some measure, rendered all the less painful, forced upon the survivors by the condition of the soil. In the higher latitudes of the Northern Hemisphere the ground is often frozen for months, and it is impossible during that period (especially with the raising of the branches of the trees) to bring the body above ground. The necessity of sub-aerial deposit either on the ground or on scaffolds or in the branches of trees has been, in some measure, rendered all the less painful, forced upon the survivors by the condition of the soil. In the higher latitudes of the Northern Hemisphere the ground is often frozen for months, and it is impossible during that period (especially with the raising of the branches of the trees) to bring the body above ground. The

(c) Cave burial.—An archaic and widely distributed mode of burial is in caves.

Human bones, remains of sepulture of the Neolithic people formerly inhabited by our ancestors, have been found in caves at various points along the Riviera, notably under a subterranean floor of the base of the cliffs (L'Anthrop. xii. [1901] 2). Among examples of a much more recent date, but still very ancient, is that of the Hebrews (e.g. the cave of Machpelah, Gen. 23, 19, 20). The custom is not yet wholly extinct in Palestine. In the Moluccas, the Philippines, the Sandwich islands, as well as in the coral islands of the South Sea (both anciently and of late), the practice prevailed of depositing the bodies, or, after desiccation, the bones, in caves or crevices or in the recesses of the cliffs. In some of the islands the custom is now restricted to the remains of chiefs, and the motive is said to be to prevent desecration of the bodies, that it was at one time more general (Ellis, Polyn. Res. i. 406; JAF x. 141). Similarly, among the Natives of Madagascar the chiefs are deposited in caves (Mad. ou xxe siècle, 290, 291). In Africa it is found sporadically from north to south; as well as in the Alcucite and West Indian islands. Among some of the Pueblo peoples of Arizona and New Mexico the practice seems a relic of the former habitation of the caves. When they were occupied as dwellings, the dead were frequently buried in the same caves or in the furthest recesses, and the same caves or other cliffs and shelters of the rocks have been retained by a few remaining tribes as the most suitable dwelling-places of the dead (13 RBEW 346, 355; An. Anthr. vi., new ser., 660).

This method of disposing of the corpse, rude as it seems, has been capable, as in ancient Egypt, of developing grandiose sepulchres, by artificial excavation and the provision of pompous doorways, and thus of influencing the development of a national architecture. Even in such a result as Nubian, artificial excavation was frequently practised. Numerous numbers of such tombs, attributed to the Siculi, have been explored in the mountain of Pantalica near Syracuse (L'Anthr. xii. 190). A cave burial, such as was practised in Nubia, was found in other parts of the globe is that of sinking a perpendicular shaft in the soil and excavating, at or near the bottom, a side-vault in which the body is placed. These graves have lent themselves to the suggestion that their form is the result of an extremely primitive form of cave burial. They are actually found in some of the Fiji Islands concurrently with burial in caves (JAF x. 144). Ordinary chamber-tombs excavated in the rock are found in Ceylon, and the burial caves them were also provided with shaft and side-vaults; and though all three types of grave had diverged from one common original, and that original a natural cave. The conclusion, so far as regards the last-named type, is perhaps rendered all the more probable by the great number of several burial caves in the Mediterranean, where burial in natural or artificial caves was practised (Archaeol. xix. [1865] 391 ff.).

(d) Water burial.—To fling a body into the sea, or into a river or lake, is the earliest way of getting rid of it. That doubtless is the reason for thus disposing of the corpses of slaves or common people (see above, VII. 2 (b)), in various places. But it does not account for every case of the act of water burial. With the object of merely to get rid of the body, but to prevent the deceased from returning to plague survivors, probably few more effectual means are known to peoples in the lower culture than to throw the corpse into the water; for water is usually esteemed a barrier
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to malevolent spirits, and particularly to the dead.

The corpses of pregnant and barren women (who are naturally evi-disdosed), and of keepers, are regarded in Tibet as specially taboo. They are, accordingly, either thrown beyond the walls of the city, or packed in boxes and thrown into the waters of the great Tsang-po River (Chandra Das, op. cit., 255). The Gondwana of Paraguay and the Cherokees consider their dead to the waters of the nearest pond; the Greeks use of salt in springs, probably for fear of the demons of the dead (Griswold, op. cit., 350).

This may have been one of the reasons for the occasional practice of water burial found in various parts of the world, as among the sect of Bhagar Pansis in the Panjau (Rep. Omins. India, 1901, xvi. 187). The use of the West African tribes (Nassau, 263). On the other hand, water burial is sometimes regarded as an honour.

One who is specially beloved or beautiful is, in the Bismark Archipelago, not buried but is speeded on a boat pulled far out to sea, and there the boat and its passenger sink. Thus the body is swept away by the tide (Ovisko). To bring the dead into the sea was quite common in Polynesia. The Chibchas of New Granada were reported by Ovisko to lay their chiefs in golden coffins and sink them in the water (Int. Arch. xiv. 189). In the latter, however, bury in secret, from which we may probably infer that the object is to leave no clue to the burial-place lest it be violated by wizards (JAI xxiii. 84; Bégain, Mel-Esot, 1906, p. 113). In some of the Mofotas, graves are scattered everywhere outside the villages (Riedel, 81, 225). The Chilcotin are said to bury wherever the death occurs (Jenep. Expd. ii. 1900-8, 778). Among the Chinese and other nations in the Extreme East the situation is different. The grave of the dead is formed for a cult; its religious, whose art is called in Chinese fung-shui, defined by de Groot (iii. 935) as 'a quasi-scientific system, supposed to teach men where and how to build graves, temples, and dwellings, in order that the dead souls shall not commit the living may be located therein exclusively, or as far as possible, under the auspicious influences of Nature.' The practice is, therefore, founded on the conviction that the dead dwell in the grave exactly as living dwell in a house. This conviction is by no means confined to China and the surrounding countries; it is explicit or implicit everywhere in the lower culture. The imagination clings to it; and mankind has found it extremely difficult to get rid of the notion, though it has continually come into collision with the teachings of the higher philosophies and religions. Accordingly, the dying man's own wishes are often consulted as to the place of burial, or it is determined after his death, as in the Esker Archipelago (see ibid., 256) or by supposed movements of the coffin in answer to questions put to the corpse. This is, of course, a species of divination. It is more commonly decided by the manner in which the dead is regarded, that is to say, whether fear, on the one hand, or affection and hope for future benefits, on the other hand, predominate in the minds of the survivors.

But see § XIX.

(2.) Children—As an illustration of the latter motive may be taken the wide-spread custom of burying children in, or at the door of, their mother's hut. A comparison of the reasons alleged for so doing, and of other practices and beliefs, leads to the conclusion that the object is to obtain a re-birth of the child.

The custom is found in Africa East and West, in the Panjab, and among the Naga tribes (see H. H. von den Steinen, Notes on the Andaman Islands, among the Karo-Batak, the Creeks, the Seminole, the Chosa of Southern Mexico, and in several of the Andaman Islands). In the West the North American Indians bury their dead children in the house; and to this day the Russian peasant buries a still-born child under the floor (Harland, Prin. Patern. 157, 149; JAI xvi. 397, 1906; Euchel, Histoire 1874; Staatsber. S. Mex., III. 1902, 74; Riedel, 421, 267; Chandras Das, 220).

(i.) Others than young children. —Burial or sub-aerial deposition is a practice found among the African tribes and among the Negroes and Bantu.

It is, however, far from being the universal practice among either the Bantu or the Bantu. Among the head of the household is frequently buried within his own settlement or compound, or, as among the Kabuts of South Africa, in the cattle kraal. The chief is buried near his former dwelling house; in other words, the chief is buried in his village. On the Ivory Coast several bury under the hut (Eiseler note, Rabot, 119, 127, 221, 232, 365; Wreden, 279, 1902). In the case of these, as well as the West African Bantu, burial under the floor of the house, or in the kitchen-garden adjoining, is a dis-crimination reserved for the females only. In others the custom seems more general, and the head of the household at least is usually buried near his own house (Eiseler, 121; Leonard, Hist. Spitt., 256, 261, 351, 782, 785; JAI i. 171).

The same rule applies to the Ntchic and Bantu tribes on the other side of the continent (Johnston, 904, 905, 751, 749, 779, 789, 880; Castati, Ten Years in Equatoria, London, and N.Y., 1909, i. 365; Geschi, Seven Years in the Soudan, London, 1892, 26; JAI xix. 305; von der Gegen, op. cit., 'Enterrerment'; Werner, 157, 163, 165).

In Madagascar the practice differs with the tribe. The Kandivamirakasa, Betsileo, and Betsileo, and other tribes bury at a distance in solitary places, and their graves are greatly feared, while the Betsileo and Hovas bury on the roadside and even between the dwellings (Mad. au xve siècle, 278).

A similar diversity is found among the forest and pampas tribes of South America, some of which bury under the hut. The Cumans bury on small islands in the river (water is notoriously difficult for the dead to cross) or else in the hut occupied by the deceased. But in the latter case the hut is deserted (Int. Arch. xiii., Suppl. 85). The motive in both is obviously fear. In North America tribes like those of the Northern and Western Cheer, Nez Perce, Shoshap, and Thompson Indians, to mention only a few, bury either by dividing a grave or setting it up as a monument. Some, like the Creeks and Seminole, bury them under the house. Others, such as the Nambial of California, buried them at a distance. The Zunis, who do not practice these customs, probably in former times buried their dead in their caves, or under the dwellings, or at the graves of the ancestors (see RIEB, 336, 346, 356). Many of the inhabitants of the Eastern Archipelago and the Pacific Ocean bury in the dwelling of the deceased; but there is no uniform practice. In the interior of Fiji (De) Fiji, for instance, in the province of the, many persons were buried before the threshold of the house, or in case of men under the clan dormitory; elsewhere the dead are buried at a distance because they are feared (Annette, liv. 1909, 38, 90). In Assam the grave is dug in front of the house (JAI xxi. 1906, 80). In ancient Assyria and Babylonia the ordinary dead were buried under the floor of the house (ABV xvi. 106). What looks like a relic of the same custom is found among the Lolas of Western China; the day after the funeral a hole is dug in the dead-chamber, and a fragment of the corpse is offered that the star of the deceased may descend and be buried in that hole. It is believed that if this were not done the star would fall and possibly burn some one (JAI xxi. 103).

The burial-place is frequently in a grave or thicket, afterwards shunned as sacred. Chiefs or other high-born die in their own houses, and the chief shammans, are, in particular, recipients of this honour. Chiefs and priests on the island of Rotuma are buried on the hill-tops (JAI xxvii. 1898, 431, 432). A similar custom is found on a hill near the coast of Java, where it is usual to have his house or barrow. The Arapahos, the Wichitas, and other North American tribes lay their dead commonly on hills or bluffs.

Among many peoples each family or each clan has its own place of burial, whether the mode of disposed of the dead be by cave burial, in-
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Inhumation, sub-aerial deposit, or cremation. This was the custom of the ancient Greeks (Rohde, i. 255) in the west, and the Egyptians; and it is believed to have continued to this day in the Holy Land (Wilson, "Peasant Life," 158). Nor is it confined to a comparatively high stage of civilization. It is a natural and by no means uncommon outgrowth of the funeral custom; and, where ancestor-worship exists in a developed form, it adds strength to its cult by concentrating the cult about one spot.

The Chinese custom dates from barbarism; and the practice of depositing the body in the open air (de Groot, iii. 329). Every clan of the Baganda, and even of the Muham- madans, or the chiefs of the Buquidnones (Veltzoe, Sitten und Gebräuche, 1963, p. 259). Every family of the Chechens in the Caucasus and of the Barea and Kurnama in Abyssinia has its vault (Anthrop., iii. [188] 734; Munzinger, 622). On the Gold Coast, among the Tanim of Madagascar, the Nicobarese, or some of the British Cblonian tribes the families have common burial-gronds (J.A.I. xxxvi. 183; Globosa, ixxxix. 361; Int. Arch. vi. 31; Jassop Exk. i. 236, v. 64). The Urals of Southern India have a common burial-ground at Narsingdi, in which all are finally laid to rest; but each sepulchre has its own burial-ground close to its village, where the preliminary observations are celebrated (Castor and Tribe, vii. 256). The Chams of Further India and the Kheos of Assam practice cremation; their ashes are deposited in the family sepulchre (Cahaton, Chans, 45; Gurdon, Kheis, 1907, pp. 135, 149). As society becomes more highly organized, the custom of sepulchring is abandoned by the farthest tribe, and it is then accompanied by kings and nobles. The kings of ancient Society, the Philip, the Katong chief and English peers, agree in displaying the same veneration.

Where, strictly speaking, there is no family sepulchre, sometimes, at least, the body is buried upon the land of the tribe or family.

The ancient Norseman's house was upon his own land. The Quiche of Central America buried in their maize fields (Int. Arch. i. [188], Suppl. 72). The Burjans of the Philipines and the Moctes of West Africa are laid in their own cultivated fields (sawyer, 317; L'Anthropo. xv. [1904] 667); and the Chaus have their family cemetery close to their richest cornfield (Cahaton, loc.). In these cases probably the deceased is thought to have an influence on the fields and enhance their fertility. Among the Igorots, however, where the dead man is buried in his own cleared land, unless he has selected some other spot, the place is afterwards held sacred (Saint-Gr., p. 413). The modern Philippine lay his dead in the earth or in a little building called a chapel on his house lot (R.T.P. vii. [1891] 225).

Other distinctions, as has already been noted, are often made between the dead. On the island of Keiser, one of the Moluccas, a great nunu-tree stands in an open square in the centre of every village. It is thus sacred, and places of public assemblies are held there (Kiedel, 422). The same character attaches to the Men's House, or Bachelors' House, necessary to a village of the tribes of New Guinea. It is often, if not every man, at least an important man, is buried, and his bones are preserved after the final rites (cf. Globosa, xcvii. [1908] 106, 168).

(7) Preservation in house. Many peoples preserve the body above ground in the house, either with or without previous desiccation or mummification. This practice originates in a rude and archaic condition of society, and is frequently abandoned, as civilization advances, in favour of temporary or permanent burial.

Thus in Tahiti, a native tradition, which doubtless represents something like the subsequent deposit of custom, speaks of a period when the dead were allowed to remain on a kind of stage in the house in which they had lived, and which continued to be occupied by them by means of separate houses which were built for the dead—small temporary buildings, where they were led, and whence they were drawn out to be exposed to the rays of the sun. The corpse was visited from time to time by the relatives, and was washed every day with aromatic oils. The flesh was slowly desiccated in a family oven, or temple, or else buried, except the skull, which was wrapped in native cloth and preserved, often suspended from the roof of the temple, ep. cit. 1. 499.

Notwithstanding all reverence for the dead, and all precautions in the shape of desiccation and perfumes, the custom of keeping the body in the house during the period of decay must have been found intolerable. Tribes to which this immediate burial was repugnant therefore usually adopted one of two courses: they abandoned the hut to the corpse, or they removed the corpse until dissolution had been carried far enough to render it no longer offensive.

So the Waggo of East Africa keep the corpse of a man of rank in the hut until it putridity, while they mourn and drink poison. It is then placed on a scaffold in the open air, and when they have left, when they last are buried (Steinmetz, 211). The Attilans (ithun or warrawara), or the dead are kept by the body in the house "until the stench became intolerable." It was then placed on a scaffold in the open air, that the work of decay might be more completely accomplished. The remaining skull was then placed in the hut, the latter afterwards arranged on the sides of the cabinet in full view of the inmates until the Feast of the Dead, the great day of the festival. To the people of Ikogolo, the bones, the latter were afterwards arranged on the sides of the calbets in full view of the inmates until the Feast of the Dead (Steinmetz, 211). The Mungo or Mon of Tongking kept the corpse in a coffin for three years in the presence of the family of ancestors; but they palliated the results of dissolution to some extent by using a bamboo tube in the lid of the coffin, and putting up the roof (Letet, 359). In West Africa the Baulde embalm and preserve the corpse in the hut for months or years. In spite of embalming, the odour for three weeks is horrible. It then gradually diminishes, and by the end of two months the corpse presents the appearance of an Egyptian mummy. In this state it is kept until the convenient time for the final rites, with which it is laid in a grave under the hut (Closs and Villamar, 115, 116). The Yumbos of South America also mummify their dead, and hang them up in the house under the thatch (Int. Arch. vii., Suppl. 79). TheGilbert Islanders placed their dead in a box or trunk, and they have a public ceremony for the dead in a room over their house (cf. Lass, iii. [1883] 285). The practice of exhuming the hut to the dead is followed in many other places. Its motive—whether of the death-pollution or of the ghost is probably no more than a question of teresom—subsides.

(g) Cremation is a mode of disposal of the dead that has been adopted from time to time by nations widely scattered over the earth. It is the ordinary mode in India among the aboriginal peoples, as well as among the Benares Indians; and has passed from India to Tongking, and has obtained a footing by Hindo influence on some of the East Indian islands. It is practised by many tribes of Siberia and of the Pacific slope of North America. In ancient times it was also practised widely in the eastern, and (exclusively) by the tribes of the North American plains and of the Mississippi basin and Atlantic shores. It is customary among some of the northern tribes of South America, and among the Melanesians of North New Mecklenburg and New Hanover, two of the islands of the Bismark Archipelago. The funeral mounds of Europe witness to its use in pre-historic times, from the south of Russia to the British Isles. The practice seems to have begun in the islands of the North, and with the Roman Empire the fashionable mode of disposing of the dead, among the official and wealthier classes. It is sporadic or occasional in many other parts of the world.

More than one reason may have conduced to the practice of cremation:

(1) Tribes without a settled abode may have found it convenient, if they desired to carry about the remains of their dead, or to remove such remains beyond the possibility of desecration by their enemies.

Some such motives perhaps operated in the case of the Cocopa Indians, who occupy the lower valley of the Colorado River. By the annual floods of the river they are driven from the bottom lands to the higher grounds. The annual irrigations are of
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great regularity, and have affected the habits of the tribes in various ways. On the death of an adult, his effects are collected for his children rather than his kin. The body is laid on a pyre beside his hut; and, after all the kinematics have been satisfied, the corpse and the rest of his goods are burnt, together with the hut and any neighborly gifts belonging to the clan that may happen to catch fire. The survivors then abandon the hut and the field where the body was burnt, and formerly burnt the land.

The Zulu and Mfengu are an immigrant people of Northern Tonga; and, though they have been settled as cultivators of the soil in the mountainous country for many generations, their villagizations are still constantly removed from place to place, to suit their requirement. There is no place to which the Zulu will not formerly burn the dead, and carry the ashes with them in their migrations. But the custom has been generally given up, because the accumulations that were required to be disposed of became an intolerable burden. The ashes were, however, in the west of the Red River basin, where the bodies, after incineration, are placed in earthen jars (Lamet, 239, 240). Among the Kaffirs, the previous cremation of those who died by violence has not been observed; and in such cases the ashes were taken home and burned (Bell, Ann. Mus. Nat. Hist. xvi. 242).

(i) Another very powerful motive for cremation is the desire to be quit of the ghost. Various means are adopted for this purpose (see XI.). Cremation by burying the dead is, however, not the less potent. This is best observed where cremation is exceptional, as on the continent of Africa.

Among the Yaos and Manganja a woman who was accused of witchcraft was condemned to death by the mode of interment, was burnt (Macdonald, Africana, 1852, i. 104). In West Africa burning is especially the mode of disposing of bodies of criminals, by which are usually accused of witchcraft or of poisoning some of whom are also burnt to death (Nassau, 224). The Lukwile and other tribes in the neighborhood of Lake Tanganyika believe that a month or two after the death of the body, the bodies of drunken Pagans brings back the bones to life. A mysterious being called Nkina animates them; and it is believed that in these cases probably too great, and the custom may have been in decay for some time. The procedure, however, seems to have been neglected with regard to friends killed in war at a distance from home—contrary to their practice in other cases. The practical difficulties were considerable (Jas. Anderson, 1. 108). The great body of the inhabitants was burnt: otherwise they would be refused admission. The practice was, however, very rare. It was probably too great, and the custom may have been in decay for some time.

(ii) This cremation is an effectual protection of the survivors against haunting the dead. It is more than this: it thoroughly frees the ghost from the bonds of this life, and fits it for union with the society of the departed in the life beyond.

The Wanns and Guiana burn their dead, 'that the soul might fly to heaven on the smoke' (Int. Arch., xiii., Suppl. 87). Among the Lurians of Further India the higher classes are cremated in a papyrus representing a mythical bird called Hasting. It is said that, in order to obtain Nirvana, the bird must be killed. Accordingly, a woman ceremonially shoots an arrow at it; and then the bird is killed. In places where the custom has been observed, a mythological tale of the slaughter of the bird in the persons instance of a hero who was an incarnation of the goddess and the woman who shoots the ceremonial arrow pretends to be a descendant of the goddess. But there can be little doubt that this story is a later and more recent development of an old tradition, and that the bamboo bird really conveys to the other world the soul whose cremation has been practised (Ar. Ind. R. 375). In this case the shooting would be the ritual slaughter of the bird, in order to put it into the same condition as the Pagans the Hals of Massel, persons killed in battle or by violent means, were believed to go, after death, to the abode of a supernatural being named Tzex, which was suspended in the air. To enable them to do their work by their own means, it was necessary to put them in the hands of the Deity. When the configuration came to an end and nothing was left, it was believed that the king had returned to heaven, whence, according to the tribal legends, his ancestors had been exiled, and whether this was the prescribed method of returning (An-
tropo, xvi. 6). But the ghost is often conceived of as inhabiting the charred bones, and not completely disposed of until some further ceremony has been performed. The rites at the cremation of the body of the chief of the Atdla plate are described by H. 
Among the tribes of India which have been influenced by Brah- 
manism to throw the ashes into some sacred water, as a means of uniting the dead and the living, the ashes are sometimes thrown into an urn or other receptacle, and buried, or kept in the house. In this custom, the ashes are placed in an urn, and the vessel of the urns was sometimes removable, in order to place the spirit of the dead by periodically pouring libations upon the ashes.

VIII. THE GRAVE.—I. Shape of the grave.—On this subject something has been said above in dealing with grave burial. The grave is the residence of the departed; and efforts are not wanting in various parts of the world to render it as comfortable as circumstances permit. As already pointed out, the Chinese practice of fang-shui is traceable to this motive. It is possible also, that the widespread practice of abandoning the hut to the dead, whether burned or exposed in a grave, may have the same motive, in addition to that of escaping the infection of the death. The destruction of the hut above the corpse, which frequently takes place, need not preclude it, since it is a common principle of fang-shui to destroy the dead that must themselves be killed by breakage, or even burning. Where burial does not take place in the hut, a hut or shelter is often erected over the grave.
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ment; and this hut, as the abode of the deceased, becomes his abode forever. The huts are recumbent on the face, which is supposed to remain seated on the grave for two months after burial (Cunningham, 357). Elsewhere, as in New Guinea, the shelter is in the form of a recess in the mountain, the ngoro, who go thither to weep, as of the departed (Chalmers, 110).

The underground resting-places of the dead are also provided with regard to their comfort, often to magnificence. The Ewhe of West Africa bury beneath their huts. Rich people have their huts prolonged and held high above the ground, and for them is a large as a room (Spiegl, 634). The prehistoric graves of Crete, circular chambers of stones covered with mounds of earth, in which the bodies were deposited, and they are generally surrounded with a trench from which the earth for the barrow has been taken, sometimes also with circles of stones. Where an elaborate structure of this kind is not usual, it is common to cover the grave with a heap of stones, or with a simple mound of earth. Where, as among many tribes, the grave is shallow, the stones, or often (according to the nature of the country) a pile of branches, may be intended chiefly to protect the body against wild animals. Against human beings they are more often defended by fences, or smoothed and levelled down so as to remove the traces of burial, as is the practice of various South American tribes (Int. Arch. xiii. Suppl. 92, 97; Globes, x. 305). Where mounds or barrows are erected over graves, they become, with growing civilization, pyramids of wrought stone and mausoleums.

2. Position of the corpse.—It is a very general custom in the lower culture to bury the dead in a crouching or squatting position. This is the natural position of rest during life for peoples who have not the civilized appliances of chairs, tables, and beds. It is accentuated in the case of the dead by binding or cloths, and skins or bones, even breaking the bones for that purpose. The body thus prepared is usually laid on one side in the grave, just as the skeletons in Neolithic and later graves in this country are found. Sometimes, however, it is placed seated or lying on the back.

Examples of both have been described among the West Australian natives (Calvert, 41, 42). Extended burials (lying full length) are so common. At Kunnum, bodies have been found both flexed and extended. Extended burials were customary among the Maoris of New Zealand, the Goths of North America (Burck, Wheatley, 1894, p. 15), the Brimmans of the Ivory Coast (Closed and Villanour, 407), and the Yanquis of Southern India bury in the same attitude, but the last with the face downwards (Thornton, vii. 436).

The direction in which the body lies in the grave differs among different peoples, and even among the same people. In the pre-historic graves of this country, as well as of other countries, skeletons have been found quite differently orientated, though sometimes in the same barrow; and the explanation of the variations is still to seek. The Wotjolans and Nadjabs of New Guinea, the Tiwi of the Northern Territory, and the tribes of the South and Central Coast of Australia, have the body in an extended position, facing the east or west (Jaladja, 1907, 173). The body of the Amur coast Eskimo is often laid in a flexed position, but the face towards the north (Tokuz, 251). The body of the Carankas of the Andes is laid with the face towards the south (Jaladja, 1907, 174), and sometimes with the feet towards the east (Jaladja, 1907, 173). The body of the Inatek among the Amur tribes of Siberia is laid with the feet towards the north (Tokuz, 251). The body of the Amur tribes of Siberia is laid with the feet towards the north (Tokuz, 251).

Thus the Ngemba of New South Wales bury the head towards sunrise (Mathews, 72); the Awemba of Central Africa (JAI xxvi. 157) bury the head towards the north (Chalmers, Nat. Hist. xvi. 243), and the Wamba of the Ivory Coast bury the head turned to the east. On the other hand, the Yoruba (Jap. Expd. li. 269), the Mangucus of Scegge (JAI xxvii. 163), and the Brimmans (Closed and Villanour, &c.) agree with the Christian population of Europe in burying the head towards the west. Tribes which preserve the custom of interment of the head, or bury the heads with their back, frequently bury with reference to the direction from which they believe the soul has come, and in which it passes in the future. Among the Some of the Ewhe tribes of South Africa bury so as to face the North (Dempert, § 23; Kidd, 243). This practice seems to be connected with a belief that after death the soul journeys back, as among the Miso of the Chinese province of Kwei-chow (Anthropos, iii. 109), to the ancestral seats of the race. Among the Wanyamwezi of East Africa a man who dies in a strange place is buried with his face to his mother's village (Horton, Lake Regions of C. A. After Land, 338). In the Muhammadan peoples bury so that the dead may face Mecca.

3. Coffins.—The corpse is further defended against external influences by a case or coffin. In the early stages of culture a coffin was intended merely to contain the body, and if it is deemed desirable to protect the body from the earth, this is done by means of the niche or recess at the bottom of the grave: a shaft so common in Africa, or a covering of boughs is laid over it before the earth is thrown in. In some peoples in a comparatively high stage of civilization protect a coffin. Wood is the usual material for a coffin. Originally, probably a hollowed tree-trunk, as still among the Niinnamm (Probenius, 103), it has evolved many forms, painted, as among the Ibonzo on the Niger (Anthropos, i. 1907) 102, or carved, as among the Eskimo and Indian tribes of the North-West of America, and the Dayaks of Borneo. These carved coffins or grave-boxes, however, are not intended to be put under ground. In this connexion the richly carved sarcophagi of late Roman and early medieval times will be recalled.

A very general custom prevails in South America, where the art of pottery is developed, of putting the dead into large urns. In pre-historic Crete it was a well-known practice to enclose the body in a terra-cotta chest called a baranitza (Arkeologisa, li. 306-400). In Japan, bodies were often buried in sarcophagi of wood, stone, or terra-cotta (Archaeologia, iv. 1927, 474). The barrows, when, as often happens, especially among the rich, the dead are interred to be buried elsewhere in sarcophagi, among the farmers, especially in the large barrows in Japan (de Groot, i. 158; Leun, 97). The Tagamans of the Philippines bury children in jars (Sawyer, 313). Under these circumstances the bones are disinterred and cut up into the smaller bones are cut up, put into the jaws, and erected a cairn of stones over it (Iodol. Sic. v. 18). The bones, after being desolated of their flesh, were buried in urns by many of the tribes inhabited what is now the United States (Amer. Antar. vii., now ser. 1904), 660. A similar practice is recorded by a widoe traveller in Tibet (ZGFH xx. 1927, 115). And the Kukis of Assam, after the body has undergone preliminary decomposition, clean and preserve the bones in a vase, which is then buried. Some tribes are said to build a temple to the dead in the same way (ibid. 1904), 115. The cremated bones in urns has been common wherever cremation was practised by peoples acquainted with the art of pottery. Burial in ships or boats has already been referred to. Sometimes, in the gold mining districts of Brazil, a coffin is fashioned out of the canoe of the deceased by cutting it in two and placing the body between the two halves (Globes, x. 327). Lighter materials are often employed for the coffin. On the Gold Coast an oblong casket of barks is employed (Jour. Afr. Soc. vii. 1908, 302). On the other hand, more than one coffin is sometimes employed in the case of a wealthy or important personage. In this wasteful practice African barbarians agree with the cultured peoples of Europe.
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Nora is the object of a coffin always, or entirely, to be (possibly even) leatherlike. The initial intention was to protect the living from the visits of the dead.

This was expressly alleged to Nelson by one of the western murderers. He showed the grave-box in which the dead were deposited on the shores of Bering Strait. "It was better," he said, "to keep the dead in grave-boxes, for it kept their shades from the living."

Although, however, we may suspect the desire of imprisoning the deceased to have been a primary motive in the provision of a coffin, the desire to provide for his comfort in the grave was probably also—perhaps equally—present. That the intention of a coffin is not always to bottle up the soul with the body is clear in such cases as that of the Siusi just referred to, where a hole is left expressly to enable the ghost to go and come, and thus preserve its temporary connexion with the bones until the time for final severance arrives.

IX. Funeral ceremonies.—1. Time of funeral.—The length of time required to elapse between death and the funeral varies from a few hours to many months. In the west as in Africa and the Solomon Islands, it may extend for years, while the preparations for duly honouring the deceased slowly proceed. At length, however, the time comes when the solemn ceremony which is to sever the bonds from the living is appointed to take place. The night is not infequently reckoned the appropriate time.

The Hopi of North America conduct their funerals at night (Zoeth, Ethn. xxxiv. [1896]356), the Zulus of S. Africa at early dawn (Anthrop. I. 169). The Manann of South Africa and the Negros of the Lower Niger bury in the evening (Molok, Seven Years in S. Africa, Lond. 1851, i. 210; Leonard, 1901), while the Basuto dig the grave after dark, but defer the actual burial until the following day. This is said to be performed before the children wake, for they must not see the body (Martin, 1899; Journ. Afr. Soc. v. [1896] 257).

The reason for the selection of the darkness as the season for burial seems to be that the survivors then cast no shadow, which is often confused with the soul, and hence that the deceased, or any evil-disposed spirit, would have more difficulty in capturing and retaining souls. The souls of children, particularly, are liable to attack, and the Southern Nicobar Islands, burial takes place at sundown, before midnight or early dawn, expressly in order to prevent the shadows—that is, the souls—of the attendants from falling into the grave and being buried with the corpse (Ind. Curr. 1901, iii. 209).

2. Touching the dead.—Throughout the rites and observances attendant on death, two motives—two principles—are found struggling for the mastery. On the one hand, there is the fear of death and of the dead, which produces the horror of the corpse, the fear of defilement, and the overwhelming desire to ban the ghost. On the other hand, there is the affection, real or simulated, for the deceased, which behoves the closest relations to be unwilling to let him go. Thus, though the touch or even the neighbourhood of the corpse causes defilement, there are not wanting peoples with whom it is a ritual necessity for mourners to touch the corpse.

The islanders of Maraling, Torres Straits, and the Negroes of Jamaica agree with the people of the British Isles and the neighbouring Oceania in this requirement. In Europe the reason usually assigned is that it prevents being haunted by the deceased. The German-speaking population of Iryan in the hills of western Russia, and Moravia, are of the opinion that they may not be afraid, which we may interpret in the same sense (Z'V Yr. vi. [1896] 483); while in Montenegro every one must kiss the corpse (Jal. xxii. 94). Among the Bulgarians all relatives kiss the right hand of the deceased, while members of the family in addition, each one who has been in the same month bends over it to breathe and touches its head with his own head (Stranz, Die Ber. v. [1896], p. 450).

3. Circumambulation.—Another ceremony is that of walking round the corpse.

When the Argonauts in the poem of Apollonius Rhodius buried their dead conrade Mopsus, they marched round him thrice, in their warrior gear. So among the populations of India in those regions, the mourners, after several acts of尊崇, light the frye first walks thrice round it. The custom of walking round the corpse, or the grave, is observed by a number of people as far as apart in space and in culture as the Central Eskimo, the Russian Lappis, the Burials, the Shaas, and the Burials of East Africa. It has even been used in the6 burial of Somnus (France), after placing the coffin in the grave the mourner go thrice round the grave backwards (Guerin, vi. 164).

The direction of the procession is probably wisely, though it is rarely recorded; and it is usually performed thrice. There can be little doubt that the rite is magical, intended to keep the dead in the grave and prevent him from molesting the survivors. Cf. art. CIRCUMAMBULATIO

4. Carrying out the corpse.—More widely spread still is the custom of taking the corpse out of the house by some other way than the ordinary door. Among peoples in the lower culture, from South Africa to Greenland, from Alaska to the farthest limits of Asia, the East Indian Archipelago, and the islands of the Southern Ocean, where the huts are not provided with windows the dead are not likely to be put by the side-door, or a hole left open for or side of the hut specially broken for the purpose, or, as among the Koryaks, by raising a corner of the tent. Where a window exists it is often utilized for the purpose. The hole is closed immediately after the passage out of the corpse, the object being to prevent the deceased from finding his way back. As civilization progresses, the custom is gradually confined to the corpses of those who have died evil deaths.

A Neapolitan, who, by his character or the circumstances of his death, was deemed, like Thesel in the Bythygge Saga, likely to give trouble after death, was buried as an outcast. On the first occasion he was to be attacked, the Southern Nicobar Islands, burial takes place at sundown, before midnight or early dawn, expressly in order to prevent the shadows—that is, the souls—of the attendants from falling into the grave and being buried with the corpse (Ind. Curr. 1901, iii. 209).

5. Other instructions against return.—To prevent the return of the dead, it is not enough to take out the corpse by an unusual way. The dead man must be prevented from seeking access by the back door, or other means by which he may enter the house. Thus, when the corpse is carried to the grave, it is not placed straightforward on the ground, but is made to walk round in a circle (Feilberg, 1895, 1897). His head is turned back (Eyrbyggia, p. 264, 265). Here, perhaps, the successive children dying are regarded as the same child returned and re-born (Hartland, Prin. Pat. i. 200). In that case the object is to prevent access to the dead infant to its mother, that she may not see it again.

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Among the Masurs of East Prussia and in Bulgaria, when parents lose a succession of children, the last to die is taken out through the window (Toppen, Aberg. aus Masuren, 127; ZTV xi. 283). Here, perhaps, the successive children dying are regarded as the same child returned and re-born (Hartland, Prin. Pat. i. 200). In that case the object is to prevent access to the dead infant to the child of the corpse (Spitzu, 765).

The Kalmucks remove the corpse of a childless woman through a hole in the side of the hut opposite to the door (Globus, 1894, 1895). On the other hand, they put the corpse of an impotent woman by the outer wall (Krujt, Animismus, Hamburg, 1896, pp. 264, 265). These three deaths are formidable, either from the manner of death or from channelled position.

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practices are found in Europe. In Leitzim the longest possible road is taken to the churchyard (EVL vi. 211.) and it is probable that both in Ireland and in Germany the corpse is carried three hours through the church.

In various places in Europe a number of pre-established benches on which the coffin has rested are thrown down (East Prussia; Igla.) The coffin is lifted three hours over the threshold and thence rested upon it—an indication to the deceased that this is a solemn and holy place. With the axe (Wops; Sp.) an axe is laid on the threshold or hung over the door as soon as the corpse has passed (East Prussia; Sweden).

Water (in some places the water used in washing the corpse) is thrown out with or without the vessel containing it, after the funeral procession has passed (JAF xxiii. 35; Ridd, Cust. Mod. Greece, Lond. 1892, p. 124.) More than one motive has probably gone to form this custom. Purification may be intended; but the object also is to disperse the corpse. If the corpse be like other supernatural beings, they have a difficulty in crossing water. In Greece, indeed, the custom of flinging out water is said to ease the burning pains of the dead—a later and probably Christian interpretation.

In Brittany the dead of the commune of Plouguel are carried across a small arm of the sea called the Passage d'Enter, immediately after the funeral procession leaves the cemetery (KTP v. 651. In the same way the Hakid carry a shaman to his burial by water, even though the burial-place is not far from the edge of the cemetery; the taboo is that they do not fear a dead shaman like other dead people, but they want to handle his things, and hence, we may infer, to keep him off so that he cannot return to interfere with them (Jexp. v. 53.) In Sweden, it seems to be through the feet of the bearers to prevent the corpse from falling over. The effect of the custom is to prevent the corpse from being taken by the devil (Jexp. xxv.) In the Solomons Islands the return from the funeral is by another road than that along which the corpse was carried, lest the ghost should follow (Cuddington, 26.)—the practice likewise followed in Corfu (Ridd, 122.) Many peoples erect barriers against the ghost in returning. Thus the Korays (who cremate the body) strew twigs around the pyre, representing a dense forest which is supposed to surround the burning-place. An attempt is made to obscure the tracks of the officiant, and a line is drawn across the road, over which the mourners jump and shake themselves. This line is supposed to represent a river. The Chokhi customs are similar. A small cup and the bunch of grass used in washing the corpse are hidden separately on the grave, so that the grave is empty till it reaches the sea and is joined by another dense forest (Jexp. vi. 112, vii. 555.) It should be pointed out that it is by such means that the mourner is supposed to beahunting the incident of the Magical Flight from the pursuit of the Urgre, and that the grass and twigs are only used in cases of defence familiar to them in their traditions.

These specimens of the various methods of preventing the return of the dead will suffice for the present. Reference will be made to others below.

6. (The corpse is thrown out.) A dead man is often supposed to be reluctant to quit his home. Among the Navar, or Eastern Gypsies, as well as among other Arab tribes, he goes the length of forcible resistance, compelling the bearers even to return to their home for two or three days buried—to the great detriment of the public health (Jasson. Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moro, Paris, 1898, pp. 100, 105.) The Negroes of Jamaica aver that, when a dead body wishes to go forward, it is easily carried, but when it does not wish to go, it gives great trouble (EVL xxv. 453.)

A ceremony is performed on Car Nicobar which is perhaps a dramatic representation of the unwillingness of the dead to be buried. The funeral procession is met by another band of men who drive the bearers by force, struggling over the corpse, some dragging it towards the grave, others holding up the village, until it often falls to the ground. An eye-witness on one occasion tells us that the women and children, who stood at a distance, began to cry out that the corpse should forcibly enter the village. In the end, however, it was pushed up and thrown into the grave, the body having been sacrificed accordingly (JAF xxiii. 215, 211.) The ceremony was said to be performed only in the case of men of the highest repute (Id. 223.)

7. Farewell speeches.—Men, however, have not been content with such broad hints to the dead and defences against their return as described in previous paragraphs. They have told them in plain terms that they are not to come back, that the separation is definitive; and a considerable part of the funeral ceremony is often devoted to this purpose, enforced both by speech and symbol.

A ceremony is performed by the Bakuts of Sumatra, prior to the burial of the bago (son or individual who has died) is met by a Shannahistic ceremony that it belongs no more to the living, and must not communicate with them. The corpse is carried with djiargua (a specific against the bago) is carried round. Some of the parts of the body are rubbed with a piece of it, and it is thrown over the corpse with the bago, brother (or mother, or other relative) will converse with them no more (JAF vi. 565.) During this ceremony the corpse is wrapped in the Chans, a man, who bears the significant title of Master of Regrets, is left behind at the house. His business is to curse it and then to adjure it to return not to his family, but to his family (Calab., 45.) The Mung or Men of Eastern Tongling perform an elaborate series of rites with this object. They begin on the line of the corpse, that the dead man should come and recite invocations, accompanied by a bell to drive away evil spirits, and then to ascend to the heavens, separated from the other world and find relatives who have preceded him on earth. In order to guide him in his journey he enunciates these recitations by his relatives, and then to die as a witch-doctor. These are prayed to show the deceased the way to the dwelling of the superior genii, with whom he will find help; and the witch-doctor again casts lots to ascertain if he has been understood. The third night the ceremonies and offerings are repeated. The fourth, especially in honor of the ancestors, and the fifth, a separate offering to the witch-doctors, who is requested to conduct the soul to the grave where the body will lie, and which has been dug during the day. Before the offerings are disposed of he has to have the corpse again cast lots to satisfy himself that the soul knows the way to the tomb. At the grave two altars have been improvised, one in honor of the deceased, the other dedicated to the genius of the earth. Amidst the railing, the witch-doctor throws the body, which the survivors, and the genius of the earth to keep him in peace (Juenet, 530.)

The Jelles of Western China give the deceased specific instructions as to the route he is to take. On the way to the grave the priest recites the Song, or Road Ritual, and he accompanies the coffin a hundred paces from the house. This ritual begins by stating that, as in life the father teaches the son, and the husband, the wife, it is only the priest who can teach the dead man the road that his soul must travel after death. The threshold of the house is first mentioned, then the various places on the road and grave, and, beyond that, all the towns and rivers and mountains that must be traversed by the soul before it reaches the road which is the way to the race. Here the priest says that he himself must return, and the priest who is the road, the other road, the Thought Tree and the Tree of Talk, and there he thinks of the dead once left behind and weeps bitterly. After the meal is read, the priest returns to the house, the coffin goes on to the grave (JAF xxiii. 103.) On the island of Surong in the Moluccas the priest prays that the soul may do him no harm to the soul, but cordially to receive it, winding up with a prayer to the Lord Heaven and the Lord Earth to let all sickness go from the soul and in return the soul of the deceased (Riedel, 141.) On the Western Continent similar intimations are given to the deceased. Hapa was lowered into the grave, he was addressed: 'Don't be lonesome for what you have left. While you were living time came. Now the time has come, and so long as you live!' This, we are told, is to prevent the ghost's return and consequent misfortunes to the family (Godward, 70.) More closely among the Greenlanders a woman waves a lighted
DEATH chip to and floor behind the corpse when it is taken out of the house. There is nothing to hope to be had hereafter (Crantz, l. 257). In Central Africa, likewise, as among the Awemba, a speech is made over a man's grave, promising that the spirits will take care of his children and grandchildren, expressing the hope that he will become a good spirit in the next world. (Proc. Amer. Anthorp. Soc. xvi. 430.)

8. Death at a distance from home.—The desire to find one's last resting-place at home, among one's kindred and friends, is natural to man; and it has been translated into a number of ceremonial prescriptions which emphasize the necessity of such a burial.

Sometimes, as among the Lillooet of British Columbia, the deceased is buried in a temporary manner where he dies, and the bones of his body are left to be burnt away with his kindred. If this is impossible, the body is burnt and the ashes carried home (Jomp. Exped. ii. 270). Sometimes only a single bone is brought home, as in the case of Roman soldiers. Among the Ho of Togoland, when a man of importance is killed in war, he is buried on the spot; but later the grave is opened, his bones, hair, and nails are taken out, put into a coffin, and carried home, or at least his brothers on the maternal side must bring home his finger and toe-nails and his hair (Spith., 277). A large proportion of the modern Africans (at least of the south and east) carry their dead home, owing to their migratory habits. Their bones are collected and sent home; or at any rate the skull or a single bone is brought back (Heron, vi. p. 208). When a Norwegian king was killed in war, an image was buried in his place (Hered. vi. 55). In some of the villages of the Urali in western Siberia, a great number of a family dying away from home, laid on his bed, and the rest of the family standing around bewailing him (Dvor., Usci e nelle case, 4. iv. 283). At Chateaudun, a French sailor died at sea, a cross was taken to the house and made to represent the corpse. In the isle of Soio his portrait was laid on his bed. The corpse, it seems, had been moved to a churchyard. The clergy attended, and a funeral procession and service took place over this representative of the body (Rcp. vi. 192 [193] 106, iv. 316). When a man belonging to the Man Tiem of Northern Torgong dies at a distance from his home, the priest calls back his soul by means of a bell. Two inlets into the river are waded with a plurality of souls, and causes them to enter a doll made for the purpose, to which funeral honours have been accorded (Jomp. Exped. ii. 105). In Monto negro a dummy body is made with the clothing of the deceased; wailing and all other rites except actual burial are performed over this doll, and incense is made to rise from the dummy. Among the Ibo of Nigeria a few of the relations go a little way from home, cut a twig, wrap it up in bark-cloth and treat it in all respects as the corpse, all the ceremonies being performed upon it, including burial (Cunningham, 115).

Proceedings like these are doubtless much more than mere make-believe to the people who indulge in them. Probably in the first instance a relief to the feelings of the survivors, they must be held to be of real value and importance to the deceased, who attains by their means his due place in the other world and the rest which can come only by means of the proper ceremonies. See, further, xi.

X. Grave furniture and food.—The dead must be gratified with food, and with some or all of his near relatives, mostly by gratifying their love.
The practice of depositing these, either in the grave or upon it, is literally world-wide. Both fear of the dead and affection for him have combined to carry it very to extravagant lengths. Few examples will be required of a rite so well known.

1. Food and drink.—In Tsimshab and Tsimorlont, two of the Mohaves, when children under two years of age die, the mother milks her breast into their mouths before burial (Richtel, 390). So, when a child dies in the Urali of the Dzhambur jangies is about to be buried, a cow bull is killed and the bull's blood is poured down the arms and mouth of the corpse (Thurston, vii. 285). The practice of placing food and water on the grave is general among several of the Australian tribes; it is sometimes continued for many days (Howitt, pp. 448, 456, 467, 474). Among some of the Hill Tribes of Assam, these offerings to the dead are placed on the grave for a year or more (Stoll, l. 455). Some of the Papuan tribes plant taro beside the grave (J.R.W. xix. 103). The Tchagh␣танц (see also sub-ceremonial, deposit with the dead a sack of flour, flesh, mutton, his spoon, and generally whatever may be necessary for one who has to take a long journey (I. D. de la Rivière, 206). The Indians of California placed with the body quantities of food consisting of dried fish, roots, herbs, etc. (ib. 151). In Guatemala, provisions for the dead were given in amounts which were generally large and wide (Carrion, Die Ethnographie der Inlander von Guatemala, 1879, p. 71). The Wasek in Washington State, a sub-tribe of the Cowlitz, buried with the dead a bundle of roots, branches, and dry fish (Int. Arch. 1913, Spnm. 65). And it may be said generally that similar practices are recorded of all the tribes on the American Anal. of West Africa provide the deceased with blood (reminuiling, for instance, to the hope of the future), food, and drink (Clozel and Vilain, 23). Of drink, brandy, pony, or rum is commonly given among the Negroes. On the upper Niger Negroes, for instance, are careful to supply the grave to the departed with spirit to entertain his friends in the next world. (Germany, l. 430.)

The Baganda in the north bring food and pour beer over the grave. But it is not only in the islands of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, and among the Cherokees of America, and the Bushmen of South Africa, that the practice of providing food and drink obtains. The civilized Karez of the Amur, one of the Hill Tribes of Travancore, in putting into the mouth of the corpse offerings of the deceased, give it nothing but rice and drink. The Agni of Assam place bread and rum near the grave; the Kanowas of the Khasia tribe in Assam lay a portion of boiled rice and fish beside the grave; the Baganda in the north bring food and pour beer over the grave; but it is not, as the custom is to leave the grave to the fewest possible, so that the clothing of the dead may be clearly visible from the earth of the departed. The priests repeat these offerings a great many times, and a hole is dug in it, into which he pours water and buries some of the food. Nor is this all. On every commemorative festival for the dead, the deceased is remembered. In Brittany, when a sailor dies at sea, a cross was taken to the house and made to represent the corpse, which was then buried. The corpse of a king was buried in the isle of Soio, and the corpse of a chief in the churchyard, and on every festival the cross was taken from the churchyard and brought home, and laid upon the grave (Jal. xxix. 93). Elsewhere, some of the kith and kin are known to pour black coffee daily into an opening in the grave, which is kept continually filled with new coffee (Stolz, Die Finsternis, 1880, pp. 421-23). In Macedonia, an apple, a quince, or some other fruit is thrust between the feet of the corpse before the funeral (Abbott, Macedonien Fl., 1905, p. 107). In Montana, apples are thrown into the grave; and, in some parts, oranges and bits of bread are among the objects thrown in (ib. 108, 109). In Crete there is a widespread custom of setting eggs, apples, and bread on the newly made grave for the hungry specters, and offerings of food are brought at every Halloweens (globes, ixxxv. [1904] 59).

The Bulgarian priest, as we have seen, digs a hole in the grave, more or less purposely to pour down into it the last food for the dead. At Tronsi, in ancient Phocis, was the grave of the hero-founder, with the daily worshipped food of the spirits. There was a permanent hole communicating with the interior of the tomb, through which the blood of the victims was poured, while the worshiper, placing the food on a heap of stones (Phons. 2. 7. 3. Frazer, commenting on the passage, has added a number of cases of Greek and Roman tombs in which a permanent passage for food and libations has been found, and parallels from various parts of Africa, Peru, the East and West Indies, and elsewhere.)

These examples might without difficulty be added to; but a more or less permanent communication between the living world and the interior of the grave was sometimes, as we shall find hereafter, made for other purposes than the supply of food.

2. Wines and dependants.—Another custom, almost too well known to need illustration, is that of killing, or burying alive with the corpse, his wives, his slaves, and other dependents or friends. This custom attains its greatest extension, of course, at the funeral of a chief or king. Its object is to provide for his comfort and his dignity in the other world, by giving him suitable companions. The Agni of Assam, for instance, holds it is that of self (g.v.), by which the Hindu widow was burnt alive on her husband's pyre—a rite abolished in British India in 1829, but still surviving in the native State of Nepal. The rite was probably common among the pastoral-tribal, food-gathering races of savagery, but abandoned as they progressed in
civilization, and re-introduced, after centuries of disuse, by the Aryan conquerors of Upper India, for reasons that can now only be the subject of conjecture, and perpetuated under the ecclesiastical influence of the Brahmanas. Several of the non-Aryan tribes of India practised, until quite recent times, the warning of their living slaves, or making a raid for heads to adorn the tomb (Crooke, *Things Indian*, Lond. 1906, p. 446, also *Anthrop., iv. 473*).

We need not follow the custom throughout the world. But, among the very ancient peoples, and amongst people who may be of interest to recall that it is recorded by Caesar and Mohan that the practice of cremation was previously prevalent. *Bell, Hist. Ill. 19, Mohan, iii. 2*, and the Brahmanas (Mohan, ii. 2); that it is known in the Irish legends (O’Curry, *Manners and Cust., Dublin, 1873, cxxv.), and that the slaughter and cremation by Achilles of the twelve valiant Trojanseven on the pyre of Patroclus are only to be thus explained, though the fashion had changed before Homer’s day. Among the Sultanates of the Volga it was found by the Arab traveller, Ibn Fadlan, in the year 921 or 922, when he witnessed the immersion, on a young chief’s funeral pyre, of a girl, who seems to have been formally wedded to the dead youth before being thus sacrificed (Rahl, iii. 1005, 325). The Old Slavas likewise have a story of a warrior, his companions, and slaves at the funeral of a person of importance; and, when they were murdered, the woman, a wedding scene was enacted during the ceremonies—an obvious relic of such incidents as that recorded by Ibn Fadlan.

Such are the beliefs that have beenCurrents in the Transvaal, a virginy boy dies, a girl is sent after him into the other world to be his bride there. She is not actually present when the body is incinerated, but the doctor knows of a ceremony which is quite as effectual for the benefit of the dead boy as her death (Rahl, i. 165). When a woman of a Bantu tribe of Central Africa, another series of ceremonies is appointed for each of the widows, whereby she ‘flies herself from death’—possibly here is the connection (Goldschmidt, 186). The followers of the Quichua, with whom cremation is the rule, force the widow on the third or fifth day; but though they scour her never or less severely, they do not burn her to death (R. E. W. 145).

It is, for obvious reasons, rarer to find a husband put to death with a wife than the converse. But probably the story told in the *Arabian Nights* of Sinbad the Sailor, who was married with his dead wife, was founded on a barbarous custom really practised by some tribe in the East.

The husband of a woman of the royal blood of the Natches was required to submit to that most painful of deaths (R. E. W. 185). To Assanti, with the king’s permission, any of his sisters may marry a man who is pre-eminent in handsome, no matter how low his rank and position may be. But a man of low rank who may have thus married one of the king’s sisters is expected to commit suicide when his line comes to an end. However, in making child, and a man to be used is promptly detected, (Ellis, *Tahoe-Speaking Peoples*, Lond. 1857, 587).

After the abandonment of the custom of putting to death relatives, the relics continue to exist for ages. Centuries ago it was abolished in Japan, China, and Korea; but the living slaves once sacrificed were for long, and indeed still are in places, represented by figures in the shape of noseringless men, and the wooden poles of the wealth or lavishness of the survivors. To the same origin are due the statues and statuettes of servants and family found in Egyptian tombs. The Men Quang Trang, of the province of Hung Hoa in Northern Tongking, builds a small hut beside the narrow, and place near it a doll representing a man or a woman, to be the companion of the deceased. Sinking the doll, they bid it look well after him (Lunet, op. cit. 275).

It is perhaps necessary to add that many of our accounts of the immolation of human victims on the occasion of a death represent some, at all events, of the victims as dying willingly, or even committing suicide. This is certainly the case in many, if not in a certain number of cases, be the result of intense grief. The vast number, however, of deaths apparently voluntary are, as in the case of the Hindu widow or the dependents of a Greek slave, explained by custom and the knowledge that refusal, while it destroys the religious merit of the act, will entail compulsion, or at least that life will be speedily rendered intolerable.

3. Property.—It is probable that in the begin-

nings of human civilization, when a man died, his entire property was destroyed, or left with the body, whether buried or simply exposed. This, in fact, is still done by many tribes in various parts of the world (see § XIX.). Its primitive purpose may have been to ensure that the soul would attach to everything closely associated with the deceased. His meagre property would be in a sense identified with him, and must therefore be put away from the living. Such a procedure is obviously inconsistent in must have prevented that accumulation of wealth which has rendered progress in the arts of life possible. Consequently, most peoples have learnt to cut it down to comparatively small dimensions, giving only a few objects, behind the deceased, or reducing their gifts to a mere symbol.

(a) Domestic animals.—In a comparatively early stage, domesticated animals were often the chief wealth. Such animals were slaughtered not merely as food, but to accompany their owner into the other world. When a Herero died, certain of his favourite cattle were killed, and his skin and other personal belongings were placed on his body, and the ghost from returning and molesting the survivors. On the following day the rest of his favourite cattle were slain as a sacrifice to the dead, and the horses were driven to the grave (Dampert, 49). The Abipones of South America, who bury with their dead their entire household goods, including their grandmother, when a chief or a notable warrior dies, ceremonially stab the horses that were dearest to him, and fix them on stakes around the grave. Any horse of the husband of a Maukiu kill a buffalo, in order that the creature may go with the dead into the other world (Iv. 92). The custom of Maniwaru is, which are kept shut against him (JAI, xxxi. 307). Here the buffalo officiates as psychopomp; in other countries it is the dog. Whether it be a horse or a dog, the hunters’ dogs were killed does not appear. Their bodies were suspended from the four poles usually erected over the grave to contain the remains, weapons, tools, other varieties of the deceased, or such of these objects as were not buried with him (Jesp. Exp. 186). In pre-historic times animal bones are frequently found. Where they are not of accidental occurrence, however, they are usually the remains of food deposited there. The dog which the dead victim, at least, the skeletons of horses have been found with the remains of a charioteer (Greenwell, *Brit. Arch. J.*, 1877, p. 160).

In Prussia, in graves of the Neolithic age, the war-horse has been found buried with the warrior. In Russia, what are called Scythian horns and korzuny (prehistoric grave-mounds) frequently yield the remains of horses; and similar relics are recorded of Franklin graves on the Rhine, as well as of Magyar and Polish graves dating from heathendom, and of the various heathen tribes of Siberia. Some, like the Poles, buried also the falcon and the dog with their master the ghost from returning and molesting the survivors. On the following day the rest of his favourite cattle were slain as a sacrifice to the dead, and the horses were driven to the grave (Dampert, 49). The Abipones of South America, who bury with their dead their entire household goods, including their grandmother, when a chief or a notable warrior dies, ceremonially stab the horses that were dearest to him, and fix them on stakes around the grave. Any horse of the husband of a Maukiu kill a buffalo, in order that the creature may go with the dead into the other world (Iv. 92). The custom of Maniwaru is, which are kept shut against him (JAI, xxxi. 307). Here the buffalo officiates as psychopomp; in other countries it is the dog. Whether it be a horse or a dog, the hunters’ dogs were killed does not appear. Their bodies were suspended from the four poles usually erected over the grave to contain the remains, weapons, tools, other varieties of the deceased, or such of these objects as were not buried with him (Jesp. Exp. 186). In pre-historic times animal bones are frequently found. Where they are not of accidental occurrence, however, they are usually the remains of food deposited there. The dog which the dead victim, at least, the skeletons of horses have been found with the remains of a charioteer (Greenwell, *Brit. Arch. J.*, 1877, p. 160).

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(AzV xii 434, 436). The anxiety shown may be due to the discomfort endured by the victim as the dead man was removed to avoid any such misfortune (Zingerle, *Sitten des Tir. Volkes*, Innsbruck, 1871, p. 49).

The objects buried or left on the grave are often broken and rendered useless. This is said to have been done in order to prevent them from being used among the natives of British Central Africa, ivory and beads are first ground to powder, in order, we are told, to make them useless to witches and robbers (Werner, *Natives of Brit. Cent. Afr.*, 159).

The real significance of the burial rites lies deeper. In the eyes of the people who practise it the breaking of the object is the equivalent of the death of the human being to whose service it is dedicated. It is thus killed in order that its ghost may follow the ghost of the dead into the spirit-world, there to serve the purposes which it served in this world when whole. Thus the Ho of Togoland lay broken cooking-pots on the grave, expressly to serve the deceased for cooking-pots in the other world (Spith, 634). The Hupa of California lay in the grave, with the corpse, his clothing, weapons, and other property, shell-money and dance-regalia—all first destroyed by breaking. On the grave are placed dishes and utensils, four large bunches of fresh flowers, and a stake bored into the bottom and a stone driven through it. Clothes, torn into strips, are hung on the poles laid across the grave. The reason for destroying the articles buried is said to be to prevent grave-robbing. But the same people tell us that all the objects accompany the spirit to the under world (Goddard, 71).

We are, doubtless, justified in believing that the prevention of grave-robbing is a secondary reason.

An interesting case is reported from Lincolnsire, in which a widow put her dead husband in a coffin, having first broken them. She told the rector: 'I was that mordered with crying that I could not forget to put 'em in a coffin... So I goes and don't next best. I 'eads 'em both over his grave, and says I to myself, my old man, he set a vast of store, he did, by your good madding, and just as that 'eads me, and I was on the holler ent, 'Yon's mine, hand 'em over to me,' and I'd like to see them a-goin' and stoppin' a-sharin' on them no'at.' (PL ix. 1808) 157. Thus the anxiety to destroy the dead with an outfit for the other world, which is the real intention of the customs just passed review, whatever secondary motives may be brought in are of secondary importance.

4. Objects used in the funeral rites.—We have now reached a class of objects put in, or upon, the grave for a different reason. They are not necessarily intended to serve as personal property. These objects are used in the funeral rites, they are contaminated with death, and are no longer fit for the service of the living, lest they spread the infection further.
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Hence the Yakuts break and throw on the ground around the shroud, and then to shake the hair, which is sometimes used in the funeral (Riikli, xiv. 311). The Apache also leave the shovell on the grave of the dead, with a few silent tears, new sect, vii. (Dobson 1903). The Melbournes of Ireland throw it into the sea (Reps. Austr. Ind. iv. 727). The Wariandi, in Central Africa, throw on the tomb the door of the dead, and a stick of the wood which has been taken out of the grave (van der Burg, 39). Among the Bugandu, all who have taken part in the burial ceremony, have their hands washed in red-stained water. The Aborigines of Australia, however, put on the grave (JAI xxii. 47). The Negroes in Jamaica, as we have seen, wash the grave with water which the corpse was washed (1 vi. 5). In Europe similar practices are found. In France the bowl which has contained the holy water used for sprinkling the corpse is buried with the tomb; but formerly in Brittany the incense brazier was buried with the coffin (Lavater, Säule ii. 79). In Central Africa, Silsiva every thing used for the toilet of the corpse—the comb, sponge, rags, soap, and so forth—is put into the coffin. Even the needle and thread used for sewing the shroud must not be removed, but left hanging to it (21 v iii. 151). But economy sometimes prevails. In some parts of France, when the horse remains only for a few days on the grave (XVI. 1909) 437). It is if the infection were then at an end. Another motive may, however, be present: they may be placed there to keep the dead man down as long as there is any chance of his returning, and be removed when this is over. The author cited adduces in favour of this suggestion the fear of the dead betrayed in the haste with which the relatives left behind in the house, when the funeral procession has started, that the door in order that the dead may not fetch any one else. But this is a wide-spread custom.

5. Blood and Hair.—A long many peoples, the dellof grief, more often perhaps (in accordance with well-established custom) the desire to divert suspicion of having caused the death by witchcraft, and the fear of the deceased himself, lead the mourners frantically to cut and wound, and their hair, themselves.

The practice was forbidden to the ancient Hebrews by the Deuteronomical legislation (141); hence we may conclude that it was always known, in use among these people as among their neighbours. It is universal among the Australian Black-fellows, and is reported from Polynesia, Melanesia, the East Indies, and North and South America. In many of these cases the custom is to let the blood drip over the corpse. They regard the blood as an informing fluid. If the body was placed in the ground the mourners stood or knelt over it in turn, and were struck by a large boomerang on the head until the blood flowed over the corpse. In other cases the blood drips upon the grave after it has been filled in (JAI xxii. 1856) 187. Curr, Austr. Naturalists, p. 13 and Land. 1886 (197) 172; Spencer-Gillett 4, 1897; PL xiv. (1893) 330.

Among the Grak Sakei of Sumatra the kindred, making a cross-cut with a knife on their foreheads, drop the blood on the face of the corpse (Wilken, Hanoverer . . . bei den Volieren Indo-

namischen. Amsterdam, 1868-1887, p. 19). Four North American Indians tried to murder a murderess, who was executed for murdering Helena, on the head-waters of the Missouri, in December 1890, were mourned by the dogs. One of the dogs cut off two of her fingers and threw them into the grave. The other gashed her face. Both caused the blood to flow into the grave.

We may assume, without much risk of mistake, that the rite in its complete and undegraded form included the dropping of the blood upon the dead body, and where this is not done the rite is in decay. Probably also it is only persons standing in certain specific relations with the dead who are commonly expected to perform it. This is certainly the rule with some of the Australian tribes. We may suspect it of other peoples also. If it has not been recorded, that may be the reason that let the blood pass the point would be likely to escape not merely the casual traveller, but any one whose attention has not been specially drawn to it. But it is by no means invariable (c.g. the Arawaks mentioned above). The blood, however, is the most prominent of the objects that have been the subject of much discussion. It is not merely a propitiatory offering; it may be this, but it is much more. A comparison of the blood-covenant and other religious objects shows that it is certain that one object, at least, is that of effecting a corporal union with the dead. But is that the only object? First of all, there can be no question that the intention is to cause suffering to the survivors. To this point the discussion will come to this section on 'Mourning' (xvIII). Further, human blood is frequently given for medical purposes, or to strengthen the recipient (Strack, Das Blut, 1900, 27 ff.; Spencer-Gillett 4, 461). It is, therefore, not impossible that the object of letting the mourners' blood drip over the corpse may be to strengthen the dead man for his life in the next world. This would be quite consistent with the avoided intention of expressing sorrow or pity (Theophr. In Eropl. vi. 15, 5). But it is, so far as the present writer is aware, no evidence pointing decisively to this interpretation. Moreover it is always necessary to remember that rites different in intention are often similar in expression—a fact which makes their interpretation a matter of peculiar difficulty.

Parallel with the rite of dropping blood on the corpse is another mourning rite—that of cutting or tearing the hair and burying it with the corpse, or dedicating it to the dead. It is even more widely diffused than the former.

At the cremation of Patroclus his comrades cut off their hair and heaped it on the body; and Achilles, cutting off the golden lock that his father had vowed to offer at his return home to the river Spercheios, put it into the dead body to bear away (II. xxxii. 135-141). So mourned among the Sioux the hair and hair locks of their hair, and ring them on the body; and these locks are found bound up with it (Rem. 61). It is pitiful to observe how, even among the Raji of the United Provinces of India 'the children of the deceased and his younger brothers get their heads, beards, and the hair of their hair, and hair locks, and hair rings, and lock of soft human hair was found beneath the head of an infant (JEP. Bodley Mus. xi. 1878) 262 ff. Arab women cut their hair off and bury it in the grave of a dead, or of a grave. They sometimes place it in a box, or in a casket, and spread the tresses on the tomb, or hang them on stakes or cords (Amer. Ind. J. 1872; Janssen, 44). In Caucasia, it is among the Chetas, in Asia Minor, among the lock on the grave (Crooke, TO iv. 215). Among the Chechenes of the Caucasus the long queue of hair of the widow of the deceased is cut off and thrown into the grave; down to the middle of the 17th cent., it is said, her ear used to be thus sacrificed (adagios, ii. 73). The practice is not yet entirely unknown in Europe among the Montenegrin women. Not long ago, indeed, when the men habitually shaved their heads and suffered only one long lock of hair to grow, that was cut off, and thrown into the grave (JAI xxii. 35).

But as with the dropping of blood, it is by no means everywhere that the hair is dedicated in this way. It is often burnt.

The Bilqia of British Columbia, and some of the Central Tribes of Australia, e.g., dispose of it thus (Univ. Ass'me. Report, 1901, p. 419; Spencer-Gillett 4, 187, 320). The latter, indeed, sometimes mix it with some of the hair of the deceased and make it up into a grave which is worn by the women, or by the dead in the funereal procession (Spencer-Gillett 4, 543; cf. p. 54).

More usually, however, we are not told what is done with the hair. In some instances this may be due to omission to observe, or forgetfulness to record, on the part of the reporter. But that it is a rite that is of importance. In the majority of cases we are probably right in assuming that the disposal of the hair is not an integral portion of the rite—that, in fact, the rite has ended with the cutting of the hair. Whether the dedication of the locks at or in the grave, or by burning, has in such cases ceased by natural decay, or by untold, has in such cases ceased by ritual decay, or whether the dedication never took place, it is difficult to say. One object, at all events, of the dedication of the hair is for the purpose of securing the unity of the dead. The converse rite of taking a lock of hair of the dead may be said to be world-wide. Nor is it confined to a lock of hair: it extends in some cases to the whole of the garments. In the West Indian island of St. Croix the persons who wash the corpse prior to burial always take a lock of hair, or a garment, or at least a fragment of a garment, in order to present the spirit with clothing; but this is not always the case (LP ii. 319). It must be borne in mind that, according to the theory of sympathetic magic, any portion of a human being, such as nails, skin, bones, and so forth, which has become detached, is still to hold union with the body of which it once formed part; for the personality inheres in every part of the body. The doctrine extended to the effigy, the
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The practice of lighting fires at the grave is widespread. In many cultures, it is believed that the fire serves to guide the spirit of the deceased to the afterlife. The practice is often associated with various beliefs and traditions, such as the Yurok Indians in the Pacific Northwest of North America, who light fires at the burial site to help the spirit of the deceased journey to the afterlife.

In some cultures, such as the Yurok, fire is believed to have powerful spiritual properties. It is used to purify and cleanse the spirits of the deceased, and to protect them from harm. The practice of lighting fires is also believed to provide a source of warmth and comfort for the spirit of the deceased, and to help it transition to the afterlife.

However, the practice of lighting fires at the grave is not universally accepted. In some cultures, such as the Maori of New Zealand, fire is not used in this way. Instead, they believe that the spirit of the deceased is guided to the afterlife by the use of smoke, rather than fire.

Despite these differences, the practice of lighting fires at the grave is a significant part of many cultural traditions, and is an important way of honoring and remembering the deceased.
who have remained at home, they proceed to the place in the bush where the unfortunate man has been buried. They set the body down on the hearthstone; it contains the soul (Spiech, 290; cf. 194, 290). Among the Brassean of the Lower Niger a man dies with unsealed souls (herefore 'soul ' includes the spiritual and the material); it contains the body. But his soul is afterwards evoked, and with an elaborate cere- mony, enclosed in a wooden figure and buried in the proper place (Leonard, 168).

2. Binding and mutilating the body.—The in- tention of burying the soul is to prevent its wandering over the earth, and causing mischief, and perhaps eventually causing them mischief or death. This is, of course, by no means the only precaution. We have already met with many, and there are some others whose object is also twofold, or even more so, the burial or cremation of the body in the attitude proper to burial (see § VIII. 2) has this at least for one of its objects. It is indeed often expressly reported as the object (e.g. JAI x. 145). It is said in Lincolnshire that ' when the corpse is placed in the coffin you must never forget to tie the feet, else the dead may return, or some other spirit may take possession of the body for his own purposes' (Gutch and Peacock, Lines, County FL, 1905, p. 240). The practice of tying the legs (foot) together, to this end, is, in fact, not uncommon in Europe. But binding is not enough. We saw that the sins and the backbone were sometimes cut out.

These only are not all; besides these practices; they are found in other African peoples. The customs of Australia are even more revolting. The Herbert River tribe here for instance, often so violently as to break the bones; and incisions are made in the stomach, on the shoulders, and the fore-arms. The Ojibwa tribe in Western Australia, as has been mentioned, burns the head and breaks up the charred bones, for the express purpose of breaking the soul (Ruggles, L'anthrop., xii. 665). It is well known throughout Europe in the case of the enthusiastic (see as the year 1892 among the Lithuanian population of Somenisky in the Government of Kovno (Jopnelli, v. 1894 87), in the latter case the soul is not only not prevented in a condition to ' walk ' and injure the fields; for suicides are believed to ' go everywhere. ' (v. 1904, 64). In the case of suicides, to mutilate the waverers, or with the weapon or cord in their hands with which they have taken their lives. They injure the fields by various modes and in various parts of the earth; hence they are buried in waste places (Jopnelli, xiii. 1893 50, 52, 53).

The cremation of vultures has already been mentioned (§ VII. 3 (6)). A dead man who gave trouble among the ancient Norse by hanging was often taken up and burned. Sometimes milder measures were successful, as in the case of Thorolf Hall-ford, who was removed to another grave with a wall so high that none but foul flying could cross it (Merris, Engadines, 1892, p. 103). The length of graves is by no means always to protect the dead; probably it is quite as much for the protection of the living. Thus the Chereniess fence the grave with stakes that the dead may not get out and walk the fields (Shinnor, Plap. Insularies, ii. 136). Among the Anasazi the same tribe stamp down the earth upon the corpse; and the Achanas even cover the body with stones. They thus prevent any accurs or cracks that may have taken place (Int. Arch. xiii. Supp. 85, 90). Cuts, rents, coffins, and grave-boxes also serve the pur- pose of the protection of the grave. Thus a child in a Dutch country was fastened to the ground and nailed fast between the coffin and its lid. These elaborate pre- cautions are intended to prevent the deceased from getting out of the coffin and thus reviving or haunting the living men and pregnant women. Even if she succeeded in getting out, it is believed that she would not form the eggs (Kiled, 81).

It should, however, he said that the corpse is sometimes wounded with quite a different intention to the usual custom; a pecu- liarity. The Puri of South America open the breast to let out the soul (Int. Arch. xvi. 1908, p. 260). Within the casket, the Leagua of the Paraguay Chaco, in accordance with a well-known principle of sympathetic magic, cut open the breast of one who was dead they attempt to insert a stone and some charred boxes. This is supposed to revenge the death of a fellow (JAI xxv. 236; cf. JAI xvi. 1907). Some of the Nagas were reported to put the corpse on the head, that the deceased may be received as an example among the infidels. But this is a much exaggerated account, and in this distinction among the other world (JAI xvi. 1907; ARW xii. 454).

XII. From the funeral.—The deceased was thus comfortably provided for and abashed by word and deed to stay where he has been put, or to go into the other world, and in any case not to meddle with the living; the mourners return from the grave. What they have to dread is that, in spite of these and other precautions, the ghost may attach himself to them and thus again be getting in among the living again. For, as is obvious from what has already been said, the dead man is regarded as by no means willing to be deprived of the society to which he has been accustom to. The burial is often conducted with the greatest haste.

Thus among the Bonto Igoet of Lamon, when the corpse has been put into the coffin, it is rushed away with the help of many willing hands; no time is wasted at graveyards; the filling up of the grave is done in the shortest possible time—probably, in the case of suicides, in the shortest possible time—after which they drive the deceased to the place where the deceased was previously buried, and the graves are surrounded, fared down, and the sides of the mound raised. In Rome, it is there laid among the living. Here, however, it is not so; and a half; and away the mourners hurry, most of them at a dog-trot, to wash themselves in the river (A. E. Jenks, Bonto Igoet, 1906, p. 345). The objects, therefore, the deed of the members of the family considered by the Papuan peoples and some other places, are burning the dead, or placing them in the grave, and thus to preserve the "ghost, that they erect a butt on the grave and there camp for six weeks or more, and the widows in particular huddled in one corner away from the rest, invisible and unwashed (ARW r. 345). The Ojibwa widow springs over the grave and then sits again behind the coffin if she were sitting from some one. She thus doles the ghost of her husband, that it may not haunt her (Jones, Ojibway Indians, 1901, p. 99).

Specimen of the obstacles put in the way of the ghost have already been given. Without going over the same ground, a few examples may here be noted of the methods of preventing the ghost from attaching itself to those who have taken part in the last rites.

The Rute priest, as the grave is being closed, blows the air with a stick to drive away the souls of the living men (ARW vii. 345). In Northern Rhodesia all spit on the grave when it is filled up, and return to the village without looking back. This is now said to be a precaution against giving a clue to some watchful hyena to dig up the body; it is more likely that the custom originated in a precaution of a different sort (Journ. Afr. Soc. v. 456). The Mauses of Eastern Prussia held that the deceased accompanied the dead, whereupon the latter asks him: 'Have I made my bed properly? if not, I will make it better.' Only then is the ghost appeased and goes back to the grave (Toppenh., 1909). The Morovian mourners stop a little distance from the graveyard, and one of the graveledgers, with the same object in view, to the same object in view, and circle round them. This is repeated twice. When they reach the notch, the oldest graveledger turns, if he is female turns them a way and a curless, over which they step. The intention of the curless is to frighten the deceased, who, according to popular belief, is as their perfect term ' one woman ; -the pelago staves with cross-beans are set up over the grave and a piece of coarse red cotton stuff stretched across them in the form of a cross. The souls of the dead are without any doubts to keep the ghost within (JAI viii. 1870 393) a similar custom is practised by the Mauses in Prussia. The inhabitants of Nia bind not only the fingers and toes, but also the jaws, and puts stoppers in the nostrils in to keep the scent (JAI xi. 1879). Among the Anasazi, the same object is to keep the staves, and one end of it is held by the villagers present. The roatan being buried, the Magic, p. 70). On the other hand, two staves are laid from one to seven, cuts in two with one blow of his parang. The end left in the hands of the survivors is brought back by the one end of the kiria to the kiria. After the firing of guns and heating of drums, so used at a funeral in various parts of Africa, is probably intended to drive away the ghost. Elsewhere, as in Burundi, it is assessed handed away.
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XIII. Lingering of the soul.—The unwillingness of the soul to sever its earthly ties is not easily overcome. Sooner or later it is drawn into the other world when the last breath has left the body, it habitually lingers at the place of death, or with the corpse.

The Horon ghost walks in front of the funeral procession, and there is a custom in the cemetery until the feast of the dead; by night, however, it stalks through the village and eats the leftover food that has been left in the hills (Bernhard cling in 415).

In a Negro funeral in Jamaica the ghost sits on the coffin (FZ lx. 1891 268). The Korean ghost, more luxurious, rides in a special chariot, which it finds in the graveside house, which it leaves when it is attacked and struggles to get out, leaving the corpse lying dead in the grave.

In the belief of peoples in every part of the world it haunts the grave for a period variously stated from a few days to many months, or even an indefinite period. Indeed, as already indicated, the grave is often conceived as a place of abode and not merely of the body, but of the soul.

Where the belief in a world of the dead is developed, the ghost usually departs at last after the performance of certain rites to be discussed hereafter (§ XXI). Meanwhile it is necessary to attend to its wants by the placing of food and sometimes a shelter on the grave.

The tribes of Central Nigeria considerably leave a small hole in the grave-mound, where it may go in and out (Laudenbach, Die Toten, Paris, 1907, pp. 249, 257, 262). It even sets at defiance the precautions taken to prevent it from returning to its earthly home.

A common superstition in Europe is that a mother who dies leaving a sucking baby returns for six weeks after the funeral to suckle her little one. According to the Bulgarians, the ghost lingers for forty days in the house, and returns again on the first Easter Day until the first Whitsunday after the funeral (Strantz, 481, 485). The Minangkabau Malays of the Padang Harbor, however, leave the body in bed of the covered clean and unopened grave, for a hundred days, lest the ghost be offended; for it haunts this period (Hedge, p. 85).

Among the Yakots the casket or the body, in order to prevent any work having been done up, is swept with a whirling broom, sweeping the rooms, tying the granary or the chest, sighing and whispering the while. The survivors may sometimes even see them sitting tranquilly in the fire, as the walking or about the house (BRKB xiv. 1909 234).

The funerals of the survivors.—When the funeral is ended, all who have taken part in it must commonly be purified. As the necessity for purification attaches also to all mourners, and is sometimes deferred until, or perhaps more frequently, after the conclusion of the death rites, the examples following are, in order to avoid repetition, not confined to the immediate return from the funeral. The most usual methods of purification are by fumigation and bathing.

The family of New South Wales fumigate themselves beside the grave at and after a burial. A widow covers herself with a towel and shroud beside a smoldering fire all night. Three days afterwards she and her sisters (who might have been her husband’s wives) are chased down to the creek, where a fire has previously been constructed, and all of the smoke is put in the smoke-bush; putting it under the arm she jumps into the creek with it and extinguishes it in the water. As it goes out, she drinks some of the water. The smoke is supposed not to enter the smoke-bush, not to wash with the smoke or the smoke-bush.

The Nagas of Assam, on the completion of the funeral rites, the examples following are, in order to avoid repetition, not confined to the immediate return from the funeral. The most usual methods of purification are by fumigation and bathing.

In the Greek funeral, the body is surrounded by a circle of lights, and the mourners are fumigated with new fresh plants, and the body is placed in a circle of fire for purification (JAI xxxv. 111).

The Magyars paint their bodies not only before, but also after the burial, with ‘medicine-water’ (Bartay, Some Folklore Stories and Songs in Chupunya, 1807, p. 90). The ancient Hebrews surrounded every one who touched a dead body or a grave, or who came into the house where a corpse lay, unclothed for seven days, and he was barred from all religious rites. He was sprinkled on the third and again on the seventh day with the ‘water of separation,’ which was the urine of the ashes on the third day. The corpse’s contigous was his uncleanness or that it attached to everything he touched, and even to the clean person who sprinkled him. Moreover, the unclean man after the sprinkling on the seventh day was required to bathe, and both he and the unclean person were ordered to live apart (Lev. 14:3). In the burial house of Tom Texture we look for the lighter and, often near it, for the lighter (Jenkins, 79).

Among the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco they drink hot water and bathe the corpse in the grave. They bathe him in his grave, or in the grave, for one time and are excluded from the village. Before re-entering it they purify themselves by washing in hot water and putting aside the tokens of uncleanness, Among the Indians, p. 49). The Lillooets of British Columbia hold the funeral feast immediately on returning from the grave. The members of the household of the deceased pass the next four days in fasting, lamentations, and ceremonial ablations. Their hair is then cut, they are painted red, and the hair is tied up, and they hold a second feast with more cheerful condescensions. A young widow often goes into the forest alone for a year, holds herself a sweat-house, and drives the ‘bad medicine’ of her dead wife out of her body by repeated sweating or boiling her body in hot water. In no period of mourning undergoes continuous ceremonial washings or cleansings, for the double purpose of lengthening her own life and rendering herself immune to such forms of contagion which would otherwise be short-lived (JAI xxxv. 137 f.). Among the Thompsons it lasts the whole year (Gray, The Death of the Indian, 1907 191).

In the funeral of the dead, the widow and her own hat and girdle. After the death, goes out and passes through a patch of rose bushes four times. Among other ceremonies, a widow washes in the creek and ties herself with fresh grass for a year. It is significant that any grass or branches on which a widow or widower sits lies down will wither up (Jeph Espe, p. 133).

The meaning of these ceremonies is probably expressed in the belief of the Pima of California, who hold that ghosts about those living and liable to touch sleeping persons, which is a summons to accompany the ghost back to the shades (26 REBE 1908 194). Hence the Lillooets widow unfast free herself from the ghost, both for her own sake and for that of her husband. And the contagious character of the death-pollution is shown by the custom of the Hupa which requires every one who has touched a corpse to cover his head until purification, ‘lest the world be spoiled’ (Goldsmith, Hupa Ceremony, 1934, p. 224 f.).

In European similar beliefs and practices have prevailed throughout historic times.

The ancient Greeks put at the door of the death-chamber a vessel full of hot water obtained from the fountain which all who came out might purify themselves (Rohde, Psyche, i. 219). It is still a very widespread custom on the Continent to meet the funeral party, on returning from the house, by sponging them and towel, that all who have taken part may wash their hands before entering. Among the Jews and Arabs water is thrown on the body of the dead (Globens, xxii. 1907 88). In Central France, two generations ago, the members of the funeral party used to hasten to the nearest brook or pool. In some of the villages so contaminated was the pollution held that, if the funeral procession passed any clothes hanging out to dry, the clothes were always washed again (Laubert de la Salle, ii. 79, 80). In the Tyrol all inhabitants of the house are assembled and fumigated by the house-father before the corpse leaves the house; to be absent from this ceremony is to run the risk of a speedy death. In another district when a dead body is carried out, every one must forbear washing clothes for four days. A second corpse will soon be borne out (von Zingerle, pp. 49, 50).

XV. Funeral feasts.—A feast is usually in the lower cult of the dead, in the form of death feasts.

Frequently, indeed, a feast is partaken of in the presence of the corpse, another (sometimes kept up for days, or repeated at stated intervals) on the return from the funeral, and a third when the rites are prolonged by lires or re-burial of the bones (§ XXI), and the mourning comes to an end.

1. Before the funeral.—

Among the Gilbert Islanders, when the corpse’s toilet is completed, the relatives of the deceased meet in the meeting-house, a feast is provided within the hut where the body lies, and every one in turn takes food, goes and joins the feast, which lasts for three days before the interment takes place (Int. Arch. ii. 1889 42). In the Canca Valley, Colombia, the funeral feast lasts two months before burial, and during the whole of that period.
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drinking-beats, dirges, and singing-contests took place in honour of the departed (Globalis, xx. 385). The relatives and friends of the deceased place the corpse on the bare ground and weep for a while. Others, weeping, bring food and drink, of which all partake (Int. Arch. viii. Suppl. 105). At the same time a large cake is made and a cake of unction, water or wine, is placed by the head of the corpse after it has been laid in the coffin. On the following day, in a farewell speech, and invited to partake, before he quite leaves the survivors, of food and drink such as he loved, 'for this is our good night, and we shall not see each other for a long time.' After the food has been consumed by the corpse for some time, it is taken and reverently divided among the nearest relations. Millet cakes and sake are also made and distributed among all present. After every one, before drinking, offering two or three drops to the spirit of the dead, a small piece of the moist corpse is eaten, and the remainder buried in the ashes of the hearth, a little piece by each person. After the burial these pieces are collected and carried to the grave. The ashes (or rice) (Rice, 1913, p. 560). Among the ancient Persian Franks the body was dressed and placed upright on a bench. The nearest relations then laid the body beside it, and sang with beer and wine (PL xiii. 304; Tzetzer, 22). The ceremony among the Masurs is more elaborate. A passenger is sent through the village to summon to the burial, and the company is usually numerous. On one side of the room where the corpse lies is a little table, the middle of which is covered by the corpse, while all around it are seats for the men. The women sit at another table on the other side of the room. After two tedious funeral songs have been sung, schnapps and curr-cakes are served. The schnapps for the men is served in bowls of silver, and for the women in bowls of pewter; for all, when she is served in a bowl with a spoon, and every woman takes the spoon in her hand and makes a circular movement around the table. The curr-cakes are handed round in a white upon or a basket (Toppes, 103).

In general drinking and the presence of the dead is widespread in Europe as elsewhere; further examples will be adduced hereafter.

2. After the funeral.—A feast follows the disposal of the body. The Ainu mourners return to the hut; the men make sacred willow emblems, called ico, pray, eat, drink, and get helpless drunk. The women, the Uryas of Origins, and the feast occupies several days (Rice, Occasional Essays, London, 1913, p. 86). So the pagan Norsemen feasted for three nights. The ceremony is described in detail in Friel, and it has just been described, on returning find the tables and benches so arranged that men and women, who had previously sat apart, can sit together; and the schnapps is mixed with honey and served in bottles. Sometimes it is burnt before being mixed, and is then called a special name. Another meal of flower, fish, and grains thickened with honey is served. All day the men remain in the house comforting the bereaved, and like the Ainu, eat, drink, and with the remains of the food and drink; nor do they separate until the evening (Toppes, 103). There is a place for the corpse before removal, covered with a table-cloth, and the same table-cloth is put on the table at the subsequent funeral meal (Globus, xxi. 111). In Life-Cycle Rituals of a Ciderside (Liesel, p. 294). A great contrast is afforded by the Frisian population of the marsons on the right bank of the lower Weser. They have no customs for houses. They feasts for the dead, and the cemetery is at the church on the house, and the piles of cakes, long rows of wine-bottles, clay pipes, plates of tobacco, matches, and cigars await the guests, and the feast begins. Hiltleroistlness and whispering have reigned in the house. Now eating and drinking know no bounds; soon the tobacco-smoke fills the house, until it is impossible to see three places ahead; all tongues are loosened; chattering and jesting, laughing and drinking, the clinking of glasses and the general good humour increase from hour to hour (ZZF, ii. 155) 53. In various parts of Europe it has become necessary to put a limit by statute or local custom to the expenditure on the funeral feast and the other abuses connected with it.

Among many peoples the feast is held at, or even upon, the grave. The Old English custom of their dead on the ground and cover them with a light roofing of poles and bale, as soon as this is finished, sit in a circle at the head of the grave and pretending to be the corpse of the deceased, or "farcie," or "farcie," etc. This, except a certain quantity kept for a burnt-offering, is consumed by the mourners (P. Jones, loc. cit.). In the Nicolaar Islands, the day after the funeral a feast is held at the grave "in the presence of the dead," at which the relatives and friends kiss and eat; the corpse is covered with the dead, to abstain from certain food, drink, and enjoyment for a longer or shorter period, the longest terminating with the grave; when the graves are closed ceremonies are concluded; and in some cases the body is guarded by members of his wife's class, and the members of his own class give them a feast, and partake of the food and drink while he lived, and the dead is pronounced, and a little of the food is put into the fire. By this means he is believed to receive it (66, 841; cf. 843). This may probably come to rest at Argentiere in the Department of the Hautes Alpes, France; and the corpse and the family of the deceased sat at a table upon the table of the deceased and in the presence of every one, led by the next-of-kin, drank to the health of the deceased (Laisner, 23). The ceremony is, therefore, widespread; it descends demonstrably from a great antiquity. Neolithic graves are often found containing remnants of a feast, in the shape of broken bones of animals and traces of fire.

As already mentioned, the feast following the funeral is by no means always concluded at one seating.

The ancient Norse were, and the Uryas are, however, quite abstemious in this respect as compared with the other peoples. In the Moluccas, the island of Belara, the kinian collection lasts for twenty days in the house of the dead, and, after enjoying all sorts of delicacies, wind up the solemnity with dog's flesh. The Taneseur and Timorese Islanders enjoy from ten to a hundred days festivities (Hiedel, 421, 398). The Leper Islanders go on eating the dead for a hundred days (Cordignan, 287); while the Malagasy outdo them all. The length and M of their feasts are, of course, proportioned to the wealth of the deceased. Rumi Sowa from stilt from morning to night; and every one present is more or less plunged in drunkenness. As long as there is anything to eat and drink the feast goes on, and nobody thinks of going away. The funeral feasts of high and noble persons have been known to last for months. On the other hand, the feast may be renewed at stated intervals. The ancient Frusian custom was, after the feast of the third, ninth, and fourth days (Toppes, ii. 111 n.). The Muhammadan Mals dead on the day of the funeral, and on the third, seventh, and fourteenth months. Maisek, Malay Club, 1913, p. 130. The Chinese, on the 7th, 15th, and 23rd days. Among the Northern Tonging feasts every seven days for a month (Luwet, 115). On the death of the deceased, the burial takes place at the burning-place, and repeated on the third day, when his cremated bones are collected and deposited in a hole hewn in the trunk of a big fir, and the ribs are cut out for the time (GAZ xxv. 139). This simplicity may be contrasted with the Egyptian custom, which requires that meat and provision should be provided for four days after the death. On the fourth day a feast is held, and it is followed by others on the thirtieth, thirteenth, and fortieth day (Weber, ii. 311). The custom of giving the deceased to the dead is not merely under the same stimulating influences, and closed at the end of a year with a three days' celebration (Int. Arch. xiii., Suppl. 105).

A feast is often held at the completion of the funeral ceremonies or of the period of mourning (see § XXII).

3. Object of funeral feasts.—The object of these feasts is not simply hospitality to the invited guests; they indeed very often contribute their full share in kind. Nor is the object merely the enjoyment of the materials of the feast. It is a natural reaction from sorrow, or ostentation on the part of those who provide them. Doubtless some or all of these impulses do enter into the motives for the frequently repeated and usually extra- gant displays of such feasts, the gratification of the pleasures and amusements under the same stimulating influences, and closed at the end of a year with a three days' celebration (Int. Arch. xiii., Suppl. 105).

A feast is often held at the completion of the funeral ceremonies or of the period of mourning (see § XXII).

In the German districts of Prussia a feast is left for the dead man, and food and drink are placed for him. The old Prussians were used to throw the bones in the fire, and in the presence of the dead, dogs kill and partake of the flesh of the dogs killed there and then at the burning-place to accompany the soul of the deceased. They eat a portion of it at this time, and the rest is fed to the dogs. The old Prussians were used to throw the bones in the fire, and in the presence of the dead, dogs kill and partake of the flesh of the dogs killed there and then at the burning-place to accompany the soul of the deceased. They eat a portion of it at this time, and the rest is fed to the dogs. The ancient Romans used to offer to the men on the ninth day after the funeral at the grave; and the feast was taken there. The funeral meal is said to have been invented by Caius (Globus, xx. 365). The old Prussians were used to throw the bones in the fire, and in the presence of the dead, dogs kill and partake of the flesh of the dogs killed there and then at the burning-place to accompany the soul of the deceased. They eat a portion of it at this time, and the rest is fed to the dogs. The ancient Romans used to offer to the men on the ninth day after the funeral at the grave; and the feast was taken there. The funeral meal is said to have been invented by Caius (Globus, xx. 365).
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of the food in his hand says expressly, 'This is for you,' and throws it on the ground. (Rice, 959.) Among the Chichewa (Rice, 228), a portion of the bread and the blood of the slaughtered ox is given to the deceased for the purpose (JAI xxiii. 421). The Veddas make an offering to the deified dead of food and drinks consumed by themselves (Rice, Oxford Cong. Hist. Rel. I. 67). On some of the Moluccas the soul after burial is believed to haunt the neighbourhood of the house, and they offer them cakes, bread, and—after digging a round hole, they lay the deceased at his full length; when, opening the body, they take out the lungs and heart, and lay it open under the body. (JAI xxvii. 9.) 

There are similar burial customs in other parts of the world. The Cherokees, on the fortieth day, go to the cemetery to invite the dead man to join the feast and bring him back. In one district one of the convives impersonates him dressed in his best clothes. He is seated in the place of honour, and is treated as the master; the widow of the deceased addresses him as husband, the children as father. 

All night he eats, drinks, and dances with the rest. In the intervals of the dances he relates his life in the other world and his pleasure at meeting again those who have predeceased him; he begs them not to sorrow on his account (for he has been an officer and acts the feast of commemoration (Smirnow, I. 143). So the Kof of Chota Nagpur provide a meal in the dead man's house, to which they summon a line from the Mahals, a neighboring mongrel tribe with whom they never otherwise eat. He comes to the banquet, and it is considered bad luck if the meal has been eaten. Such a meal can be eaten in the house. When the meal is finished he departs, and the house is thereafterward sacred, and no longer has the owner any right as regards the food, or the provision of the service. (Strasen.) There is a similar practice among some of the North American tribes (M. A. Owen, Publ. of Mosquitu Indians, Lond. 1843, p. 63).

The ritual character of the meal is rendered obvious by the fact that it is often held, wholly or in part, of a special kind of food. Pulse was partaken of by the Romans, and it figures prominently in the funeral feasts of many parts of modern Europe. Cakes and biscuit were used for the purpose. In early times, when the Vanwe, after the death of a man, went to the Volga and the Greek islands. It is probable that this ritual food represents the flesh of the corpe, and is a long-descended relic of funeral cannibalism.

The Abbé Dubois, describing the custom of the Europeans at the coronation of the king of Tanjore, who died in 1801, and two of his wives, informs us that some of the bodies which had escaped complete destruction were ground to powder, mixed with bread and eaten by the Brahminés. The object of this rite was the expiation of the sins of the deceased; for these sins, according to popular opinion, were transmitted into the bodies of those who ate the ashes (Dubois-Beauchamp, 360). 

The custom of "sin-eating," as it is variously called in "sin-eating," as it is variously called in

the old Weelands, was known as the custom of "sin-eating," whereby, when the corpse was brought out of the house and laid on the bier, a woman was found whose profession it was to perform the ceremony. A leaf of bread was handed to him over the corpse before the funeral procession started, and a mazer-bowl full of beer with a piece of money (in John Aubrey's time sixpence), in consideration whereof he took upon him (ipso facto) all the Sins of the Deceased, and freed him (and them) from walking after they were dead. (Aubrey, Remains, ed. 1851, p. 55.) In the Bavarian Highlands a different interpretation was put upon a similar practice. Formerly, when the corpse had been laid on the bier and the room carefully washed and cleansed, a man known as the Leichenschneider, or corpse-cakes. Having kneaded the dough, she placed it to rise on the dead body before baking. Cakes so prepared were believed to contain the virtues and advantages of the deceased, and whenever any misfortune occurred the priest assumed them his living strength, which thus was retained within the kin (Am Uruquhy, ii. 101). Perhaps we may interpret in the same way an obscure rite at the funeral feast of the Mac Coe in Ireland, at which the widow, or any other relative, presents to all the relatives in turn a piece of flesh to be smelt. At the meal each of the guests receives a piece of flesh, and the priest is paid with a leg of pork (Lam. ii. 135) for the deceased.

Similarly, in the 18th cent., preserved in the British Museum, is a relation of the tribes about Delagoa Bay that they generally kill the deceased, and, digging a round hole, they lay the deceased at his full length; when, opening the body, they take out the lungs and heart, and lay it open under the body. (JAI xxvii. 9.) 

Ritual food with another meaning is found among the Baganda, where food is a rule. The reason they assign for this tabu is that death came into the world by the disobedience of a woman, who insisted on returning to heaven for food for a fowl (see § II). 

At the burial of a man, or when any one is dead, and each of his widows eats of it prior to the distribution of his widows and effects (JAI xxxii. 48).

The distribution of articles of food to persons, whether relatives, friends, or the poor, who do not share in a formal meal is an extension of the feast.

In Surinam, on the seventh or ninth day after death savoury cakes are prepared and sent to friends and relatives, and to all who have joined in the funeral ceremonies; but the funeral supper is confined to the immediate family only. (JAI xxxiii. 263.) In Goa, according to Rice, the first seven days after death are the most important, and the whole of the castings at the funeral reception passes (Rice, 55). On the island of Mahagon, the feast of the dead is held by the pagans in the houses of the deceased, and it is distributed among the children at the funeral (Strasen, 416). Among the Urighas, on the death of a rich man, copper coals and fried rice are scattered at the funeral procession passes (Rice, 55). In Bulgaria the village women spring a special feast for the departure of the soul of the deceased, and it is distributed among the children at the funeral (Am Uruquhy, ii. 101). 

The analogous customs in India and elsewhere may be set down to the same cause. Doubtless, however, all have been affected by ecclesiastical influences. The fact that the gifts frequently include lavish foods and entertainments to cocktails, both in Europe and in Asia, is evidence very difficult to gainsay.

Often the feast is merely a farewell banquet— a semi-off of one who is unwilling to go to the termination which the deceased is formally and firmly shown the door.

Thus about Königsberg, in Prussia, a place is set for the dead man at the feast, in order that he may share it; and, when it is over, the hearers open all doors, that the ghost may depart. Am Uruquhy, ii. 99. The ancient Prussians used to drive the ghost out, saying: 'Be off! you have eaten and drunk (Tolmner, 23). Among some of the Brazilian tribes, at the end of the feast, the widow, accompanied by the other women, and weeping used ceremoniously to thank the men for the presence and help, and in the name of the deceased to call for a parting drink, which his husband enter on his journey; for he could not set out while his friends tarried with him (Furt. Arch. xii, Sulp. 112). The Tarahumares of Mexico hold the feast of a dead man's ghost (see XVIII). These begin within a fortnight after the death, and are increased, elaborate, each year. All the mourners talk to the departed. He is told to take away all they have given him, and not to come and disturb the survivors. The second feast is given half a year after the first, the third and lastest later still. The sacred cakes, hifted, is thought to be very powerful in chasing away the dead, driving them to the end of the world, where they join the other departed. Hence it is steeped in water and the water sprinkled over the people who are to partake of it. The mourners in the present part in all festivities. At these feasts for the dead other dances also take place; tessio, the national stimulant, is drunk; and the various drinks which are given are mixed together. Each feast a large earthen bowl full of water is the subject of a ceremony by the presiding priest, at which the men wash his hands; the priest pours out the water in the air. It falls shattered to pieces, and the people dance and trample on the fragments. The function concludes with races by the young people. The next day they scatter ashes to the four cardinal points to
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cover the tracks of the dead. They return rejoicing, manifesting their delight by throwing up their blankets, tunics, and hats, because now they are dead and unafraid of death. Not until the last function will a widow or a widow marry again, 'because the dead are amongst the living, and the living amongst the dead.' (Josephus, "Antiquities of the Jews," 4.348.)

Elsewhere the motive is stated to be the rest of the happiness of the deceased—often, however, with somewhat more than a hint at the benefit of the survivors.

Thus, among the Bulgarians of Hungary, before the burial a meal takes place, at which each one receives a leaf of bread and a cup of wine, and a piece of bacon and a cloth. The table is kindled in the house, and then extinguished. The bread is then eaten, and it is believed that the soul is now saved. In a room adjoining where the guests are sitting, the bride and bridegroom go forward, 'for the well-being of those who are left behind and that he may sing songs in his honor.' (Géza von Hevesy, "The Funeral," 282.) The funeral dead in Lusaca is admonished not to come and make the survivors sick, but to protect them from other souls (marí). He is reminded that, when they make a feast and invite them, they want him to come, but that, if another spirit kills off all his relatives, there will be no one to serve him in the afterworld. Many ancient and modern beliefs are founded on fear of death; it is said that death makes no difference in this respect: consequently this last argument is considered very weighty (Géza von Hevesy, "The Funeral," 282). During the meal the guests round the table killed for the feast are ridden or driven by the dead to the other world, and so add to his comfort or his state (AFLUX IV, 165). They no longer fear to kill slaves, but they kill and eat the oxen, which will secure to the dead man a better place at the resurrection than that of his ancestors (Boquin, "Les Macoutes," 116). Again, the Melanesian population of Aurora think that, if they do not kill many pigs, 'the dead man has no longer any claims; he is of no use to the living, and they can throw him to the dogs.' (AFLUX IV, 165).

In the Dinka are other, less favourable results. An immediate relative is accompany at the funeral, especially a betrothed, person, and of rendering the funeral meal a ceremony for the dead (Géza von Hevesy, "The Funeral," 282). The immediate relatives, mourners, and bearers are invited (ZIY IV, 152). Sometimes a more direct spiritual and univalent motive is expressed in Bulgaria at the funeral: the dead are taken before the funeral, every one, before drinking, pour a few drops of wine on the ground before the corpse and say to 'God for the size of N.N.' After the burial the priest enters the room, and then takes his place at the top of the table, saying: 'God for you, N.N., and the soul of the dead, that of the living, and the soul of the dead.' The whole family then sits round the table, he from time to time says: 'Eat and drink and say "God for you, N.N."' and the guests accordingly respond in chorus (Cromer, "The Dinka," 152). Among the Christian population, a ritual food of boiled wheat, flavoured with blood, and gloved with hazel-nuts, walnuts, or pine-seed, is distributed among the relatives, and especially to priests, often at the exit-door of the church. As they take it in passing, they say: 'May God be with you, N.N.' and so on. The same formula is used when it is eaten in the house of mourning (Puchstein, "Religion in the Highlands of New Guinea," 224).

XVI. Funeral games and dances.—Funeral games, familiar to us in classic literature, are of very widespread distribution. They cannot be separated from dances, for there is no hard and fast line between the two. Many stories are told concerning the games, and the ceremonies are by some observers reported as dances and by others as games. Whether dances or games, however, it would appear that the object is the same, viz. to drive away either the dead or the evil spirits to whom the influence belongs, and to free the living from the resulting fear—a purpose which in process of time first becomes divination as to the state of the deceased, and then is explained more simply as for the mere amusement of the deceased or the survivors. Naturally this object is not clear in every reported instance. Insignificant attention on the part of the reporter is sometimes the reason for this; but perhaps quite as often the delay of the ceremonies themselves, and the loss of those who know them of their real meaning, are as much to blame.

Among the Bongo of the Egyptian Sudan a large heap of stones is erected over a grave, and upon it a number of votive poles are erected, adorned with nooses and incisions, with their forked tops made to resemble horns. The meaning of these poles or stakes is said to have passed from the memory of the inhabitants; at all events Schweinfurth ("Heart of Africa," Loud. 1874, 164) believes that during his twelve months' stay in the country, failed to obtain any information on the subject. There is, however, no doubt as to what is done. The entire village takes part in the digging of the grave, and covering it in planting the votive poles; and, when this is finished, they all equally shoot at the poles with arrows, which are left where they strike. The Yandis of Southern India perform, on the sixteenth or some other day after death, a cere- mony called the "dead man's wife." In place of the latter, it is squeezed into a conical mass representing the soul of the deceased, and stuck up on a platform where the eldest son spreads cooked rice before it, lights a lamp, and burns incense. It is then taken with the rest of the kindling a glimpse of the effigy of a man is made close to the water with the feet to the north. This effigy is anointed with shikai (fruit of the Amla or "Bael""); and red powder. The conical image is set up at its head; there is a plate filled with nuts is placed near its hands and feet, together with betel and money, and the son salutes it. The guests then sit themselves in a row between the effigy and the water, with their hands behind their backs so that they cannot reach the plate for nuts. They throw the nuts towards the water, into which it finally falls and becomes disintegrated (Thurston, vii. 428). These two customs of widely differing peoples are manifestly directed against the deceased.

A Sioux practice known as the 'ghost-gamble' presents the deceased as engaged in the contest. Its effects are divided into many small piles. A man is selected to represent the ghost, and he plays for these piles of goods against all the other players. The players is paid with all the stones, which are marked like dice. When the deceased is a man, only men play; when a woman, only women play ("Ewers," 165). Of the real meaning of a contest of this kind we get a glimpse in the custom of the Bulgarians of Hungary, who while away the tedious hours of the wake with games, among others with card-playing to divine whether the soul of the deceased is saved or not. At an earlier stage it played a decided part in determining, the fate of the soul, or its relations with the survivors (Géza von Hevesy, "The Funeral," 282). In the south of Ireland, formerly, on a similar occasion songs and stories, blindman's buff, hunt the slipper, and dancing were among the amusements. It is told also that 'four or five young men will sometimes, for the diversion of the party, blacken their faces and go through a regular series of gestures with sticks, not unlike those of the English Morris-dancers.' This disguise and these evolutions in the presence or immediate neighbourhood of the corpse, there can be little doubt, were mere more diversion. Comparison with other customs suggests that the players represented supernatural personages—ghosts or devils (Croker, "Researches," 170).

This is certainly the case with savage dances in which masked and disguised figures appear. The assumption of the disguise is, according to the almost universal view of savage peoples, enough to cause the performer not merely to represent, but actually to be for the time, the supernatural being represented; and the appearance of such figures is quite common at death-dances.

Thus in the western islands of Torres Straits the performers personify the ghosts of persons recently dead, and in the dance the characteristic gait and actions of the persons so personified. 'The idea,' wrote Hume, 'is evidently this convey to the mourners the assurance that the ghost was alive and that in the person of the dancer he visited his friends; the assurance of his life after death comforted the bereaved ones.'
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(Torres Str. Rep. v. 156). In conformity, probably, with this object, a buffalo is provided, also disguised, whose antics as he follows the other performers are provocative of mirth. But this is a rule that has not been observed in all savage nations. Among the Balaka the dance seems to be performed by the gnaw alone. The performer for the dance is a woman; the business is to protect the living against ghosts. She dances both before and after the burial. As the grave is filled in, she says about her writing, 'I am not to器, to drive away the ghost, but the souls of living persons—obviously to prevent their getting into the grave, or into the undesirable society of the dead (J.R.W v. 600).

Among the Beni Amer of Abyssinia, in spite of Islam, women occasionally performed with a sacred incantation. It is the women who perform the funeral-dance; and one of the sisters of the deceased, having dressed her hair in a masquerade fashion, personifies the holy dead and shield what is supposed to be a prayer is sung (Munzingen, 257). The sex of the performers renders it probable that the dance is really magical, and the appearance of a personification of the deceased is intended to do more than give assurance to the relatives of his continued life; it is to modify him by singing his praise, so that he may do no harm to the survivors. So to ward off evil influences (probably to drive away the ghost) is the object of the dance practised by the Danumans and performed backward and forward over the grave (Kid, Ess. Koar, 251). On the burial of a chief among the Juh on an incantation to the winds they set six days' bales, 'hunting the bow.' The young men clad in short drawers and wearing caps of monkey-skin, cover the town, brandishing shields and clashed tom-tom, if they were not singing on a warlike expedition. With an urgent air and panting as they go they offer a dance. The chief ranked ranks that brandish the cutlasses over another one's hands, and the dash of the weapons is heard afar. From time to time they strike the hand till all are driven to flee or change the evil spirits before them (Aethropus, i. 160).

But there is another kind of dance sometimes performed on these occasions, of which we have hitherto seen in some of the foregoing—the comic or burlesque.

Among the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco a woman who has lost a child joins in a procession in circle round a fire made outside the village. Young men appear dressed up as dragonflies, and 'fly to and fro, provoking laughter by their antics and the constant variations of the rhythm they maintain' (Greas, 49). We are not told here the nature of the dance (if played); but in many cases they are certainly of a priapic and what we should call the satirical character. Thus among the Chiquitos of the province of Loango in the nineteenth decade of the 18th century report performances of this kind carried out by players who were clad in feathers and masked with the heads of birds. Simple oratorical dances are performed on the island of Yap on various (not necessarily funeral) occasions, especially on the death of a young girl (Tobolos, lxxxvi, [1904] 361); and in the Arau Archipelago they are presented at the termination of the mourning, as an anathema and warning. They then proceed (Greas, 49), and the deceased cut his widow's hair short, and the widows aid their dressing. Some months later a drinking-feast is held, at which, as the men of the village reconquered one another with whips made of the fibres of a climbing plant, until the blood ran in streams, and strips of cloth and much shouting. These convulsive and somnambulistic ceremonies were also observed among the Yuc people of Mexico (Chih). The Yucatán, 37, 70, 71). Among the Charrus of the state of the marriage ceremony, and the marriage itself is that of a man each cut a finger-joint off and inflicted other wounds on themselves. They also remain shut up alone in their dwellings for two full months, fasting and abstaining. The husband, the other band, does not mourn for his wife; nor, in fact, for his child. Grown-up sons, however, remain for two days entirely naked in their huts, and almost without food. Then having suffered the infliction of certain painful wounds on the arm, the mourner goes forth quite naked into the wilderness, where he rests all night up to the breast in a hole previously dug in the earth, over which he builds himself a little hut, and stays there for six days without eating or sitting down. The third day his friends bring him food and by it, hastening away without saying a word. It is usual for the person to remain of ten or twelve days that he may return to the village (Int. Arch. xii., Suppl. 72).

In South America are in many other places, the women especially were made to wear the weight of the mourning observances. Among the Goua, another kind of hair was also said (among some tribes even the women went stark naked) and retired into solitude. The women in paritcular concealed themselves, and appeared only each morning to dress late in the evening to weep at the grave. Among the Mayas and Guaycuri the women and slaves were forbidden to speak for three or four days. Among the Charrus the mourning was only a vegetable diet; among the latter general fasting and abstinence were imposed on the death of a child (Ch. 73, 74, 75). The Warramunga women in Central Australia fight with one another and cut one another's scalp; and all who stand in any way intimate with the deceased, receive the classification of 'villainous, and their own scalp cut open with yam-sticks besides, the archetypal widows even being called red-hot fire-breathing.' A strict ban of silence is also imposed on women who reckon as wives, mothers, sisters, daughters, or
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mothers-in-law of the deceased. They are not released from this work until they are felt to be sufficiently detached—which period may cover one or even two years (Spencer-Gillies, 221, 225). Among the Ewe of Togo, and those of the same tribe who have immigrated to the Gold Coast, they are taken by the deceased to reach the kingdom of the dead. He is buried beneath the hut; and the widow, who is the chief mourner, must stand in the same hut concealed, only leaving it to bathe and for other absolutely necessary purposes. When she looks out she is concealed by nails driven into her eyes bent down, and arms crossed over her breast, "that no mischief may befall her from the dead man." In fact, she is looked upon as so far as the deceased. She carries a club to drive him away, for he may wish to renew marital relations with her, and that would be contrary to the law. For greater security she sleeps upon the club. She must not answer any call. Beans, fish, palm-wine, and rum are forbidden to her; and when she asks for food she must be sprinkled with ashes, to prevent her deceased husband from sharing the meal, in which case she would die. By the light of further pre
gur. —Everywhere mourning garb is an essential part of the observances. Primarily it is intended to distinguish those who are under the tabu. For this reason it is usually the reverse of the garb of ordinary life. Peoples who wear their hair long cut or shave it; those who habitually cut or shave it, and those who permit the painting. Those who braid their hair unbind it and wear it loose. Those who wear clothing go naked, or wear scanty, coarse, or old worn-out clothes. Ornaments are laid aside or covered up, and clothing put on colourless—black or white—garments. Ainu mourners at a funeral wear their coats inside out or upside down (Batchelor, 106). Among the Bangala a man sometimes wears a woman's dress (cf. O'Neill, 433). Peoples who ordinarily cover their heads uncover them, and vice versa. Women, especially widows, cover themselves with a veil, and hide in the house—a practice pointing probably to the479
are very imperfect, and accurate statistics are not available. All that can here be done is to note a few examples showing how it is reckoned in some typical cases.

In the Bahar Archipelago mourning lasts to the next new moon; in the same Coast, 3 months, except for the widows, who must always mourn the full time; and in the New-Horribles the mourning lasts for 10 days (Cordiner, 531). A year is supposed to be the period of mourning among the Agni of Dhadol on the Ivory Coast; but very often it is reduced to 3 months, except for the widows, who must always mourn the full time. General ceremonies are proceeding during this period, the actual burial may be postponed for years (Cloezel and Villanum, 113). In Korea the length of mourning depends on the degree of kinship. For father, mother, husband, adoptive parents, or first-born son, it is 27 months, though non-kin by marriage under 15 years of age it may be as little as 3 months (JAF X, 342). Among the Ewe the survivors mourn in the hot for eight months. A fast is then held and the food eaten is thrown away, and the mourning is over; *they say they have today seen the 'go into the Ant-hill' their brothers—those who have gone before* (Spleth, 258). Among the Dayaks all the kindred are 'unclean' for a short period, from 3 to 7 days; they can pay no visit to or receive guests from the dead, and so on. The house also is 'unclean.' Then fires are slaughtered, the mourners and the entourage of the house are dined with the blood, and so on. But in the immediate relatives—husband, wife, and children—the taboo lasts much longer; nor are they released until they have held the *tiowk*, or final feast for the dead, which gives the soul of the deceased admittance into the city of the dead, and is a sort of consecrated ground for the burial of his relatives, and at the time of the summer ceremonies, a ceremonial dance takes place there. The mourning is over (Spencer-Gillen, 530 ff.). Among the Biri, who held that the deceased haunted the grave, the woman, who no longer had to be purified, and the surviving spouse washed away the ashes from his or her countenance, remains fair and potent, and is free to marry again (Globus, xvi. [1904] 57).

4. No mourning.—Attention has been drawn to the common rule that the mourning tabus weigh more heavily on the women than on the men. The necessity of the labour and vigilance demanded from the latter for the provision of food, and for protection from wild animals and human foes, may probably form at least an excuse for their comparative exemption. Instances of total exemption are not quite unknown. In ancient Greece it is said the men of Keos wore no mourning garb (Rohde, *Psyche*, i. 257 n.); and the same statement is made of the inhabitants of some of the Malouines (Rohde, 205). Where there are no outward signs there is probably no tabu. In the district of Kita (French Sudan), however, we are told, mourning is almost unknown for either sex. When a married woman dies, her husband is held to be *unclean*; however, even before the funeral is over; and the widower of a married woman marries again in eight days, though some wait longer—a month or two months; while others take a concubine at once. If a man dies, his widow may not marry again until she is pregnant, when she must wait until the child is born (Steinmetz, 150). In Seguela, on the Ivory Coast, the burial and funeral dances take place the same day, and there is an end of the matter: mourning is quite unknown (Clozel and Villanum, 357). Among the Mee of Northern Tongking the funeral rites last for three days, during which the only sign of mourning is that the hair is untied and allowed to hang down upon the shoulders. There is no injury to the mourners and apparently no tabus. For a day or two after the burial, the grave of the deceased, and then he is forgotten (Lamet, 318).

XVIII. Purification of house and village.—In spite of the elaborate precautions the dead man from returning after the actual disposal of the corpse (§ XIII.). Accordingly, either after the body has been removed or at the completion of the ceremonies (which may be long subsequent), measures must be taken to purify the place and remove the tabu. This is accomplished by driving away the ghost.

At the last of the funeral feasts of the Tarbhumares the deceased, as we have seen, is driven away. Three feasts are required to get rid of a man, but four to get rid of a woman, because she cannot run so fast, and it is therefore harder to chase her off (Lamonts, i. 387). Noise is a potent means of driving away the taboo tabus, as it is convenient and hostile spirits. For, though often dangerous, they are all fortunately not only easily deceived, but possessed of very weak nerves. In these ceremonies there is often no clear distinction drawn between the male and female. Different kinds of women are alike being liable to be buffed and tricked and frightened by the same means. It is impossible to say whether the guns universally fired in West Africa at Negro funerals are directed against the ghost or against the mourners. The custom is, that the Macaus fire before the hot in which the corpse is lying, to scare off both the ghost and the evil spirit that has caused the death (Int. Archi., xiii., Suppl. 88). Drums, trumpets, musical instruments of all kinds, shouts, and yells are all very commonly employed. Among the ancient Greeks, brass was bought to drive away spirits (Rohde, *Psyche*, ii. 77). In the Tyrol an approved method to banish a ghost is for the household to collect his keys and jingle them. He cannot drive away the taboo tabsu of his property. Over the boundary, however, he must not step on peril of being torn to pieces (Zingerle, 57). Many of the funeral dances, as already mentioned, have the character of purification.

In various parts of Europe, especially among Slav populations, the house is solemnly swept out after the funeral. Among the Slavs, after the *tiowk* or final feast for the dead, the priests take a besom made of the leaves of certain plants, moisten it with blood and rice-water, and superer all who have been taken part in the feast and everything in the house, 'to sweep away the pollution.' The priests then start in procession for the river. As they set out, the others beat the walls and floor, and the priests invite all causes of ill-hum to mount on them; they pretend to totter beneath the weight; and arrived at the river they load little boats with the misfortunes thus cleared out, and send them to the great sea in the middle of the sea, where the king of the small-pox dwells (Int. Archi., ii. 211). When a death occurs among the Tofalins on the confines of British Columbia took place in a winter house, it was purified with water in which blood and juniper had been mixed, and the bowels were spread on the floor every morning, and tobacco and juniper placed in various parts of the house. But, if more than one death occurred at one time, the purification of the house and its walls and juniper are required. At the time of the juniper the kindred are called upon to pay special compensation for the defilement and the risk of drought (Spleth, 274, 278; see § VII. z. 9).

XIX. Destruction or abandonment of house and property.—The purification of house and village presupposes a settled life and the want of any such civilisation. At the lowest stratum of culture, where the huts are of little value and easily erected, or where economic, defensive, or sentimental reasons have not as yet rooted the population to one spot,
the house is destroyed or abandoned, or the whole stock, if not slain and the site chosen.

In many such cases, it may be noted, the deceased is either buried beneath the hut, or left unburied within it.

The Nguni native commonly remove the camp when a death occurs. Among the Bantu it is usual only to burn or pull down the hut of an ordinary person; but if a chief dies the relatives either remove the body at all events or burn it; among some tribes it is burnt down. The reason given by the Nguni for abandoning the house is not that the ghost of the deceased and his former hands haunts it, but that the new owner and his former hands haunt it (Elmslie, Among the Wild Nguni, Edin. and Lond. 1890, p. 74). Similar customs are reported of various tribes of Negroes, North and South American Indians, the Aborigines, the Kaffirs, the Votiaks and the Wairs. Under various names tribes that are not a part of the property, like the widows, remains under tabu.

At an early stage of culture all the property of the deceased was buried with him or destroyed at his death. Either the custom or relics of it are reported from every quarter of the globe. Its object seems to have been not merely to give the property to the deceased, that he might enter the spirit-world with all his earthly possessions and comforts, but to prevent his retaining them in the discomfiture of the survivors. Originally, no doubt, it was to get rid of the death-pollution, for the practice often extends beyond his property to all objects associated with him. On the Melanesian island of Bongainville it is main work, and its produce are regarded as the supreme manifestation of his personality, inseparably linked with their author (TIRW xxiii. [1901] 385). Doubtless the same was once the case elsewhere, and we may account for the destruction of his crops and fruit-trees so constantly reported from the East Indies and Melanesia. Naturally his garments and bedding, where such things are in use, are impregnated with his personality, and require a part of him. The superstitions connected with witch-craft afford abundant evidence of this.

In Europe the Vedas throw away in the forest or into a lake all property of the deceased (ZTRIV w. 1890) 254). In Worcestershire it is ominously said: 'The clothes of the dead will not wear long' (PL xx. 1890) 256). In Lincolnshire it is believed that, even though they be put away, they will not rot as the bodies decay in the grave (Autumny, xxxi. [1890] 322). In the French Department of Ille-et-Vilaine it is believed that everything belonging to the departed will soon disappear: his clothes, despite all that can be done to preserve them, will be promptly eaten by his relatives, or by accident: his figures, if not sold to the butcher (Orrain, ii. 250). From the Whiteheath Iroquois to the Eskimo the food on which death took place is burnt or thrown away (see § 42).

A custom so hostile to the growth of civilization and to the individual greed of survivors could not maintain its ground. Hence all sorts of compromises, with the consequences, the fears, the affection, and the avarice of the survivors. Among the Hareseks of North America part of the clothing is distributed among the relations, part interred with the body, and part left in the property, to prevent it from being burnt or otherwise destroyed. In some of the villages of Serang a part of the property of the deceased is destroyed, and some others a tabu is merely laid upon it, redeemable by a third person on payment of a large gong, a song, and ten dishes. His relatives then turn the body into the camp, and put back at it all the blood-relations (Riedel, 132, 143). In others of the Moluccas the dead must pass the share of the deceased on to kinds in plantations, and these are cut down; the rest remain to the survivors (49, 250, 394). A similar practice prevails on the Tami islands. There the canoes are too valuable to be destroyed; accordingly a few chips are cut off them, and a figure-head carved (ZIRW iv. [1900] 237). The same principle is applied in Malo, where gongs are not cut off, but are merely left on the funeral garment, and are later thrust in the ground, and remain there for ever. The Zams are said to make a pot to receive all the dead in, and amount to a kind of hallowed place, which is taken away by the sorcerer, and burned or kept away from the village.

Several of the tribes in the Lower Nile region, such as the Bedouins of the Sudan, and the Nubians, destroy their deceased on the very spot of their death, and afterwards bury them. The Sudanese, who are generally Christianized, believe in a kind of spirit world, and consequently the dead are only protected from attack on the spot. The Nubians are said to hide the corpse in a hole, and burn it afterwards, because the dead are supposed to be devoured by devils. The Nubians also place small stones on the grave, to prevent the dead from turning to the evil side (Riedel, 250, 394). The result is that the country is studded with the tombs of the dead, and is known as the 'land of the dead' (TIRW iv. 237).

In some cases the intention seems to be to forget the deceased. This is expressly stated among the Inuit, the Navarre, Salivas, and other South American tribes. But the intention to forget probably arises from fear.

The Inland Caribs feared the souls of their forefathers as evil spirits, and never named them. The Guaycurus and Lenguas not only never mentioned the name of the deceased, but on the occasion of a death the survivors changed their own names so as to baffalo the dead man (or death, or the evil spirit which caused the death) when he came again to find them. Among the Guajara, if the name of the dead was mentioned in the family but the penalty was death by cutting him a heavy gong (Int. Arch. xii., Suppl. 89). The Yabim of New Guinea avoid mentioning the names of the dead, and any one who does may be disturbed at their occupation in the forest of eating otherwise inedible fruits, and their anger be thus incurred (ZIRW iv. 256). Among the Bushmen and Hottentots it is not to be uttered for a year or more, 'not so much out of regard to the feeling of the surviving relations in consequence of the mystic connection which is supposed to exist between names and their owners. To utter or use the name of a dead person is to affect and mix it with his ghost or spirit, and thus to touch the earthly haunts. It is inimical both to the ghost itself and to the person using its name, and thus attracting the ghostly influence.' But time removes the taboo, so that the water once thrown over the name, etc., is passed to the nextTABU. — Many people avoid mentioning the dead by name, or even prohibit it in some cases the intention seems to be to forget the deceased. This is expressly stated among the Inuit, the Navarre, Salivas, and other South American tribes. But the intention to forget probably arises from fear.

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among many Lekutu tribes, where ancestor-worship is the religion, the name of the dead and all similar sounds are tabooed—a custom that frequently leads to considerable, though usually not permanent, changes in the vocabulary. Even this is, however, not unknown to the Lekutu: it is found in other parts of the world.

The tale of the name of the dead is very well known, and need not be further illustrated here. If widely spread, it is not universal. Among the ancient Greeks the opposite rule prevailed. The great desire of an Egyptian was to continue his ghostly existence. To be remembered by the living was one means to this. Accordingly the statue of a high official,例如 Thothmes I., in the Egyptian Museum, bears the following remarkable sentences in the course of its inscription: 'May the gods of this temple recompense you if you pronounce my name! He whose name is pronounced lives, and if another shows that you act the wrong way and he will do the same for you' (Collis, ix. (1909) 155). There is in the contemplation of many peoples more than a mystical con-

... of the dead is accelerated. Some of the South American tribes wait no more than ten to fourteen days. After the lapse of that time they disinter the body, strip the flesh from the bones, and after an elaborate ceremony re-bury the latter (von den Steinen, 458; 465; JFAL. xv. (1929) 290). The Chatoaes of North West Africa have a set of venerable traditions, with very long names, whose business it was to tear the flesh off the bones and burn it with the entrails projected to the devil, as a final consecration in the house of the deceased (I RBEW 168, 169). So in South Teton, on the island of Timor, a few days after the death of a king the bones are separated from the flesh and other sacred objects, and not until nothing but the skeleton remains does the waiting begin, for it is only then that a ceremony is performed and the skeleton is accorded a funeral service. The dead are then buried in a grave (Kraus, 339).

Where the decay of the flesh is left to natural means, the length of delay between burial and the final disposal of bodies varies widely among different peoples in different climates.

The Kukule of Madagascar are satisfied with the decomposition of a 'month or so'; they only strip and re-bury it (JFAL. xv. (1925) 265). Fifty or a hundred days' suffice in the Buns Islands (Codrington, 267). Few tribes elsewhere observe a similar rule. Many wait two years or more. The Chinese of Tongkong after three years take the bones from the coffin, enclose them in jars, and re-bury them in the grave, over whose site a small mound is erected, or in cemeteries on the hillsides (Lancet, 30). There is some evidence that a similar custom formerly existed in China itself (de Groot, iii. 1670). Among the Bulgarians the parents of a dead child after three—some say as long as nine—years' waiting bury the bones, after they have been covered with earth for a whole year in the church before they are again buried (Strusse, 458). Throughout Europe it was customary during the Middle Ages and later to suspend the bones in the church and then place them in a charnel-house. This custom is usually ascribed to the want of room in the church. The custom, however, is by no means sufficient; the origin of the custom is more likely due to causes considered here.

Feast of the Dead.—The tendency to postpose the final ceremonies, where it involves the collection and exposure of bones or ashes, is accentuated among small but closely organized communities by making a common ceremony, often called the Feast of the Dead, for a number of the departed. Even among the Bororo of Brazil, where the exhumation is so speedy, the relic of one person cannot be disposed of alone; one dead man must wait for a second, and the two leave the village in company (von den Steinen, 510). In these cases the corpse is usually simply a place of deposit. The stock example is that of the Iburus, who every twelve years used to dig up the bones of those who had died since the last Feast of the Dead. The bones were first of all cleaned. If corruption had not finished its work, all the remaining flesh was stripped off and burned, unless the body was so newly buried as to be practically whole. The bones were then wrapped in sacks or blankets, covered with rich robes of beaver-skin, taken severally into the burial-chambers, where they were afterwards brought together, and a feast was held in their presence, with funeral games. On a subsequent day they were taken to a large pit, where they were all buried together, with much

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This conversation was not intended to be a part of a conversation but rather a discussion on the implications of death and burial practices across cultures. It highlights the variations in the ways communities honor the dead, from naturalistic processes like decomposition and burial to deliberate and organized practices such as exhumation ceremonies. The text underscores the importance of cultural context in understanding these practices, as well as the potential for both continuity and change in mortuary traditions across different societies and times.
cemetery and the distribution of gifts (§ REEW 112). We need not determine whether these rites are more elaborate than those of other nations, or whether the rudiments of the ancestral ceremonies described above may be traced back to a common source. It is certain that similar rites take place elsewhere. The Khans, who burn their dead, deposit the ashes in small cairns. Their bodies are removed from the graves and left lying, where the remains of all the departed members of the clan eventually rest (Gordon, 140). Corresponding ceremonies are observed elsewhere in India, and are common in the East Indian islands. The relics of the ancestors, and concentrates on them on one occasion; but their chief value is to bring home to the members of the clan or community their common life, with its common sorrows and joys—in a word, their unity among themselves and with their dead.

3. Destination of the remains.—The final destination of the remains, like the preliminary disposal, is by no means the same everywhere. This will be more clearly seen from the following examples.

Various Australian tribes, after carrying the bodies or the bones about with them for a time, either bury or deposit them in their permanent dwelling-place (Heinret, 67, 471). The Cherokees of Carolina had a common bone-house (§ REEW 160), which doubtless was regarded as a sacred building. The name of the deceased is written by other writers to the repositories of the dead Indians of Louisiana and Virginia, where religious rites were accordingly performed, at all events to departed chiefs (§ REEW 124). Of the natives of Socah, in S.E. Africa, it was reported by the old Portuguese writer, João de Barros: 'After the feast of the bones, or when the deceased came to the bones of the ancestors or descendants, or of the wife of his many children, and thought that every sign of his aged work they belonged to him, and every seven days in the place where they keep these bones, as in a garden, they spread cloths and lay with bread and boiled meat, as if they were eating it, to their memory, to which they pray, afterwards eating the food thus offered (Rec. S.E. Afr. vi. [1900] 115, 299).'

Proceeding along the channel of their descent, a basket is brought from the rafters of their dwellings (Boyle, Arched. Rep., 1863, 142) and in the Banks Islands, while the bones of a favourite son were hidden in the bush, some of them would be hung up in the house (Coddington, 367). Among the Andaman Islanders the relatives weep over the bones, each of them offering a bundle of leaves, the edge of which is tied with a piece of cloth and lower and jaw, and carrying them about for months suspended near the deceased. They went to the coast of the dead (Trans. Ethnol. Soc., new ser., ii. [1861] 37).

4. Object of the practices.—The rite of exhuming and collecting the bones and making a permanent disposition of them is generally connected with, or has for its object, the definitive secession of the dead from the society of the living, and their union with the fathers in the life beyond. The ceremonies for this purpose, however, are not always connected with the burial remains.

On the Timor and Tanambar Islands, ten days after the burial of a warrior who has fallen in battle, the people of the village assemble on the shore, the men armed and the women in a festival array. An old woman calls to the soul with singing. A bamboo with all its leaves is then erected in the ground, a long stick on the top. This bamboo is regarded as a ladder, by which the soul climbs to its destination. The scrotum (a sort of petticoat) of the deceased is thrown over the bones, punctuated by the applause of the audience. When from the movement of the bamboo it is judged that the soul has climbed to the top, the bamboo is cut, the corpse is hidden in a diggirtkuru, and a meal is given to prevent the soul from subsequently wandering about or causing mischief. A dish containing rice, and an egg, previously prepared for the ceremony, are also broken to pieces. Appended in this way, the soul betakes itself to the little island of Nusmuti, off the north-west coast of Sunda, one of the islands of the group which is believed to be the dwelling place of souls. The bones, it would seem, are dispersed at a later time (Rasel, 307). The Chamorro nation, who live in the western part of the Solomons, have a similar custom.

In the Solomon Islands the skull is regarded as hot with spiritual power; and by its exhumation it is supposed to be raised to heaven. At Santa Cruz it is kept in the house in a chest, and food is set before it, for 'Great power' is in the man himself. In other parts of the archipelago, Similarly, a Fijian chief in West Africa keeps in a chest the heads of his ancestors, and invokes its contents on the eve of great events, such as war or the chase (Boche, de l'Indie du Pacifique, 1901, p. 90).

It is this belief in the spiritual power associated with the head even of an enemy that forms the foundation of the practice, common in the East Indies, of head-hunting. The head is not a mere trophy; 'it is an object of heart-felt veneration, an earnest of blessing to the whole community.' Those who were once our enemies hereby become our guardians, our friends, our benefactors' (Farnes, op. cit. 65, 59). They are addressed, soothed, and propitiated on all proper occasions; and it is to them that the happy owner ascribes his plentiful harvests, and his immunity from sickness and pain.

XIII. Epitaph and Tombs.—Many peoples complete their funeral ceremonies by the erection of an effigy of the dead. Thus the Kâris of the Hindustan, one year after the death of an adult, set up a coarsely carved wooden statue, and inaugurate it by feeding it with cakes and drinks, and offering it the honour done to the deceased is measured by the drunkenness. Before it is over the four nearest graves which have taken part are consecrated—the horse which has won the first prize to the deceased in whose honour the feast is held, and the owners to three of his ancestors by marriage. The ceremony does not involve the entire loss of the animals by their owners, but only permission to the dead to whom they are consecrated to ride them whether they wish or not. The pedestal of the statue is, however, not held for two years, when it is given by the widow. She then takes it inside her mother's house, when another brother or some other relative of the deceased (Anthropos, iii. 739).

As to the races and other communities at the Belt-precocious forms, see § XVI. They are expressly intended to affect the condition of the deceased in the other world. Pre-historic remains in various parts of both the Old World and the New point to the great antiquity of practices of exhumation and re-burial of the bones comparable with those discussed above.

5. Disposal of the skull.—Among the practices which we have just considered, special mention has several times been made of the skull of the deceased. It is sometimes worn or carried about for a time, most frequently that of a man by his widow. In such a case it is perhaps merely a dear memorial of the deceased, or at most an amulet. Thus in the Andaman Islands, where the bones are broken up and made into bones, or even a skull, it is worn down the back tied round the neck, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower, or nearest relative, not only great but also disrespectful. There are, however, practices which it is 'believed to stop pain and cure diseases by simple application to the diseased part' (Ind. Cons. Rep., 1901, iii. 65). But amulets are on their way to become objects of cult. Accordingly, wherever we find in any societies, specially skulls, preserved in the house or in a special shrine, whether common or not to other similar relics of the family, or clan, or even of a larger community, we may suspect a more or less developed cult, though it may not be recorded by our authorities. In many instances, however, this cult is recorded.

Folk-tales of the western islands of Torres Straits, in accord with the practices which obtain in those islands, describe the hero picking sacred leaves, and offering some of which to the skull of his father and mother, and on others of which he fed them. The skull is sometimes worn or carried about and inquiry as to the future. They tell the resnoed of his bones, and the success which attended his following their directions and observing their warnings (Forere. Rep. v. [1911] 41 ff., 47; cf. 250, 251, 257, 258, 301, 305). In the Solomon Islands the skull is regarded as hot with spiritual power; and by its exhumation it is supposed to be raised to heaven. At Santa Cruz it is kept in the house in a chest, and food is set before it, for 'Great power' is in the man himself. Similarly, a Fijian chief in West Africa keeps in a chest the heads of his ancestors, and invokes its contents on the eve of great events, such as war or the chase (Boche, de l'Indie du Pacifique, 1901, p. 90).

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DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Babylonian) — In common with other Semitic races, the Babylonians regarded the present life as incomparably superior to that beyond the grave. It is not likely that the Semarians, whose religious forms the principal element in the religious ideas of the Babylonians, differed from this pessimistic view of death so universal in antiquity. For the Sumerian period we have no direct statement concerning death; the evidence concerning their burial customs, their sacrifices to the dead, their communion meals with the souls of the dead, etc., is abundant. The word employed by them for the soul is 2a6, lit. "the rush of wind," and is associated with the name of the Mesopotamian god Enki, or Ea, "breath," which may also mean "throat and organs of respiration." The dread of death is revealed in the expressions for dying. In Sumerian the word is dig, lit. "to seize away." The early Bab. expression, gathered in the 1st or 2nd millennium B.C., is yet found only for women in the phrase, "when her god gathers her" (see Cuneiform Texts of the Br. Mus., ii. 24, 27; viii. 51, 17; 12, 18; 17, 18; Meissner, Asyr. Stud. iii. [Berlin, 1905] 53; Schorr, Altdav. Grabworte [Vienna, 1907] 85, who compares Gn 25:17; or "she has gone to her fate" (Gen 31:27; [C.T. vi. 417, 13f.]; Matt 9:25; [Codex of Hanno'oibab, viii. 51, and pers.], or "fate has carried him away" [bintu aabib-3u]). Ashurbanipal, describing the death of Tarššš, says that "the fate of his night came upon him."

The life of man is fleeting and determined by the decrees of the gods of the lower world, says the poet:

"Build we an house for ever: seal we our tablets for ever! Do not destroy what we have built and is free to marry again (Jones, Oph. Ind. p. 101). Among the Maiido in California, the custom of burning gifts is halted at the death of the dead of the tribe or village takes place. On the first such occasion after the death of a person an image representing him is often made of skins, stuffed, and burned, along with the gifts (Full. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. xvii. [1902] 50). In a certain Tartar tribe a wooden image of every dead man is laid in his grave (Ariz. v. 21). How far such an image could be identified with the departed may be questioned. In any case, they are only of temporary use, or entitled to a very limited period. Elsewhere, however, images are expressly made as an embellishment for the spirit. Among the Bantu people of Bondel on the east coast of Africa, where he dies is washed and shared by his maternal uncle. His hair, finger-nails, and toe-nails are taken and incorporated in the image, which then becomes a masu, the object of religious rites paid to the dead (JAI xcv. 206). On the islands of Leti, Mo, and Lakor, in the Marshall group, special songwood is cut for funerary purposes. On the fifth day after burial one of these statues is prepared, and the soul of the deceased is thought of as an offering of food, entered into for its temporary sepulcher. It is implored to eat and drink, and to watch over the security of the household, and is buried with the deceased, and the family follows (Ibid., 336). Among the Loino of the Lowa Tongking, with a walk of a kind of ochre and some wags of paper a figure of the deceased, about 10 centimeters high, is made. It is placed in the house between the wall and the roof, or turned over to a theater or to a shelter. It is a sort of image of an ancestral tablet, such as the Chinese dedicate (Laoc. 321). Examples might be multiplied, for the practice is widespread. But at this point funereal ceremonies merge into cult of the dead (see ANCESTOR WORSHIP).

LITERATURE. — On death and death rites in general, see E. B. Tylor, Primitive Culture, London, 1871, vol. i. ch. xii., vol. ii. ch. xii.; J. G. Frazer, On certain Burial Customs as Illustrative of the Primitive Theory of the Soul, in JAI xcv. [1886] 64-104, R. Hertz, "Contribution à une étude sur la representation collective de la mort," in Afro. x. [1905] 43-137; A. van Genap, Les Rites de pannage, Paris, 1906, ch. viii.; E. S. Hartland, Legend of Personae, L. (London, 1890) ch. xiii. The death rites of a particular people and its ideas on the subject of the spirit are more aptly be studied in the ethnographic records of that people. Many have been cited in the foregoing article. Detailed studies relating to special areas have been made by Theodor Koch, "Anthropomorphism and Animism among the Semitic and Turanian Tribes of India," forming the Supplement to Internat. Archiv für Ethnographie, xii. [1899], ac- cording to the Dravidians and other Non-Aryan Tribes of India, in Anthropos, iv. [1909]. See also the following series of articles, C. E. Sihvola, MARDUK.
DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Babylonian)

...thless both Sumerian and Semite exercised much care in this respect. At Ur brick vaults of considerable size containing several skeletons were excavated by the Babylonian archaeologists, accompanied by jars, platters for bread and food, the deceased's seal, combs, and, in case of women, even brushes (for colouring the eyes?). The cheaper method of interment consisted in placing the body upon a slightly raised platform of bricks, which was first covered with a reed mat. Over the body was fitted a large cover, made of one or two pieces of baked clay, and large enough to admit both the body and the articles of food and raiment. Taylor found many such tombs, in which case the body lay with knees drawn towards the chest. 1 Still more economical method of burial consisted of a clay or porcelain coffin of capsule form, made by fusing together two huge bowls, which were luted and crushed into a huge vase, accompanied in all cases by food and drink. Common in later times is the bath-tub-shaped coffin, deep but not long, in which the body sits upright, with the back against one end, and the limbs stretched out along the bottom, the whole being, of course, protected with a clay covering. The flask-shaped coffin, bulging towards the base, is common in the late period. The excavators of Assur found many elaborate tombs of kings and priestly families. To each of these an opening at the west end, closed by a stone not too difficult to be moved, made access to the vault possible. Stone staircases led down to these openings. At the Assyrian burial vaults at Assur usually contain a small niche for a lamp. The Assyrians employed such vaults both for body burials, the skeletons being found in orderly rows side by side on the pavement, and for cinerary urns. The latter are cone-shaped and made of baked clay.

Thus we see that cremation was practised at all periods—probably for sanitary reasons. The earliest graves are found in the temple courts, but these sacred spots must have proved altogether inadequate for the vast populations of Sumer, Babylonia, and Assyria. The only practical method would be to set aside certain parts of the city (as at Ur), or whole districts (as at Nippur).

1 The word for the deceased soul is gilitum, 'creation of darkness' (gitig-dim), which, by apocope of the initial letter, became tidum, edum, and passed into Semitic as edimmu. 2 There is a Babylonian name for the 'spirits of the dead' as minor deities, capable of interfering for good and evil in the affairs of men. Whether, in fact, the entire conception of divinity rests ultimately upon the notion of ancestor-worship cannot be determined from our sources. We can no longer doubt that the Bab. conception of the devils, spirits of disease and misfortune, rests absolutely upon the notion of evil ghosts which rise from hell to torment humanity. See DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Assyr.-Bab.).

Although the souls of those whose bodies were improperly buried, or whose memories were not cherished at the parentalia, return to the earth and must be driven back to the nether world by incantations, and ultimately, yet the great majority of souls lead a shadowy existence in the dreary land of the dead. See STATE OF THE DEAD (Assyr. Bab.).

We come now to that significant part of Bab. religion—the communion with the souls of the dead. We have seen that the kinship of the dead provided the soul with food and raiment in the grave. These are remnants of an ancient belief that the soul actually consumed the elements and wore the ramment left for his use. Although the Sumerians and the Babylonians continued to use these symbols of the material needs of man in the graves of the dead, they soon rose to a more spiritual interpretation, in which, behind the symbolic bread and drink, lay the mystery of communion with the defiled souls and with Divine life itself. Each family seems to have made monthly offerings to the shades of its ancestors, which consisted in a communion meal at which images of the departed were present. In official accounts of the early period we find frequent reference to offerings to the king to the statues of deceased persons. 1 A list of official sacrifices in the period of Sargon of Agade mentions a lamb offered to the statue of an ancient Sumerian king; Entemenas; 2 and Gudea, a later priest-king (c. 221). It is evident that it was probably customary to make offerings to the statues of deceased persons. 2 Entries in official documents occur, stating the items of the monthly sacrifice for the souls of deceased persons whose service to the State had been great. This is especially true of kings and priests. More frequently the documents mention the mortuary sacrifices for all the souls who have died, a Feast of All Souls, occurring monthly and performed by the priests in various temples. The word ordinarily employed is the Sumerian kianag, 'place where one gives to drink'; but the notion of 'place' is often lost, and the idea of drinking is made to cover sacrifices of animals, bread, cakes, etc., as well as of liquors. That these sacrifices to the shades of the departed mortuary meal is made evident from one inscription which states expressly that the kianag was eaten.

Another word—also Sumerian, and employed for the parentalia less frequently in the early period, but by the Semites for the Semitic—kis, 'breaking of bread,' where the emphasis is laid upon the eating of bread at a common meal (kisya kastupu). The word occurs in the most ancient name of the fourth month as sig-ba, and later as kisya-minusz, or month of the breaking of bread to Ninazu, god of the lower world. This month was followed (in the calendar of Nippur) by the month of the feast of Ninazu. These two months correspond with our December and January, or the period of greatest darkness, when the gods of the under world, as deities of the shades, whether the sun-god and the god of vegetation had descended, were particularly honoured. We fortunately possess a letter in the archives of the first Semitic dynasty, concerning the feast of the breaking of bread for the fourth month (December):

3 Unto Sumu-ili, son of Nin-Marduk, say, Thus saith Ammi-ditta: 'I milk and butter for the kisya of the month of Nenacig are withheld. As soon as thou readest this tablet, may thy superintendent take 20 cows and 60 lbs of butter and come to Babylon. Until the kisya is finished, may he supply milk.'

Here we have direct evidence for a communion meal, 'breaking of bread,' for the souls of the dead, permanently adopted by the Semites at an early period. At Eski Harran an inscription has recently been found containing the autobiography of the high priest of the temple of the moon-god of Harran. In col. iii, he refers to the monthly sacrifices which he performed for the souls of the departed. After a reference to the raiment which he wore for the service he says:

4 Fox, sheep, date, wine, oil, fruit of the garden. . . . I break 4 unto them. As incense offering, the priest is known to have offered incense as a regular offering I fixed for them and placed before them.

The high priest here performs for the kinsmen


2 Quatremère, 1841, see 1. 2 Gebel Statuas, B. 7, 55.
the sacred ceremony of breaking bread for the souls of the dead. The expression 'pouring incense before them' refers to the statues of the departed, whose souls are thus represented at the communion meal, and whose portion is the incense. In an incantation service against evil souls, stools are brought to show that the dead soul sits at the service of breaking bread. But when Cusma, for he, for 11 refers to a priest who performed the ceremony, as appears from another passage: 'The regulations of the day of offerings the king gave not, but the high priest gave.' The practice of pouring water to the soul in connexion with the common meal gave rise to the title 'pounder of water,' applied to one of the king's earliest interpreters. This appears in the terrible curse so common in the Semitic period, 'My God deprive him of an heir and a pounder of water.'

The repose of the soul, we may say even its immortality, depends upon the communion sacrifice performed monthly for it by its kinsmen. Here we find another degree in leaving male descendants; and the prayers of kings seldom fail to plead with the god for male lineage. In actual practice the family paid the priests for performing the ceremony of the breaking of bread, and consequently both the incantation and the incense, or bit losap kišša, were built for this purpose. It is highly probable that the State had a regular fund to provide for the Feast of All Souls, for we find official accounts containing entries for this fund at all periods.

Concerning the wailing for the dead our sources are meagre. In an ancient Sumerian inscription there is a probable reference to an official wailer, whose pay is mentioned along with the food placed in the tomb. Wailing at the death of a king is described in a letter of the period of Ashurbanipal. The chief great men clothe themselves in garments of mourning, and wear rings of gold, and the official singer sings. The burial of an official (fūtu) is important to the time in the history of Babylonia. The tomb was made; he and the woman of his palace rest in peace; the psalms (ʁū) are chanted; they have wept at the grave of the man who has been born; for the priest and the mourners (al) performed; those of rising in the house of washing and the house of baptism, ceremonies of incantation, penitential processions, and sacrifices were performed. Gilgames wailed for his departed comrade Enlil six days and nights. When the mother of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, died, the king's son and all his troops put on mourning and wailed three days. The following month was entirely devoted to official mourning for the king's son. Traces of embalming have not been found, but Herodotus says that the Babylonians embalmed in honey.13 and a text has been cited which mentions embalming with cedar oil. At any rate, embalming is not characteristic of Bab. burials, and the custom may be due to Egyptian influence. Lord's translation of the Akkad text of the 'Lament of Eabani' is based on the MS. We refer the reader to this text for more details.

11 Memorial Deed of Melpashpak, vil. 9-11; KB iv. 80, 19; 9, 27; cf. a Boundary Stone of Nushehaddar, Philadelphia, 1897, p. 251.
12 ZA xxi. (Heidelburg, 1898) 248, 3; Beiträge zur Assyriologie, 1899, p. 17.
13 Tarkiš, 1899, p. 475.
14 Irbûtu, prob. same root as kašû, 'psalmist.'
15 Harper, 427.
16 EB v. 1, 469, 13-15.
17 K. 118, col. i. 4, cited by Meissner, WZKM xii. (1898) 61.
18 for the necropolises at Eara and Abu-Hurayba, see Mittel d. deutschen oriental. Gesellschaft, Berlin, 1896-1897; for tombs and coffins at Babylon, ib. xxxv. 12, xxxv. 13; at Assur, ib. xlvi. 36, xxv. 23, xxxv. 22. For the embalming at Nippur, H. V. Hilprecht, Explorations in Bible Lands, Edin- burgh, 1898, passim (the discussion of the whole subject); at Sippar, V. Schmidt, Une suite d'exploration en Irak, 1892, p. 65 ff.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Buddhist).—1. Death inevitable and painful. There are certain questions that must have an absolute and definite answer (ekdosaoyeyaran). As a type of these the commentators cite: 'Will all beings (vatta) die? Buddha said: 'Short, O monks, is the life of man... we must do good; if it is impossible that what is born should not die.' In other words, 'Life, inseed, ends in death.'

2. All men fear death. For death is accompanied by physical and moral suffering; the formulae of dependent origination enumerates 'sorrow, lamentation, misery, grief, despair' as the companions of death, and the breaking of the spirit of a new existence for the punishment of sins: death and punishment (duña) are almost synonymous. It is in order to avoid death, and the consequent second death—in order to gain immortality—that the Buddha taught the doctrine of the life, the holy behaviour (brahmanaschariya) which enables one to pass above the sun, which is death (bhrakamayasa).

If death inspires fear, it also generates that salutary emotion (sāmaya) which ends in a distaste for pleasure and existence. Death must be thought of. Visits to the 'cemetery,' the place of cremation, or the place where dead bodies are left, and meditation upon the corpse and the various aspects of decomposition, play an important part in the spiritual hygiene of the Buddhist monk, be he a beginner (maganā) a more advanced disciple (britikā), or a perfect disciple. They even become absorbing forms, which are called 'cemetery monks' (see TANTRIC MEDITATION). We find a number of details regarding the treatment of the dead8 in the Buddhist texts. To know that 'life ends in death, and to be resigned to this law, is, as we have noted, one of the conversion-stories, and to know the essentials of Buddhist doctrine and to escape from the fear and the control of death. To detach oneself from the things of which death will deprive one, to detach oneself from the body itself, is to abolish pain; thus a man suffers when he sees a woman whom he loves in the possession of another man; he ceases to suffer

1 Abdillahkarnakówpayik, MS of the Société Asiatique, 35ne, 7 (hereafter cited as A.K.1).
2 Dharmapada, 119; see Pommel's ed. 1900; Max Muller, SBE x. (1889) 41; and H. Oldenberg, Buddha, sein Leben, etc., Stuttgart, 1893, 1896, 1897.
3 Dharmapada, 119; cf. Dīghakārīvatārīs, ii. 169; Mīlamā, p. 181 f. (SBE xxx. 209); Sūkṣmaṁuddeyana, p. 208; Jātakamāla, xi. 215; W. H. H. O. R. Stories, London, 1893 (= Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vol. i). See H. P. outline of the Purana burials, in India, 1907, p. 27; Veytigāyakaraṇa, p. 29. But in Dīgha, ii. 306, and Vājhāya, p. 37, sorrow, etc., are defined as the con- sequences of every cause of suffering.
4 Abdillahkarnakówpayik, MS of the Société Asiatique, 35ne, 7 (hereafter cited as A.K.1).
6 On this subject see the 'Chaitanya Prabhu' on art of DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD; and cf. R. Frissen, Buddhiṣṭ India, A.T.S.I. London, 1903; p. 78 ff., and sources cited, esp. Dīgha, ii. 230; Osanna, tr. n. 8. Translat. et. Exégèse du Kondog, A.M.G. i. (Lyons, 1881) 194; A.K.1, ed. 243: 'When a man has fulfilled his time, when a man has died, his friends burn his honored body with fire, or submerge it in the sea, or bury it in the ground, or leave it to dry, or wither, or disappear with wind and heat. But what is called thought, mind, intellect, being saturated (or 'infected,' pralabdhi) with faith, morality, indifference, religious instruction, does not go up to the mountain, attains to a privi- leged state (śvapā), goes into the heavens.'
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whenever he ceases to love (Marjhim, ii. 223). Thus the saint (arhat) has no fear of death (Adhatara, ii. 173); he awaits his time without desire and without fear (Theragathâ, 156, 703). Since men are free in their desire, he knows that this existence is the last existence for him (Therigatha, 705; Dhammapada, 39). For others death is only a passing; for the saint it is 'interruption' or 'annihilation' (lausûkâkakho.

If he [the Buddha] is asked, 'Who are those gods, though certain texts say that the gods are perfectly happy (Adhatara, v. 291)? It is not death that they are accompanied by the sufferings of other death; for they usually die without suffering (A.K.V., p. 2454). But, the greater the enjoyment one gets by the sight of them, the more is wanted for them to give them; 'the death for them is not suffering consisting in suffering,' 'suffering of death' (Mahâvagottariyâ, § 112, 4), but it causes 'suffering consisting in the change' to be accomplished at death (see H. C. Warren, Buddhism, Cambridge, Mass., 1886, p. 183). The Brahmanic views are all alike, or very similar, e.g., Vibhga Parâja, vi. 6, in Pâli, West, London, 1870, p. 292.

2. Definition of death.—The Buddhist doctrine is opposed to that of the 'nbelievers' (deniers [of the other life], according to whom the intellect (vijñâna) separates itself from the material elements (dhamma) of the body return to the mass of the earth, etc. (cf. Digha, i. 55; Sontyutta, iii. 247); it is also opposed to the popular idea of the transmission of the soul, well expressed by connecting the bird fitting a stone to tree to tree (Samanagala-elissinâ, p. 114; S. Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, London, 1880, p. 290). Death is the end of life—the end of a life or of an existence (see below, § 3); or, more exactly, death is the dissociation of the organism into its elements, as was experienced by the saint for himself in his 'dying death' (cf. Warren, Buddhism, p. 252; Madhyauanâkkhyâ, p. 174, n. 4); but death marks the end of this homogeneous renewing; it is the separation of the constituent elements of the pseudo-individual, the dissociation of the elements (dhammas), i.e. of the gross elements (kancapahalaya, rûpakâya) and of the vijñâna, or intellect. 3

We must consider for a little this idea of vijñâna. There is nothing permanent or individual in the complex union of the skandhâs, which lasts from birth to birth. When men retire, to regard it as 'individualized,' like a town with the vijñâna as master. The later works of Abhidhamma teach that, from the origin of an existence, the first thought, the thought which gives rise to the formation of the jivitendriya, which is the 'conception intellect,' gives birth to certain thought, which is the master part of the existence, and is called bhavanga, or bhavangasamjaddi, 'existence-limb,' 'existence-limb-series,' because it is the limb of existence. 4 This thought evolves into an uninterrupted and relatively homogeneous mental series, like the flow of a river. To look at it in a somewhat different way, this thought constitutes what we might call the foundation of the soul, the support and origin of particular thoughts, which interrupt it. At the end of life, at death, it disappears by being transformed into 'thought in a dying state,' 'dying thought,' 'dying thought of existence, i.e., one existence in the series of existences, is ended at the disappearance of the bhavangas; a new existence commences, in a new status, since the 'thought in a dying state' is not say conceived as 'thought in a state of being born.' Death, then, is the transformation of this 'fundamental thought' called bhavanga, 'limb of existence,' into 'emigrating thought' (candhatutta). 2

When the death man is laid upon his bed of death, the sinful action for which he is responsible, or the motive (or sign) of this action, becomes itself at the death of the gods (devas), though certain texts say that the gods are perfectly happy (Adhatara, v. 291). It is not death that they are accompanied by the sufferings of other death; for they usually die without suffering (A.K.V., p. 2454). But, the greater the enjoyment one gets by the sight of them, the more is wanted for them to give them; 'the death for them is not suffering consisting in suffering,' 'suffering of death' (Mahâvagottariyâ, § 112, 4), but it causes 'suffering consisting in the change' to be accomplished at death (see H. C. Warren, Buddhism, Cambridge, Mass., 1886, p. 183). The Brahmanic views are all alike, or very similar, e.g., Vibhga Parâja, vi. 6, in Pâli, West, London, 1870, p. 292.

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1 See, e.g., the story of 'Gotami the Thin,' in J. H. Thesleff, Die Legende von Kusumodhi, Ersland, 1855; Roger, Buddhistic Literature, p. 295, 1866; Ingen, Munker, 1856, p. 124.

2 See Wendt's tr. of 'Nâgâyana's Friendly Epistles,' 1881, JPTS, 1882, p. 310. See also the Wende's tr. of 'Nâgâyana's Friendly Epistles,' 1881, JPTS, 1882, p. 310. See also the Wendt's tr. of 'Nâgâyana's Friendly Epistles,' 1881, JPTS, 1882, p. 310.

3 See Digha, ii. 396 (—Warren, p. 396); Vibhagha, in Warren, pp. 241, 252; Vibhagha, p. 137.

4 A Guide to the Study of Buddhism, London, 1856, p. 124. See also the Wendt's tr. of 'Nâgâyana's Friendly Epistles,' 1881, JPTS, 1882, p. 310. See also the Wendt's tr. of 'Nâgâyana's Friendly Epistles,' 1881, JPTS, 1882, p. 310.

5 See Digha, ii. 396 (—Warren, p. 396); Vibhagha, in Warren, pp. 241, 252; Vibhagha, p. 137.

6 A Note on the History of the Theravâda School, in JPTS, 1884, p. 25; see also S. Z. Aung and C. A. F. Bhys Davids' tr. and notes, Compendium of Philosophy, Pâli, 1916 (Index, s.e. 'Bhavanga').
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of heat (Mahāyānapatti, § 245, 53). An ancient saying is: 'The body (jīva) is an excerpt of the vital principle (vijñāna) and non-existent' (see apyjñākaranena). The Dīghanikāya school defines death as the destruction of the vijñāna, the organ, and of life,' and claims authority from this definition to deny (in opposition to the Jains) that trees trees 'die.'

In the old version of the 'last days of the Buddha' (Dīgha, II. 106; SBE xi. 44), it is said: 'The Blessed One accepted the rejoicing (of the bhikkhus) and the jest of Eryo Davipāka and the rest of the 'allotted sum of life'). In the Saṁyutta Nikāya (Divyadānasūtra, p. 228; Mahāyānapatti, § 253, 52) we have: 'The Blessed One cried aloud in grief, exclaiming: 'the activity virtualities' (jīvāsanāsārānahāraḥ), and he began to control his vitality virtualities (jīvāsanāsārānakāraḥ)."

The plural (‘co-efficients of life’) indicates, according to a commentator, that death is not one thing but a collectivity.

The Sautrāntikas say that apyjñā, 'life,' means the multiple saṃkāra, which co-exist (having for nature the four or five skandhas), and is nothing beyond the making (A.K.V., fol. 74). The Mahāvīra (p. 256) enumerates the apyjñā as follows: apyjñā, heat, and intact senses, which disappear at death, but persist in his life even when plunged into the deepest ecstasies (see Warren, p. 289).

As to the vital breath (prāṇa), it is a wind (vīyāna) which depends by the body and the thought— for it disappears during the so-called 'cessation trance'—cassay (Sarvāstivādin Abhidharmaśāstra, quoted A.K.V., § 312; see Rhy's Davipā, Dialogues of the Buddha, i. 71, London, 1890–1910 (= Sacred Books of the East, vol. 4)). Although the Buddhists deny the existence of a physical immortal, 'being endowed with breath,' they use this expression; but, for them, to kill a prāṇin is only to stop the future production of the prāṇa.

According to the Sautrāntikas (A.K.V., Banyan MS, fol. 74), the saint says: 'May the actions that are to ripen for me in enjoyment ripen in life!' By its nature, life (or the vital organ) is 'ripening' (vīyāna), and it can replace any enjoyment which, normally, one may enjoy in the heaven of the gods which the saint no longer desires and has escaped by his saṁsāra. By this process, 'vanishing death,' the Buddha prolonged his life three months for the salvation of men, and the disciples employed this to assure the devolution of the law.

4. The last thought and re-birth—Most of the Hindu theologians teach that the last thought, the thinking of the dying, is of prime importance with regard to the future lot. This doctrine is particularly dear to the devotional religion of the Kṣapa on the death-bed assures salvation. The Brāhmans everywhere believe as a rule that the Lord (lāvara) establishes the moral balance-sheet of the whole life, in order that the agent may be re-born into the world at the proper stage. In conformity with their psychology and their metaphysics, the Buddhists have to assign capital importance to the last thought. For not only do they refuse to admit a Lord, judge of all the

1 See Abhidhammakoṭtagaha, v. 12 (JPTS, 1894, p. 25); Viññānadeva, in Warren, p. 289; Sumati-palaśāstra, p. 120.

2 The Śvātik Buddhists have made a deity of 'premature death' (Wilson, Works, ii. 24).

3 See, e.g., Bhagavagīti, viii. 6 et al. (A. Barth, Religions of India, London, 1913, p. 237; R. G. Barke, Bhagavadgītā übersetzt..., Leipzig, 1893, p. 52). 'Remembering whatever form of death he may have, the leaves this body behind and forever perishes, assimilated to its being' (Thibaw, Vedaśastra, i. 123=ŚBE xii. 100); 'Whatever he is doing at his end leaving his body forever, to that same when he always goes, inspired to being there' (L. D. Barnett, The Lord's Song, London, 1905, p. 159). See also the Saivite Vedaśastra, tr. cit., and Cowell, tr. of Aphonīrion of Śākīṇa, Calcutta, 1875, i. 50, and for the Jain sect, see Majumdar, i. 230. Folklore is abundant on this subject; see, e.g., Katha-sāṃskāra, tr. Tayyuray, 1890, i. 242, and passim. Rhy's Davipā comprises Plaint, Theebe, and Lamp (Indian Buddhist, London, 1881, App. viii., Dialogues of the Buddha, § 238).

4 Cf. the apyjñākarana of the Jains (SBE xii. 105, 102).
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actions of a life, but they do not even admit of a permanent soul which would be responsible for all the actions. At the time of death, all that exists is the 'dying thought' (chyutichitta) and the actions. The past, present and future thoughts may be re-born among the gods, . . . and thus do they also say: "By one case of destruction of life a man may be re-born in purgatory." When asked if this was not a sin, the sutra replies: 'Would even a tiny stone float on the water without a boat? Would not a hundred cart-loads of stone float on the water if they were loaded in a boat?' . . . Well, good deeds are like the boat (Milinda, p. 86, tr. Rhys Davids, SBE xxxv 157)."

Mahaniddhakīna sees a poor wretch, condemned to death, to whom the compassionata Sūla has just offered some cakes. He thinks: 'This man, with no merits, a sinner, will be re-born in hell; if he gives these cakes, he will be re-born among the terrestrial deities.' He presents himself before the condemned man, who thinks, 'What is the good of eating these cakes? If I give them away, they will serve me as a ransom for the other world. But with affection, I will give them to Sūla: 'It is through Sūla's kindness that I was possessed of this shala, this gandha, and I am saved from a hell and soul by this affection, causes him to be re-born as a tree-deity (inferior deity) (Pavatathā, Commentaries, p. 5).

The deities of the Gardens, the women, the dogs and plants crowd around the master of the house, Chita, who is very ill: 'Make your recitation, utter your hāravali (charakavin king in a next existence)' (Sangyātā, iv 302; et. Rhys Davids, Early Buddhism, London, 1906, p. 77).

A man is stained (adgaya); he acknowledges his sin and doa his utmost by prayer, effort, and exertion to wipe it out; he will die free from attachment, from hate, from error, and from sin, with utmost thought (sattva). A man free from stain: he knows it; he be then conducive complacency, and, through this, attenuation extends itself to his thoughts; he will be reborn in attachment, hate, error, stain, with impure thought (Mañjuśrī, i. 29).

The Buddhists began early to think of preparation for death. Asoka grants three days for this purpose to the daṇḍin (Pillar-Edit, iv; see V. A. Smith, Asoka, Oxford, 1901, p. 165). The Mahāyana commands the monks to attend, even during the rainy season, at the bed of a sick layman (Tr. 5, 9; SBE xiii. 304). The Visuddhimagga (xvii. line 1190) explains the ceremonies performed for the dying. The friends say to him: 'We are about to perform the pājī (suit) of Buddha for you, quiet your spirit (in B.; the Tibetan and Chinese say: 'You have flowers, etc., (pāja, 'form' or 'colour').

'See this offering we are making for you,' they say to the sick man—the recitation of texts and music (audha, 'sound') . . . , perfumes (prada, 'smell') , homa etc. (pañca, 'the five') (padhabha, 'tangible') —Touch this offering.' Thus by the five senses the impressions penetrate will be the object of the last thought.

Spence Hardy (Menon, 493) tells the story of a fisher who was made to recite the five precepts by a monk ('I renounce murder', . . . , and this wins a heavenly re-birth for him; and, when he recites them again in his last moments, he obtains re-birth among the higher gods.

Motzau's subjoined formulae are abracadabra for the 'thought of the Buddha' and the repetition of precepts: the om mani padme hum plays a great part (see C. F. Riepen, Die Religion des Buddha, p. 9). The Indianische Heilkunde (Borkart, p. 59); the cults of Amītabha substitute the repetition of ejaculatory invocations to Avadhūtika or Amīta: 'Whoever shall have the name of Buddha Bhaisajyaguru, to him will eight Bodhisattvas come at the moment of death to show him the way to paradise' (Bīja). In Kagyardsagpa (Calcutta, 1879), pp. 23, 95, twelve Buddhadasa surround the dying; in Sakdhpurī (Oxford, 1883), p. 47 (et. SBE xiii. 45) the singer of the Bīja mantra, at death, will be a saṃsāra of the 'ten [magick] monks.' 38 Seeing Bhagavat, their thought is quieted, and, falling from the Bīja, passes into the delights of the Bīja (Sanāthakīvra, iv. at the end). In Sarvatathāgata, iv 395, it is the forest-deities who care for the dying man and suggest to him the wish for such a paradise.'

LITERATURE.—This is given throughout the article.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSIN.
DEATH AND DISPOSITION OF THE DEAD (Chinese).—The Chinese discriminate between premature death and the inevitable ending of the termed natural life. That death is composed of the radical denoting 'evil' (originally depicting the cutting up of bones) and that for 'man,' the combination being interpreted by E. Wells Williams (SYLLOGIC DECK, Shanghai, 1899, p. 930) as 'the evil which parts men.' The character thus formed is explained as conveying the idea of 'the running out of the vital issues,' 'the emptying out of the breath'; whilst that for normal death, i.e., in old age, represents the end of life. In the case of silk cloth, the symbol of death is generally avoided, the Chinese preferring to employ some euphemistic phrase such as 'passed away,' 'returned to Heaven,' 'no more,' etc., or sometimes an expressive gesture—the hands tightly clenched, and the head thrown slightly back.

The customs which prevail in different parts of China in connexion with the treatment of the dying and the disposal of the dead are so diverse that a complete survey of them would be impossible; it will be sufficient to describe the observances which may be regarded as fairly characteristic. The details which follow do not apply in all cases of children and unmarried persons. In those instances, if the corpse is disposed of with as little ceremony as possible; in many cases the bodies of infants are simply rolled up in a coarse wrapper of matting, and deposited in a convenient spot of open ground, perhaps in a 'baby tower' specially intended for the purpose.

The conduct of funeral rites is described as early as the Chow dynasty (1122-255 B.C.), and it is evident that burial has always been the mode adopted for the disposal of the dead. In the Chinese sense this does not consist in the lowering of the remains into a dug-out grave, but in the placing of them in a sarcophagus upon the surface of the ground, and the piling up of earth in the form of a mound, as a result of the annual visits to the place of interment. It was usual in early times to place in the coffin certain articles which the deceased valued during life; and specimens of jade, chess-men, etc., are frequently discovered in and near the mounds. In the case of the royal corpse it was often difficult to ascertain where the royal corpse was actually buried, as sometimes a number of separate coffins were interred in different places, each nominally containing the 'remains' of the late monarch, to render the more remote the possibility of riling the tomb.

The custom of immolating a number of slaves or relatives of the deceased was sometimes practised in China. Cases are quoted as early as the 10th century B.C., as, e.g., that of the Duke Muh, at whose funeral some 177 persons were buried alive. References to the practice are found in the time of Confucius (551-475 B.C.), and even as late as the present dynasty an instance is quoted in connexion with the death of the Empress Dowager (1873-1895). The burning of paper effigies of servants and attendants at the present day may be a survival of this barbarous custom.

1. Importance of the subject.—The importance of the subject may conceivably be evident when we consider that there is, perhaps, no event in the 'pilgrimage' of the 'Chinaman' which demands so great attention, such scrupulous observance of immemorial custom, and such lavish expenditure of labour and capital, as the carrying out of a 'decent funeral.'

2. The dictum of Confucius.—Confucius lays down no rules with regard to the treatment of the dead, beyond the admonition that all things should be done 'decently and in season'; that the family circumstances should be taken into account, and that the various classes of society should be guided by the precedents which obtain in each class. The tradesman should not seek to emulate the magnificence of the officials, and so on, giving as one general principle which should govern the conduct of the entire affair: 'In mourning it is better to be sorrowful than punctilious.

It is hardly necessary to say that the observance of the ceremony is in them worthless unless it is inseparably connected with the extraordinary development of the idea of filial piety, and the ancestral worship of which it is the inspiration and the key.

3. Treatment of the dying.—All remedies have failed to turn dead men into living spirit, the dying man is prepared for entering the presence chamber of the gods, before whom he must appear: the god of the local temple, the god of the city walls and moats, and the god of Hades. His head is shaved; his body and extremities are washed; the nails of his hands and feet are cut, the hairings being carefully preserved; and his underclothing is changed. When in articulo mortis he is supported, and a three-watt lantern, obtained from a Buddhist temple, and already used in the worship of Heaven, is placed in his hand, and he is advised to hold it fast, as the way before him will be dark. If the family can afford it, a sedan-chair is hired, and all of paper and bamboo, is purchased. To die in the early morning is in some places considered felicitous, because there are three meals left for the dead man's posterity to enjoy; but to die after the consummation of the evening meal is considered to be ill-omened, for then, by implication, there is nothing left for his successors. It is important that the sons of the dying man and other relatives should be present to attend the deathbed; and, as from the 12th to the 16th century, the burning of paper effigies of servants and attendants


The practice of cremation is repugnant to the Chinese view of the necessity of preserving the body intact as far as possible, and is employed only in the case of Buddhist monks and nuns, though historically it is cited in proof of its frequency in certain periods, probably as a result of foreign influences.

4. First duties of mourners.—As soon as death takes place, an elder conducts the proceedings, and orders the scenes of the sons to be unravelled, and the candles to be lighted before the ancestral shrine and the god of the earth, because the warrant for the capture of the departed soul is supposed to have arrived from the god of Hades, and it must be counter-signed by the ancestral spirits, or their representatives, and by the god of the earth.
5. The dread messengers.—The messengers of the god of Hades are said to be two, viz. the living Wu-ch'ang and the dead Wu-ch'ang, the word wu-ch'ang meaning 'uncertain,' and being explained by the uncertainty of the summons of death. The living Wu-ch'ang is not a demon, but the soul of a living man who is employed by the Wu-ch'ang to guide him to the house of his victim. The true 'Uncertain,' as coming from the hidden world, is unable to find his way in the light of day, and accordingly his features are generally explained by the death of a great spirit. Some say that these two characters represent, not individual agents of the god of Hades, but only the two souls (the animal and the spiritual, i.e. the psyche and the pneuma) the hun and the po, as they are called in Chinese. The first of these is written in Chinese with a character which means 'black' attached to the word for 'spirit' or 'demon,' and hence represents 'black spirit,' and the latter is written for 'white' prefixed to the same word meaning 'spirit,' and hence represents 'white spirit.' These have been personified, by the ignorant, as the kitesers who come to carry off the soul; whereas the hun and the po represent merely the soul, in which its own accord is about to leave its tenement. The hun, in conformity with its nature, soars aloft and is dissipated; the po descends into the element of earth and haunts its old neighborhood.

6. Post-mortem illustration.—The matting on which the deceased is lying is given a pull, with the idea that this will prevent a lingering illness in the next incarnation. The chief mourner, generally the eldest son, invests himself in the clothes which are eventually to be put upon the corpse, and, holding a bucket in one hand and a bundle of incense in the other, walks, or, in the case of an infant's corpse by way of a bath, proceeds with umbrella being held over his head all the time, as he is impersonating the dead and must be screened from the eye of heaven. In some cases he is escorted with music and fireworks. Paper money of different kinds is burned; a coin, with a large nail fastened in the centre, is thrown into the water; and the water is thus supposed to be bought, and is drawn up and taken to the house. Here it is warmed, and a few rice is given to the chest of the corpse by way of a bath, and the hair of the dead man is next combed by the daughters and daughters-in-law, each taking a turn, kneeling and weeping at the same time; and then it is rolled up into a kind of knot on the forehead, some kind of hair being worn by the Chinese of the Ming dynasty, thus exemplifying the popular proverb, 'The living submit [to the Manchus], the dead do not.' After this perfunctory washing the dead man is removed from his bed and supported on a chair; and the matting and straw on which he has been lying are burned in the open street. It is of the utmost importance that the feet of the corpse should not touch the ground, and they are generally covered with a cloth and supported in the lap of the daughter-in-law. A small table is spread before the body, holding two bowls—one of rice, and the other containing vegetables with long stalks, tea, and a sieve. A fragrant life and burn root in the next stage of existence.

7. Announcement of the death.—The sons of the deceased, with the braid removed from their queues, wearing white gowns, aprons, and white fillets round their heads, and supported on their shoulders by the sandals, take candles and paper money of two kinds, and proceed to the temple of the god of agriculture. On arrival at the temple, the eldest son, as chief mournor, lights the candles, makes his prostrations, and burns the paper money; this money is supposed to act as a guardian to the god of agriculture, who is represented as the agent of the god of Hades in the arrest of the soul, and hence requires remuneration. The whole process is described as pin ling, or 'strewing the hall:'—a phrase applied in no sense to the act of throwing the officiants at a Yamen in order to be assured of 'justice'; and it is fairly inferred that the officiants in the nether world are equally amenable to a 'consideration.'

8. Removal of the corpse.—On returning to the house, they now remove the matting and place the dead to the middle hall, which is reserved for special occasions, and which also contains the ancestral shrine. The position of the corpse is at first reversed, indicating the hope that the dead man may return from the hidden world, and this is illustrated by the transposition of the footstool before birth. A meal is laid out on a large sieve and placed before the dead, with wine and candles, and is then carried in procession to the front of the house and laid outside the door; the members of the family, in white clothing, kneel on a piece of coir matting, weeping and prostrating themselves alternately. The body is next carefully secured to a chair by leathern bands, and a cloth, and then selected to convey it to the state apartment; the head is supported by the eldest son, and the feet by the daughter-in-law. The burden must be no larger than the dead man could lie on, and it being laid down until its destination; a full would be considered a frightful calamity. An umbrella is held over the chair as it moves, to hide one who is now a denizen of the shades from the light of heaven, and handfuls of rice are thrown upon it, with the idea of expelling all evil influences. The corpse is then placed on the bed and a coverlet spread over it. A sheet of white paper is laid upon the face, and the feet are placed close together and propped in position; to allow them to fall slowly involves the death of the nuptial partner shortly after.

9. The public announcement.—A messenger is then sent to a Taoist priest to inform him of the date of the deceased's first attack of illness, the time of his death, and the number of his years. The priest writes a large sheet of yellow paper mentioning these particulars, and the date on which the spirit may be expected to return, together with the classes of persons, born under certain auspicious years, whose absence is considered a frightful calamity. A large sheet is hung to the view of people crossing the door, and a rude lamp, consisting of a bowl of oil with a wick in it, contained in a basket of lime, is kept constantly alight, day and night, so that the deceased may have 'a lamp to his feet' wherever he journeys.

10. Ceremonies connected with death in old age. —If the deceased happens to be aged, say seventy years old and over, and the feet of the bed are red in colour, to show that death, in his case, should not be considered an occasion of sorrow; and no word of consolation is spoken or sign of grief shown by the visitors; on the contrary, nothing but the sentiments of sympathetic grief are exchanged. A happy consummation has been reached, full of years and in the midst of a numerus posterity. Wine-drinking, the 'Moria,' etc., are all the rule, and any one would be laughed at who were present. It is to be noted that, until the actual coffin is placed in the coffin, the candles used are of the usual red variety; white candles are not employed until all hope of revival has departed, and the body is already in the coffin. The head and feet of the corpse are
supported on specially-made pillows of yellow cotton, stuffed with paper waste, or, in country districts where cotton is manufactured, a reel on which all large rolls are wound instead. It is fastened at one side with tapes.

Notifying the relatives.—A swift messenger is dispatched to inform the relatives, who are expected to send gifts to the bereaved family. The presents consist of small quilts, about three feet long and a little more than a foot wide, which are carefully marked and reserved for placing in the coffin in due course; they are thus marked to ensure that these furnished by important members of the family shall have a first place.

12. Visits to the house of mourning.—Notice of the arrival of visitors is given by the gatesman, who beats three times on a drum; a trumpet is sounded and a hand-cannon discharged. The musicians then strike up, and the mourners are warned of the approach. The chief mourners kneel at the side of the spirit table; the stewards escort the visitor to the curtain, where he kneels four times and bows four times.

13. Coffins.—The style of the coffin varies throughout the empire. In some places it represents the trunk of a tree; in the north the lid projects considerably over the head. The quality is determined by the circumstances of the family. We often see quite large coffins placed beforehand and kept there stored either in an out-house or in a temple. Some buy the planks, keep them till seasoned, and then employ carpenters to make the coffin when required; whilst others buy the coffins in the coffin-shops of the Celestial Societies. At the end of the coffin a lotus flower is carved, expressing the hope that the deceased may become a Buddha and take his stand on a lotus, as Buddha is represented doing.

14. Preparation of coffins. The time for coffin-making in some places is at full tide, and preferably after dinner, so that the deceased may not be put hungry to his 'narrow bed'; but in others it must be before day-light in the morning, or in the dark of evening, or on a day bearing an odd number, 3, 5, 7, etc., for fear of another death taking place if an even day should be selected. The floor of the coffin is covered with a layer of fine sifted lime or charcoal; then five large squares of coarse paper, half a yard square, are sometimes manufactured of special material like charcoal, is placed, and upon the top of all a cotton mattress. The garments for the dead are specially made for the occasion, if the family can afford it, and are fashioned after the backs of two chairs and performed or aired, by means of a brazier, containing fragrant herbs, placed underneath. Furs and leather of any kind whatever are carefully excluded, lest the dead should be turned into an animal in his incarnation. The clothes are laid out on the inverted lid of the coffin, and the dead man is carefully placed in position for convenience of dressing; his arms are drawn through the sleeves; a long cord, which runs through the sleeves, is then fastened in a 'hukka' in the neck, and the clothes are carefully smoothed into position. The hands are placed crosswise over the lower part of the body, the left hand uppermost in the case of males, and the right in the case of females. A pair of cheap shoes are placed under his feet, and an official hat with a red tassel is put on his head. In upper-class families a winding sheet of deep red is used, sometimes of satin and elaborately embroidered, forming a sort of large bag like a sleeping-bag, in which all the parts of the head is enclosed. It is fastened at one side with tapes. A tattered containing paper money, a piece of silver, and the Taoist placard is put on his shoulder; and a piece of silver is placed under his tongue. A small pearl, called 'tranquilizing the heart pearl,' is placed on his breast; and, in the case of a woman, a small pearl is inserted in the toe of each shoe.

The corpse is now lifted and placed carefully in the coffin, the son supporting the head, the daughter-in-law the feet, with others assisting at the sides. It is important that it should rest exactly in the centre. Small bags of lime are then inserted to keep the head and feet in position; the pipe, fan, and handkerchief of the deceased are also inserted, and five small bags of different colours, containing nail-parings, old teeth which have fallen out from time to time, tea, and rice; a small casket containing a rosary, and the under-cap and 'riding-jacket' are also added; for the garments which the dead is at present wearing are his ceremonial clothes, required for his audience with the gods; these others will wear on his journey. Then each person present takes from his breast a small piece of silk, having their own coffin-cloth, or 'cotton,' and, rolling it up into a small ball, throws it into the coffin; the relatives are invited to take a last look, and care must be taken that no tears are allowed to drop in, lest the corpse should be found in tears of the Chancellors of the Chancellors of the respective Societies. Then the various coverlets are laid on in regular order, those presented by near relatives being given first place, and so on in order of precedence, until the coffin is quite full; whatever quilts are unused the mourners find a place for in the coffin, and then the coffin are burned. Before the lid is put on, all who are regarded as representing astral influences inimical to the deceased are requested to withdraw, and are allowed to return only when the lid has been put in place. The lid is smeared with crude varnish, to make it air-tight, or sometimes a cement made of rice, vinegar, and flour is used. Usually four large nails are employed to fasten the lid; but sometimes a sort of double wedge, fitting into a socket in the bottom, is used. An ordinary coffin is used instead. The nails are driven in by a senior, the sons and, in some cases, the daughters meanwhile crouching under the trestles on which the coffin rests, lest the eyes of the departed should start out at the handkerchief which is put on his face.

Preparation for removal.—When the lid is fixed in position, the mourners are allowed to plait their queues with hemp-cord, and wear coarse shoes instead of the straw sandals they have been wearing, and they are permitted to eat. Food is now placed at the side of the coffin, and the dead and his gauzer are invited to partake; the friends and relatives kneel to pay their last respects, and the chief mourner returns the compliment on behalf of the departed. Two pieces of paper money are burnt, one for the dead and the other for his guardian.

Meals served before the coffin.—The 'filial curtain,' made of white cotton and with a rope tied around it, is drawn partially back at both sides, with a table and chair placed at the opening, a white cover like an altar-cloth draping the table. Regular meals are served to the deceased on this table every day, and 'knot's' at the end, and when a meal is served, the server is expected to weep and cry. This continues until the funeral.

The fairy guides.—On each side of the chair are placed tall paper structures representing hills, one called the 'golden,' and one the 'silver' hill, intended to indicate the vast amounts which the fond
relatives have provided for the voyager, and behind these are tall figures of the 'Golden Youth' and the 'Jade Maiden,' bearing streamers to guide him across the Fairy Bridge. The portrait of the deceased is usually a long, thin, white face, supported on each side by scrolls bearing deified inscriptions, and with white candles placed in front. The chair is occupied by the ancestral tablet, mounted on an inverted table, and covered with red silk fastened with red cord. The wording of the tablet reads: 'Ch'ing (dynasty) of the Rank of such-and-such, Master so-and-so's Spirit Chief.'

18. Untying the knots.—The day before the funeral, Bonzes and Taoists have to conduct solemn ceremonies and transgressions committed during his life. In the afternoon a bowl containing rice, and a thread rope consisting of seven strands, on which are threaded and tied twenty-four copper coins, is presented to a Bonze, who places it on a table in front of the table already referred to, and, as he recites the virtues of Buddha in releasing souls from pain and trial, is substituted, on which a priest takes his seat.

The ceremony which has been performed is to conduct masses, called the 'Water Mass,' the object of which is to cleanse the departed of all sins and transgressions committed during his life. In the afternoon a bowl containing rice, and a thread rope consisting of seven strands, on which are threaded and tied twenty-four copper coins, is presented to a Bonze, who places it on a table in front of the table already referred to, and, as he recites the virtues of Buddha in releasing souls from pain and trial, is substituted, on which a priest takes his seat.

The journey is divided into seven periods of seven days, or 'weeks,' which correspond with the various stages of the spirit's wandering in the infernal regions. These stages are described in detail, with a variety of humorous illustrative and elaborating legends, and the moral of all the various stages is the importance of repentance for having spent one's days in vegetation and the repetition of Buddha's all-potent name, in order to avoid such horrors as have been related. When this long discourse is finished, a space is cleared in front of the spirit table, and a large square with ornamental borders is mapped out on the floor with chalk; twelve oil lamps, provided by the Taoist priests, are disposed round the side of the space, and the whole is illuminated with the light of the lamps.

19. The journey through the 'shades.'—A Taoist table is placed on the floor, with a large square with ornamental borders, and on it are placed the twelve oil lamps, which are to guide the departed on his journey to Hades. The journey is divided into seven periods of seven days, or 'weeks,' which correspond with the various stages of the spirit's wandering in the infernal regions. These stages are described in detail, with a variety of humorous illustrative and elaborating legends, and the moral of all the various stages is the importance of repentance for having spent one's days in vegetation and the repetition of Buddha's all-potent name, in order to avoid such horrors as have been related. When this long discourse is finished, a space is cleared in front of the spirit table, and a large square with ornamental borders is mapped out on the floor with chalk; twelve oil lamps, provided by the Taoist priests, are disposed round the side of the space, and the whole is illuminated with the light of the lamps.

20. Funeral frivolities.—A table is placed at which a Bonze and six Taoists sit, each performing an act on a different instrument. In the intervals they sing ribald or humorous songs, with the intention of exciting laughter. They also sing the 'Flower Song of the 12 Moons,' describing the different flowers which bloom in the different months, and other compositions which have apparently very little funereal reference.

21. Offerings to the spirits.—After supper the ceremony known as 'Fang Yen-kow' takes place. The spirit table and chair are removed; another chair, supported on four bamboo rods, is placed in the centre. Two tables, supporting two large candles and twenty-four bowls of vegetable food, are placed at a little distance in front, intended for the delectation of the various gods. Four other tables are disposed in a line, in the rear, intended for the sacrifice to the family ancestors; a small table a little lower down contains the offerings intended for the dead person; and the spirit table sits at this table in the chair as before, attended on each side by a mourner. Bowls of rice, which the priests have finished their reciting, a quantity of paper garments and money are burned outside the house.

22. Sacrifice to the dead.—The apartment is now re-arranged, and preparations for the sacrifice to the dead are made; musicians are requisitioned; large quantities of dry and bowls are laid out; lamps are hung all over the room, and the chief mourner appears behind the curtain, leaning upon the 'filial spirit,' supported on each side by straws bearing deified inscriptions, and with white candles placed in front. The chair is occupied by the ancestral tablet, mounted on an inverted table, and covered with red silk fastened with red cord. The wording of the tablet reads: 'Ch'ing (dynasty) of the Rank of such-and-such, Master so-and-so's Spirit Chief.'

23. The funeral procession.—In some places the funeral takes place in the fifth watch, i.e. between 4 and 5 in the morning, perhaps in the fifth week, or as late as one hundred days after death, sometimes even later, and in cases of poverty the coffin is left in the house, or put in a mortuary chamber for the time being. Every one is therefore, putting the coins one by one into his vest. This untwisting of knots is meant to illustrate the release from all tightness and difficulties in the next world.

24. The entombment.—When the place of burial is reached, the coffin is temporarily supported by a couple of blocks, whilst the exact location is being considered, with especial reference to orientation. In wealthy families, a stone receptacle is prepared beforehand, and the coffin laid very carefully in the exact centre. A meal is laid out, to which the descendents each send an offering of money, whilst the nearest relatives and friends present follow him in his ginnelaxes. When all is ready to conduct the funeral, the present is made, and the temporary fittings are removed, and preparations are made for the funeral.
25. Return of the ancestral tablet.—The procession returns in the same order as before, escorting the ancestral tablet to the house, with crying and burnings. On arrival at the house a great bonfire is made outside the door, and all who have attended the funeral are expected to step across it before gaining the threshold; no one is permitted to enter the house before the spirit of each person is spirited over each person by the Taoist priests. The son, in (lighter) mourning garments of blue, kneels and offers the viands prepared, and burns a quantity of paper money. He next climbs by a ladder to the ancestral shrine over the central partition; lights candles before each shrine, and then carries up the new tablet and places it in position. All present are invited to partake of the feast which follows. On the third day a visit is paid to the shrine, and offerings of food, etc., are presented. Those who are present join hands, forming a ring round the grave, and circle round in one direction three times and then reverse three times; this is with the idea of confining the spirit in his proper habitat.

26. The seven 'weeks.'—On the seventh day a number of Taoists are hired, seven in all, to 'open the road,' and a great variety of ceremonies take place, as the feast day-dawns in the evening. In the evening the hall is again arranged, with a table and chair, and a portrait of the deceased hanging behind the chair. Two cups of tea are put on the table, and two bowls of light food, together with a chair. The daughter-in-law weeps before the picture, as she 'invites' the spirit to partake of refreshment, and a quantity of paper money is also burned. At daylight, tea, etc., is laid as before. At breakfast-time, food of different kinds is offered and candles are lighted. The performance is repeated at noon, with this difference, that the viands are more elaborate. This takes place every 'week' until the seventh, the only exception being that in the fifth week a further meal is laid in the death chamber. In the fifth 'week,' Taoists are called to 'force the city,' or 'force the gate of hell.' A paper city with men, horses, etc., is set up, and, when night comes, a Taoist priest in full robes has been 'sent forth' to 'familiarize' the city with the dead, and liberates the imprisoned soul; afterwards a great bonfire is made in the open air, and three or four priests take their stand around it, holding long bamboo, to which are attached elaborate flags of different kinds. These are expected to provide a feast for the dead, and they are given a share in the divisions of the clothing which he has left. At the end of the seventh 'week' the chief mourner is allowed to shave his hair for the first time, but, if the coffin has not yet been removed, he is not permitted to do so until one hundred days have expired. The next year the mourners, wearing white garments, pay their first annual visit to the grave on the day known as 'clear bright,' and on this day the sounds of wailing may be heard in all directions. A further visit is sometimes paid in the ninth month; and at the winter solstice paper garments, representing warm winter clothes, are presented and burned.

27. The spirit's homecoming.—On the night appointed for the return of the spirit, a table of edibles is laid in the death chamber, which is then evacuated by the relatives. In the kitchen a quantity of lime is placed beneath and around the door, and the body is washed by the Taoist priest, a procession is formed, the priest leading, and all enter the chamber. The kitchen is then visited and the lime examined, the traces of the spirit's presence being discovered by the marks, as of the feet of a horse, upon it. A white cock is caught and carried in one hand in front of a basket, and, as the lid is struck by a measure held in the other hand, the cock crows; he is then escorted outside, and paper money burnt. This represents the sending off of the spirit's escort. A white cock is said to be a protection against baneful astral influences, and to be the only capable guide of transient spirits.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Coptic).—When the decaying religion of ancient Egypt gradually gave place before the advance of Christianity, many of the beliefs, and much of the symbolism that had been so dear to the Egyptians for over three thousand years, survived the change of religion for some considerable time, and, as was to be expected from a people by whom burial rites had been magnified into a great and complicated mystical system, the old customs were given up only gradually and reluctantly. To the Egyptians, Christianity presented itself in a somewhat different light from that in which it appeared to the other civilizations of the ancient world. From the dawn of history there was a belief in the continuation of life after death, in a future existence that was well defined; and in order to secure this existence for the soul of man they had elaborated countless magical rites which were performed at the burial ceremonies of the deceased. The Egyptians believed in a god who had once lived an earthly life, who had been slain by the power of Evil, and who by certain magical ceremonies had come to life again, and ruled as King of the under world. It was thus that in Osiris his hope of living again, and with him they considered the dead identified. The Christian belief in a resurrection was therefore not, in certain aspects, a new one to them, and the doctrine that the dead in Christ shall live in Christ was strangely familiar to all who had been reared in the Osirian creed. Thus it is not strange that, when Christianity began to be accepted in Egypt, the early believers continued to practise the ancient funeral rites, only slightly modified to meet the requirements of the new religion.

The chief concern of the pagan Egyptians had been the preservation of the bodies of the dead by embalming, so that the spirit of the deceased might pass to and fro between the kingdom of Osiris and that of the departed, and the early Christians of Egypt saw no reason to alter the custom of their forefathers, more especially since the Christian and pagan doctrines of the resurrection had so much in common. Mummification of the dead, therefore, continued to be practised by the Christians until the beginning of the 5th cent., and only died out after that owing to the general opposition of the Church.1 Mummies of anchorites and holy men and women have been found in various parts of Egypt, one of the most notable cemeteries containing Christian dead being the recently excavated burying-ground at Antinoe. The bodies are usually well preserved, the head being sometimes adorned with a garland. In the case of the men, the beard was allowed to grow, contrary to the ancient usage, and when the face is thin or emaciated it represents very much the type of the Good Shepherd as depicted in later iconography, but unlike the ephoric figures in the catacombs, which are sometimes painted in half length in langadiges, usually intercrossed, and sometimes

1 Anthony, the founder of Christian asceticism, had so great a dislike to it that he desired to be buried secretly, in order that his body might not be subject to the curse of the dead. It was probably his opposition that led to the suppression of the practice.

2 Goyet, AM 66 x.
the face was covered with a painted plaster mask, as was the pagan custom of the time. In the case of a non-Christian, the bones, if not wrapped in cloth at Deir el-Bahari, the outer wrapping was painted to represent the deceased holding the Eucharistic cup in his hand. On his left shoulder was the symbol of Christianity, which was much adopted in early Christian times, and which the lower part of his robe bore a representation of the boat of Isis.

But it was not only the belief in the efficacy of embalming that survived the change brought about by Christianity, for many of the other old funeral customs lingered on, and it is difficult to decide how far their import was understood by the Christians. There is some evidence to show that offerings of food continued to be made to the dead. In the Christian cemetery in the oasis of el-Kharga, the tombs followed the ancient design, the body being laid at the end of a long shaft, at the opening of which is a chamber containing niches for offerings. Wine-jars and baskets for food were sometimes buried with the dead, and in a will made by a Christian at Antinoe the deceased requested that the holy offerings may be made for the reposes of his soul. This, however, may refer to nepos, or a kind of mass said for the dead. It is interesting to note that at the Synod held at Hippo in A.D. 393, at which Augustine was present, the habit of placing the host in the mouth of the dead, which had become general amongst Oriental Christians, was strongly condemned. It was apparently also the custom to enclose some of the holy elements in the coffin. This and other pagan usages seem to have continued. As the dead were formerly buried with amulets and little figures of protecting gods, so the pious Christian was buried with figures of St. George and the Evangelists. In one case, at least, at Antinoe, in a tomb of ivory praying-machine, a kind of primitive rosary, appears to take the place of the papyrius inscribed with prayers and magical formulae. There was also found in the hands of this body, a flower of Jericho similar to the mystic rose which was supposed to be the emblem of immortality, and to flourish every year on the day Christ was born. This was not considered to have been employed by the Crusaders, who were buried in the cemetery of Antinoe points to its use in very early times. It is interesting also to note that the body of a monk named Serapion, from the same sarcophagus, was encircled by an iron band from which hung in cases the paupers of Antinoe, whose bodies were painted on the outer coverings of the body, the ancient sign for life, the ankhs. This symbol is very frequent in Egyptian iconography, and was often employed where the cross would have been expected. Its use was so persistent that it afterwards became identified with the cross, and was known as the croux anastate. See art. Cross.

As the influence of the Bishop of Alexandria increased over the remoter parts of Egypt, many customs which appeared semi-pagan died out, and the funeral rites were performed more in accordance with orthodoxy. After the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), when the Coptic Church was definitely separated from the orthodox body, there could be but few remaining. From descriptions in the Coptic writings, it would appear that the dead, wrapped in a winding sheet, were immediately thrown into the desert and buried. Persons of peculiar sanctity it was the custom to bury in a reliquary. The Coptic Life of Shmole states that he was buried in a reliquary pierced with holes, probably in order that pilgrims might have the benefit of gazing on the holy remains. As these relics are usually described as bones, it is evident that embalming had by then been abandoned. A Mass, or offering of the Eucharist, was sometimes performed before the funeral, but Masses for the repose of the dead in the Roman sense seem to have been unknown in the Coptic Church. The use of tomstones at this period was almost universal. There is usually contained the words: 'One God who helpeth,' and the date on which the deceased 'fell asleep' or 'entered into rest.' Occasionally they contain pious ejaculations and quotations from Scripture, or offerings which are conceived in a more pagan spirit, with such phrases as 'Grieve not, no one is immortal,' an especially good instance of this being a tombstone in the British Museum (no. 400) which runs: 'O how dreadful is this separation! O how far the departure to the strange land which removes one for all time! O condition of Hades, how do we come to thy gate! O Death, name bitter in the mouth! . . . Let all who love to weep for their dead come to this place and mourn greatly.' This recalls the ancient Egyptian funeral prayer to the passer-by: 'O ye who love life and hate death . . . pray for the deceased.'

The Copts have undergone centuries of oppression under Moslem rule, but they still observe these rites, and the following is a description of what has survived them on all sides for so long a period, the funeral rites of the Copts to-day have become very similar to those of their Muhammadan fellow-countrymen. The corpse is borne to the cemetery on an open goat. At first of ivory, to women of the house wailing and mourning. At the burial-ground a sheep is often killed by the more well-to-do, and its flesh given to the poor; the poorer give bread alone. Professional mourning women are hired to wail in the house for three days after death—a survival, perhaps, of the ancient Egyptian custom, or possibly only a ceremony borrowed from the Muslims. The laments are renewed on the seventh and fourteenth days after death. Some of the Copts sometimes for the eye of the festivals of al-Malad, al-Chites, and al-Kiyanak (i.e. the Nativity, the Baptism of Christ, and Easter), it is the custom of the Copts to visit the cemeteries and spend the night there, many of the richer having hovels under the tomstones for these occasions. The women spend the night in the upper rooms, the men below. Next day an ox or sheep is killed, and the flesh distributed among the poor. Lane (Modern Egyptians, p. 296) states that the Copts say that these visits to the tombs are merely for the sake of religious refection. This custom, however, together with the practice of slaughtering animals for food, possibly goes back to pre-Christian times in Egypt, when the relatives of the dead made periodic journeys to the tombs, and brought food-offerings for the kai of the deceased to refresh him in the under world. The funeral services of the Copts are according to the liturgy of theMor. Mon. One in use for ordinary periods of the year, and a special one is employed during Easter (Tuki, Edit. Copt. Archiv. p. 525).


P. B. Scott-Moncrieff.
DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Early Christian).

1. During the earlier years the Christians followed in general the burial customs of the Jews. But a livelier hope in the resurrection robbed death and the grave of many of their terrors. This gradually modified inherited funeral rites. To the followers of Jesus death was a sleep, and the grave a resting-place (εὐανεύεσθαι) for those who had died in the faith (Jn 11:25, Ac 7:8, 1 Th 4:13, 1 Co 15:51f). Not less but more respect was accordingly paid to the mortal remains of the departed, for their body had been 'Temples of the Holy Ghost,' and were to rise and be glorified (1 Co 3:16, 6:19, 15:23). When death ensued, the eyes were closed, the body washed, the limbs swathed, the whole body wrapped in a linen sheet with myrrh and aloes, and laid upon a stone or brick room (Ac 9:2; cf. Mk 15:10, 11, Jn 11:19f, 20). These acts were performed by the elder women—kindred and friends of the family. Relatives and intimates were admitted to view the face of the deceased for an interval of eight or more hours was required before burial. The younger men carried the bier to the place of interment, followed by the relatives and friends (Ac 5:34; cf. Lk 7:13). flute-players, hired mourners, and noisy demons-saters, were not altogether unknown. The funeral was followed (Mt 9:8, Lk 8:40, Ac 8:1, Co 15:39f). The place of burial was outside the city or village, in a natural cave, or in a tomb cut out of the rocky hill-side, or in a subterranean chamber, or simple grave. Later, when Christianity became State-religion, the burial-place was determined by the tradition in the Gospel of John of the tomb of Lazarus and of that of Jesus will hold for the early Christian Palestinian place and form of burial (Jn 11:11, 12). In the earlier forms of Christian interment there was a noticeable influence of the burial customs of the Jews. In fact, the formal character of Jesus' entombment influenced all subsequent Christian practice (1 Co 15:52f). Tombs were, as a rule, private family possessions (Mt 27:60f), and were large enough to receive several bodies, which were laid upon the ledges or in the niches cut in the sides. The brotherhood, however, from the beginning undoubtedly provided for the burial of its own poor (Ac 2:45f; Acts of the Apostles, Συγκρότημα. Ταυτόσενδα, Ταξινομία των Συνεργών του Αγίου Σπυρίδωνος). A large slab stone, rolling in a rabbet, closed the door of the hill-side sepulchre, and prevented beasts and robbers (Mc 16:13). It is altogether probable that the Jewish Christians whitewashed their tombs, as did their compatriots (Mt 23:27). In Rome and in general, the sepulchres consisted of three chambers: in Egypt and North Africa, the Jews had already adapted the Palestinian form of interment to local conditions, and the early Christians modified this still further to meet their own peculiar requirements. Of course they borrowed this and that local practice from the current pagan usage. The wide-spread development of 'cataphracts' (q.v.), places of Christian burial was but a re-adaptation of Jewish and pagan burial customs. Simplicity and even plainness more marked and characterized the later forms of Christian entombment in all lands, partly on account of the poverty of the brotherhood, and also because of the hope of a speedy resurrection. A brief inscription expressing the hope of immortality (εἰπέ ὅτι ζωή εἰσιν ἐν πάση καὶ πᾶσα ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἑστήκεται μετὰ πάσης πολλῆς χρόνου τετελεσμένος), accompanied by a consacred symbol (a palm-branch or anchor, fish or dove), was the final tribute to those who had died 'in the Lord' (Bingham, Antig. of Chr. Church, ed. 1870, bk. xxii.; Jahn, Ath. Ort. Quart. Rev., 1891, xlvi. 501 f; Kneussel, Rossello, d. chr. Arch., 1905, pp. 74 f., 111 f., 295 f., 277 f.; art. 'Koiμητεριον,' in PEPX.).

2. But changing conditions produced manifold developments. The wide-spread and increasing acceptance of Early Christian doctrine in the earlier decades must often have suggested, if it did not compel, separate burial arrangements. And the rapid increase of the Gentile element in the various churches throughout the Empire naturally tended strongly in the same direction. The Jewish cemeteries, indeed, would hardly have been open for the interment of deceased Christians with pronounced pagan antecedents. Our sources, it is true, are practically silent as to the practice of this development, but it is safe to say that separation between Jews and Christians as regards ceremonial requirements had taken place before the close of the first century, especially in prevailingly Gentile Christian communities. A further formal separation must have been going on as between pagans and Christians. Hostility between them became marked towards the close of the 1st century (Ac 8th, 15th), 1 Co 7:39, 2 Co 6:6, Col 2, 1 Jn 2:5, 5 Rev. 16:19, 18:5, and martyrdom was not uncommon ( Clem. Rom. ad Cor. 5:7; Tac. Ann. xx. 44; Suetonius, Nerva, 16; Melito ap. Euseb. HS IV. 26, i. 17; Philo, Ap. ad Tramp. x. 69, 96; Ign. Ep. ad Rom. 5, ad Phil. x. 2; Polye. ad Phil. 1). The Church would naturally wish to secure the sanctity of the graves of their martyred dead, but in order to do so they had to provide separate cemeteries. That this began to be done in Rome by the opening of the Severan Catacombs 1864-77, i. 341 f., iii. 386 f. ; Bull. 1855, p. 236 f., 1886, p. 136; Nov. Bull. 1901, p. 71 f., 1902, p. 217 f.; Bosio, Roma Sott. 1650, p. 141 f.; Arnellini, Oli Antiche Civilt., 1893; V. Schlüter, Kato Kolonies, 1883, p. 307; Kaufmann, l.c. 111 ff. But that it did not come to pass throughout the Empire is abundantly proved (Ramsay, Cities and Bishops of Thrace, 1897, i. 500 ff.; 717 f.). Influences other than hostility would often operate to hasten the formation of separate Christian cemeteries. In some lands, such as Syria and Asia Minor, it took even centuries to accomplish the separation of Christians on the one hand, and Jews and pagans on the other, as regards burial accommodation (Ramsay, l.c.).

3. The earliest distinctly Christian cemeteries of which we have any knowledge are to be found in the neighbourhood of Rome. The Neronian persecution, probably by that of Augustus, was doubtless constrained the Christian brotherhood to provide separate resting-places for their honoured heroes who had 'fallen asleep.' And, as martyrs to the faith multiplied, such cemeteries became necessary. But it is possible that the earliest Christian catacombs were ore places of public meditation and devotions. In certain communities this often necessitated chapels, where the brethren could gather without imminent danger of molestation. Then funeral rites and ceremonies were developed in the general development, and these in turn reacted powerfully upon the whole manner and mode of burial. The entire catacomb development at Rome, Naples, Syracuse, Alexandria, Trèves, and elsewhere, was not adequately explained only on such presuppositions. Instead of family tombs and brief temporary resting-places for the dead, the Church, especially in the West, gradually made provision for the burial of all its deceased members (by A.D. 250). There accordingly arose, in the suburbs of every considerable Occidental city, Christian burying-grounds. And, where the remains of noted martyrs were laid, chapels were erected, and the brethren gathered to observe the Holy Eucharist and to hold their devotions. One of these catacombs had gone before. The chapel was named after the martyr; often the title was given to the whole cemetery; more frequently the cemetery bore the name of the patron who had provided the ground; occasionally the site of a martyr was sanctified by consecrating it. Instances of each are the cemetery of the martyr Praxedas, of the patron Priscilla, and
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of the bishop Caixtus—all in the neighbourhood of Rome. In the Orient, developments were different. Palestine is rich in rock-tombs, and so is the whole of Syria. In Egypt also, the catacomb or underground tomb has largely superseded the open grave. In the northern parts of Asia Minor there is a type of burial-ground that has left but little trace, and has been but dimly known, viz., the hypogeum or subterranean chamber-like sepulchres of the Carpi, the inhabitants of a tribe living in the Danubian territory. In the western parts of Asia Minor, the CELTS—through their connexion with Rome—had introduced the practise of burying their dead in tombs (fossores =xoxas). In the western provinces, where the CELTS—through their connexion with Rome—had introduced the practise of burying their dead in tombs (fossores =xoxas),

The Christians did not fear cremation, though they preferred 'the ancient and better cemeterial rites of the early Church, and the worship of the dead. The ante-Nicene development of burial customs is, however, quite amply reflected also in the current development (Euseb. Hist. v. 2; August. de Civ. cael. ii. 1. 2. 13). Simplex prevailed throughout the 2nd cent. (Min. Felix, oct. xii. and xiii.), but by the opening of the 4th cent., everything had become elaborated. Associations had been formed in the West to hold the obsequies of the deceased and sold in the cemeteries; gravelpaders (passores = xoxas) had become a separate class, and there were artists, stonecutters, painters, sculptors, and architects. The anniversary festival had been extended so that the third, seventh, and thirtieth and fourthtieth days after burial were celebrated (Apost. Const. viii. 41 and 42). Prayers were made at the tomb, psalms sung, and the Eucharist celebrated as fellowshiping with the dead; lighted tapers were placed at the grave; personal ornaments,
toilet articles, bottles, vases, etc., were interred with the corpse (Synod of Elvira, can. 34; of Laodica, can. 9; of Gaugra, can. 29; Euseb. HE vii. 16, Vit. vir. xxviii. 5; Iren. lib. viii. 4; Eus. HE ii. 11, 36). These were few ancient

4. With the recognition of Christianity by Constantine a new era opened. Recent martyrs and those who had multiplied the number of Christian churches were beginning to be commemorated by the laying of their bodies with more or less elaborate ceremonial. In this all there is little that was distinctly Christian (Ramsay, op. cit. 1. 500 f.; 717 f.). But in the West the pre-Constantinian development may be traced on the hill-side, with or without buildings erected beside them; the Jewish or pagan type of family tomb, the Christian churches soon provided cemeteries for all their dead (Aristides, xv. 8, 11; Tert. Apol. xxxix.),

The most common form of these was that which was later known as 'catacomb'. The same is also true of the development of the liturgical and sacerdotal rites in the early Church, and the worship of the dead. As often as the anniversary comes round, we make offerings for the dead (cf. Tertullian, De Res. Car. xxii.; Orig. c. Cels. v. 23, vii. 30; Lactantius, Div. Inst. vi. 12; Euseb. HE ii. 2; Augustine, De Civ. cael. i. 12, 13). Simplicity prevailed throughout the 2nd cent. (Min. Felix, oct. xii. and xiii.), but by the opening of the 4th cent., everything had become elaborated. Associations had been formed in the West to hold the obsequies of the deceased and sold in the cemeteries; gravelpaders (passores = xoxas) had become a separate class, and there were artists, stonecutters, painters, sculptors, and architects. The anniversary festival had been extended so that the third, seventh, and thirtieth and fourthtieth days after burial were celebrated (Apost. Const. viii. 41 and 42). Prayers were made at the tomb, psalms sung, and the Eucharist celebrated as fellowshiping with the dead; lighted tapers were placed at the grave; personal ornaments,
DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Egyptian)

August, Conf. ix. 12; Jerome, Epp. lxi, etc. The annual commemoration is always observed in Egypt for elaborate discourses on their virtues. And their tombs now became the resort of pilgrims from far and near. The relics of martyrs and saints were frequently disinterred and sent to important churches in the land or to shrines in which they were erected and services held. The Synod of Gangra (c. 358 A.D.) declares: 'If any one shall, from a presumptuous disposition, condemn and abhor the assemblies (in honour) of martyrs, or the sacred places consecrated to the celebration of their memorials, let him be anathema' (can. 29). Yet the Synod of Laodicea (before A.D. 381) announced that 'members of the Church shall not be allowed to frequent cemeteries or so-called martyries of heretics for prayer or worship.' Many councils in Spain, France, and Germany during the 6th cent. tried to stop burials in martyrdom and churches. Pelagius ii. (A.D. 578) protested against the growing custom, but with slight effect. Burial in churches or in porches, vestries, and cloisters, soon became universal. Gregory the Great (c. 600 A.D.) complains about exactions of cemetery officials as a price of burial, but says: 'If parents or others wish to offer anything for lights, we shall not hinder (ib. in Ep. iii.), Jerome and Chrysostom had spoken approvingly of giving alms at funerals, for the relief of the souls of the dead.

6. A summary of the theme in hand may be given in the following heads. (1) The simple funeral rites and burial customs of the early days gradually gave way to more and more elaborate ceremonies and practices. (2) These developments were different in different lands, but they all tended in the same general direction. (3) Two universal influences at work to produce these manifold changes: one arising out of the persistent faith and life of the Church, the other pressing in from the universal pagan environment. (4) Funeral rites were extended so as to include the elaborate ceremonials which have been described above, most of which were drawn more or less unconsciously from the surrounding pagan practices, although the Christians never lost the primitive faith in the raising back to life during the burial ceremonies. (5) The manner and forms of entombment were also steadily influenced by the various pagan practices, and yet to the Christians the grave remained the 'sleeping-place' for those who were to arise to 'newness of life.'


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DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Egyptian).—Of no other country in the world have the burial customs always attracted so much attention as have those of ancient Egypt. The artificial preservation of the body, the elaborate care with which it was provided with covering and ornament, the monumental nature of the tombs which were built or excavated to contain it, struck the earliest foreign observers with astonishment, and are still the theme of wonder and admiration in our own day. Moreover, a tomb is not only a place in which nothing is destroyed by the disintegrating action of the atmosphere or the attacks of burelli, but has helped the artificial aids of mumification and carefully-sealed burial to preserve the human body and its appendages intact just as they were placed in the tomb. Even if removed from its wrappings, it is but rarely that a mummy is allowed an opportunity for elaborate discourses on their virtues. And their tombs now became the resort of pilgrims from far and near. The relics of martyrs and saints were frequently disinterred and sent to important churches in the land or to shrines in which they were erected and services held. The Synod of Gangra (c. 358 A.D.) declares: 'If any one shall, from a presumptuous disposition, condemn and abhor the assemblies (in honour) of martyrs, or the sacred places consecrated to the celebration of their memorials, let him be anathema' (can. 29). Yet the Synod of Laodicea (before A.D. 381) announced that 'members of the Church shall not be allowed to frequent cemeteries or so-called martyries of heretics for prayer or worship.' Many councils in Spain, France, and Germany during the 6th cent. tried to stop burials in martyrdom and churches. Pelagius ii. (A.D. 578) protested against the growing custom, but with slight effect. Burial in churches or in porches, vestries, and cloisters, soon became universal. Gregory the Great (c. 600 A.D.) complains about exactions of cemetery officials as a price of burial, but says: 'If parents or others wish to offer anything for lights, we shall not hinder (ib. in Ep. iii.)'. Jerome and Chrysostom had spoken approvingly of giving alms at funerals, for the relief of the souls of the dead.

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before the burial; as we find it now, we see the wheat which grew up and withered in the darkness. The two different ways of regarding the sahu probably arose from two different ideas of the dead. It is possible that it was a mere dead thing, not different from a dead fish—the khet of a man like the khet of a fish—and was expressed in the hieroglyphic writing by the figure of a dead fish. But in another it was a fact, and wonderful things the heart, and the name, ever regarded with awe by primitive races. So the sahu is represented as the human mummy lying on its bier. The two ideas were combined in later times by regarding the sahu as a spiritual body (which - of course one thought one prayed to the gods to allow the ba to re-enter the saka and re-vivify it, so that it could feed upon the offerings which its descendants brought to it. It was probably out of this idea that the conception of a spiritual posthumous spirit or of the actual man grew. The real origin of mumification is to be found in a simple desire to preserve the dead man to his family. In the dry soil of Egypt bodies were found by experience not to decay, and they were buried in shallow graves, and the simple expedient of smoking or scorching was no doubt resorted to in order to stave off putrefaction ever more. How far smoking is responsible for the crouched and dried up appearance of the the Egyptian bodies is very doubtful. Real mumification was not known to the oldest Egyptians, but that it was introduced before the close of the Neolithic period is shown by the hieratic use, even in the very latest time, of a Flail knife in order to make the incision through which the entrails were removed. Herodotus records for us this use of 'an Ethiopian stone' (see below). The ancient and holy stone knife alone could be used for this act; the newfangled mumification desired by the Egyptians to preserve the dead as long as possible to those on earth who love life and hate death,' in the words of the Egyptian funeral-prayer, we may find a proof in the custom of keeping the mummy alone in a special corpse, in its own home, before it was finally committed to the tomb (see below, p. 462).

Wiedemann regards this custom, which we shall discuss further later on, as a survival of what he calls 'secondary' interment. In the most ancient days he considers that the primitive Egyptians buried the body first in ground near or under the house till it had partially decayed, and then transferred it to its final resting-place in the desert necropolis. In this way he explains, too, the fact of the disturbed condition of the bones in most of the Neolithic graves, which Flinders Petrie explains as due to a ceremonial cannibalism. Wiedemann thinks that the body was intentionally cut up after putrefaction had set in during the first burial in order to clean the bones before the second interment. He finds confirmation of this view in many texts of the Book of the Dead, in which the cutting off of the limbs of the dead is referred to, and in which decrees of the dead are restored to him, and that he may be whole. There is also the legend of the cutting up of the body of Osiris. That these passages are rightly interpreted as referring to a primitive custom of cutting up the body is possible. At Delphi, Flinders Petrie found a document (deposited in the British Museum) in which he could read with his body, safe from the prowling jackal or hyena, and with his precious amulets and funeral furniture, often made of precious materials, guarded from the impious hands of human robbers. For in Egypt,

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as elsewhere, lust of gold drove men to theft; and even in Egypt, the most pious of lands, many could at all times be found to murder, to murder the very gods, priests, and the outraged dead themselves to obtain riches. Many tombs were violated within a century of the burial of their owners, in spite of all the precautions taken in order to hide them. That of Thothmes iv, was already violated during the troubles of the reign of the heretic Ikhnaten, and the royal burial was "restored" in the reign of Horemheb. The knowledge shown of the precise position of the carefully-hidden tombs makes it evident that the thieves, who came from among the ranks of the priests and guardians of the necropolises themselves; and in the reign of Rameses IX, the scandal had become so great that a royal inquisition into the robberies of tombs was held, which resulted in the conviction and punishment of many offenders. But tomb-robbery went on gaily; the prizes were worth having; and fifty years later all the royal mummies at Thebes had to be taken out of their original tombs and hidden in remote hiding-places, where they remained till discovered in our own time, and placed in the Museum of Cairo. The primitive Egyptian, however, had no fear of tomb-robbers, or of any disturbance beyond that of a storm-flood which might wash out the tombs; but his home was bare to the winds, or of the prowling jackal. This last was a very real danger, and a naive way of forestalling it was devised by regarding the magie-working beast who lived among the tombs as their protector and watchman, and asking him to take care of the resting-places of the dead and to allow the offerings of the living to remain in peace, and himself to give funerary offerings of the very best ('a kingly offering'), of the proper kind and quality. As the king was the patron and guardian of the souls, and the soul was supposed by some to live very much as the man who had lived on earth: there were rivers and lakes to be navigated and fields to be tilled there, and the dead might be called upon to do work as he had done well and good upon earth. Rest was the guardian of a man who had lived a laborious life, so that with the dead were buried boxes full of little Osiris figures called ukhabtis, or 'answerers,' because, as the sixth chapter of the 'Book of the Dead' inscribed upon many of them said, 'If one calleth Osiris at any time to do any works which are to be done there in the underworld, to plough the fields, to fill the canals with water, to carry sand from east to west, or what service ye will in the place of the dead; they shall answer for the dead man. There is little doubt that these ukhabtis were the descendants of very real 'answerers' in the shape of dead slaves, who in very ancient times were strangled and buried with their lords in order to serve them in the other world as they had done in this. Growing humanity and culture substituted wooden and stone slaves for real ones; but it may be that the custom of giving real 'answerers' was continued in the case of the kings till quite a late date. It may even be that the dead bodies found lying by the wooden boat in the tomb of Amenhetep ii. (1450 B.C.) were murdered slaves. In the earlier days of Mentu- hetep ii. (2300 B.C.) priests or Horthy, who seemed to have been killed and buried in the precincts of his tomb-tule at Deir el-Bahari in order to accompany him to the next world. And naturally enough we find the bodies of slaves in the tombs of the 1st dynasty kings at Abydos.

Although in later times the Egyptians were certainly more humane than either the Greeks or the Assyrians, it would be a mistake to suppose that they had always been so. In earlier days they had been very cruel to all semi-civilized races, more or less children, and a child has no idea of the sanctity of life. Certainly the Egyptians had originally no conception of the sanctity of human life as distinct from other life. The slaves followed their masters

1 Some have merely the inscription ' Illuminate the Osiris N N.'
to the tomb as the food did, or the caskets, or the jewellery.

In the tombs, if they are tombs, of the kings of the 6th and 7th Dynasties, the riper, as the Egyptians called it, before they were embalmed, was called the balbalot of the journey to the next world. There were stacks of great vases of wine, corn, and other food, covered up with masses of fat to preserve the contents, and corked with a pottery stopper, which was protected by a conical clay coating, stamped with the impress of the royal cylinder-seal. There were bins of corn, joints of oxen, pottery dishes, copper pans, and other things which might be useful for the ghostly cuisine of the dead. All these were brought along with the body of the deceased; no doubt, by the dead monarch during life, which he would be pleased to see again in the next world—a carved ivory box, little slabs for grinding eye-paint, golden buttons, model tools, model vases with tops, ivory and pottery figurines, and other objets d'art, the golden royal seal of judgement of the king Den in its ivory casket, and so forth. There were memorials of the royal victories in peace and war, little ivory plaques with inscriptions commemorating the founding of certain buildings, like institution of new religious festivals in honour of the gods, the bringing of the captives of the royal bow and spear to the palace, and the discomfiture of the peoples of the North and South. All these things, which have already been so much to illustrate for us in the history of the earliest period of the Egyptian monarchy, were placed under the care of the dead slaves whose bodies were buried round the tomb-chamber or their royal master at Abydos.

Passing over a space of two hundred years, we see the burial of Iuau and Tuyu, father and mother of Queen Ti, the consort of Amenophis III., at Thebes. Here we have the same balbalot for the king's body, much smaller, and it is roofed over with curved chairs and beds, boxes for wigs and garments, and even a chariot, besides all the regular appurtenances of the dead as now prescribed by religion. But the place of the dead slaves is taken by the stone and wooden ushabtis. All this funerary furniture and circumstance grew up from the simple burial of the Neolithic Egyptian with his mat, his pots, and his flints. What kind of religious services were celebrated at the grave in the earliest period we do not know; but we may suppose that they contained the germs of the later ritual as it was carried out in Pharaonic times. The descriptions given by Herodotus and Diodorus of the different processes of mummification and the funeral ceremonies are with very few exceptions of which they describe; and their descriptions, with exceptions in the case of Diodorus, tally entirely with what we know from the monuments and inscriptions.

The account of Herodotus (ii. 55) is as follows:

When in a house a man of any importance dies, all the women in that house besmear their heads and faces with mud, and then, leaving the body in the house, they wander about the city, and best themselves, with their clothes girt up and their breasts exposed, and all their relations accompany them. And on their part they themselves girt up the body in like manner. After they have done this, they carry out the body to be embalmed. There are those who are appointed for this purpose and practise this art: these, when the body has been brought to them, show to the bearers wooden models of dead men, and then quit the house (they show) the finest style of embalming, which they say is His [i.e. Osiris] whose name I do not think it right to mention in connexion with this matter. And they show the second style, which is inferior and cheaper; and the third, which is cheapest. Having explained how they learn from this the way to prepare the body to be embalmed, then the relations, whom they have previously agreed to the proposal, depart; and the embalmers remaining in the house, they make incisions in the best manner. First they draw out the brain through the nostrils, using a mixture of resin, myrrh, vinegar, and various other things; then they wash the body, and supposing that the stomach is already empty from all the liquid, they next sprinkle it with pounded incense. Then, having filled the belly with pure myrrh pounded, and cassia, and other perfumes, with the exception of frankincense, they sew it up again; and, when they have done this, they gird it in, as if it were a living body, and wrap the whole body in bandages of flax cloth, smearing it with gum, which the Egyptians ordinarily use instead of glue. Then the relations, having taken the heads, which were in a wooden case in the shape of a man, and, when it is made, they enclose the body in it; and then, having fastened it up, they store it in a sepulchral chamber, setting it in a niche in the wall. Then they embalm bodies in the finest manner.

Those who went to the second method, in order to avoid great expense, they prepare in the following way: when they have charged their syringes with oil made from cedar, they fill the abdomen of the body with this oil without any difficulty; and then they take out the bowels, injecting it at the fundament; and, having prevented the body from moving, and then placed it in the body in matron for the prescribed number of days, and on the last day they let out from the abdomen the oil of cedar which they had before injected; and it has such a strong effect away the intestines and vitals in a state of dissolution, while the mummy dissolves the flesh, and nothing of the body is left but the bones. Was, like his contemporaries, the body without any further operation.

The third method of embalming is this, which is used only for the poorer people: having thoroughly rinsed the abdomen with a purge (expulsion), they pickle it in matron for seventy days, and then deliver it to be carried away.

Diodorus gives much the same account; he adds that the first method cost one talent of silver (about £150), the second twenty minae (about £30), the third nothing. He gives us a curious account about the morning, saying that during the interval between the death and the burial the relatives abstained from the baths and from wine, ate the simplest food, and wore no fine clothes; and also with regard to the embalming, he adds the picturesque detail of the stoning and flight of the paraschistes, which is of considerable religious interest.

He says (i. 99) that, after the "scribe" had made the mark on the body indicating the place where the head should be made by the paraschistes, or "ripper," the latter performed his duty with the "Egyptian stone" (like our stone ax), and then, immediately fled away, pursued by a valley of stones and imprecations from the other embalmers, for the Egyptians held in abomination anyone who was accused of having committed any act of violence on the human body. We can see that this reason was not quite the correct one. The ceremonial stoning and fleeing away of the paraschistes was, in order to put the soul to flight, to make it desist from all thoughts of vengeance against the rest of the living which it so much feared. There is little doubt that this is rather a misunderstanding than an exaggeration: the most Egyptian chambers can hardly be other than the real tombs, in which the Egyptians could always, if they were disposed, see the sarcophagi which contained the bodies of their ancestors. In all probability the tombs of private persons were entirely covered up and hidden away, as those of the kings were, for many years after their deaths.

We have one instance in the tomb of Ashmunein, son of Alan, the admiral of king Amenehe in the war against the Hyksos, at el-Kab. In it we see a portrait of his grandson, the well-known Paheri, and an inscription which says: 'Lo! here is the son of his daughter, the director of the works of this tomb as mayor, to live the name and his father's name, the scribe of the reckonings of Amen, Paheri, deceased.' From this we know that he embellished his grandfather's tomb as well as constructed it. There is no information about him could be inserted on the walls of the earlier tomb after his death even, which shows that at least the hall of offerings in a tomb usually remained accessible to the relatives for generations after his death. Thus, indeed,
may the Egyptians well have felt satisfaction in seeing the coffins which contained their dead, and have regarded the dead, to a certain extent, as contemporaries, as Diodorus says they did, though we know that they never looked upon the actual bodies of their dead as the dead to think. Yet that the dead were actually kept in the houses for some time before their burial seems certain, and Lucian gives his personal testimony to the fact: ταρκήνους δὲ οἱ Αιγύπτιοι μόνον μένει—λέγει δ’ ὁ Λυκίανος τὸν ἀρνητήτον καὶ φαντάσματον εὐθυγ-

...nary, and we cannot doubt that Diodorus’ account is due to a misunderstanding. The ‘storehouse’ in which Herodotus says the body was kept (θηρίζωροι ὁδὲ οἰκονύμοι) may either be a place for the temporary storage of the mummy, or the actual tomb. The detail as to the position of the coffin might seem to point to the former alternative, as the proper thing for the corpse was to be placed on the ground; but in later times it would seem that the coffin was often actually placed on end in the tomb, probably to economize space. Diodorus gives the same detail about placing the coffin on end, but says that this was done in a chamber which those who had not private tombs built on to their houses, in order to contain the mummy. Now it seems very probable that something of this sort was done by poorer Egyptians. Children are often found buried under floors of the ancient houses, and during his recent examinations among the brick ruins of the ancient Thebes burnt by the generals of Easraddhon in 668 B.C., Legrain found a burial chamber containing a mummy with ushabtis of the 7th century B.C. This was a judge’s chamber built on to a house. Perhaps this may be the explanation of Herodotus’ οἰκονύμοι, and of Diodorus’ apparent statement as to the retention of the body for a long period after burial.. The same practice of building a new chamber for a mummy has been kept in different periods as from three to ten months. According to Gn 50th, the embalming occupied forty days, and the period of mourning seventy days.

With regard to the actual funeral ceremonies Herodotus (1, 93) gives some details which are not borne out by the monuments, and are evidently due to misunderstanding. His description of the exag-

...nated mourners at the death of a king is probably correct, but the details about the funeral procession were probably true, and the liberty allowed to the people to express their disapproval of a bad king and so prevent his proper burial, have no actual authority to back them up, and seem highly improbable. Yet we have a curious sentence in the inscription describing the battle of Memonphis, in which Amasis says that he gave Apries proper burial, ‘in order to establish him as a king possessing virtue, for His Majesty is the god’s son. If the gods should be removed from him’—which seems to tally somewhat with Diodorus’ statement. Evi-

dently a king not considered to be neb menkh, ‘possessing virtue,’ could be debarred proper burial as an Osiarian. But the judge would doubtless be a successful rival or usurper, not the common people. No doubt all usurpers had not always been so politic as Amasis was, and we know that the bodies of rival kings were often torn from their tombs and cast with their enemies, whether usurpers or ‘usurpares’. Anomyma, of the XIXth Dynasty, is an instance in point.

A funerary ceremony of very peculiar character which was actually carried out in the case of the kings of Egypt was described by Diodorus. This is the remarkable ‘Festival of the End’ (liter-

...ially, ‘Of the Tail’). It would seem that in primitive times, as has been suggested by many among scholars, the Egyptian god was not allowed to live beyond a certain term. He was then killed, and another took his place. Both were only to be killed himself eventually unless he died or was killed before his term had expired. The term was one of thirty years; but the end of his reign was assumed to be that year. So the humanity of later days, and doubtless the growing reluctance of the kings to let themselves be slaughtered, brought about a compromise. The king was no longer killed, but all the paraphernalia of the ceremony of his end’ were preserved; he him-

tself celebrated his own funeral ceremony, and performed mystic ceremonies before his own image as Osiris beneath the standard of the funerary wolf-god of Shut, Upuat (sometimes called Seh, the god ‘with the tail’). At the same time his eldest son or other heir-apparent was usually associated with him on the throne, so that a new king appeared in fact as well as in theory. We have surviving hymnography of the Festival of the End of the time of king Den, or Udinum, of the Ist Dynasty; well-known later repre-

...of it are taken from the temple of Ammenhotep ut. at Soh in Nubia and the ‘Festival Hall’ of Osorkon ii. at Bubastis. In later times the festival lost all significance, and became a mere formality, and other festivals of shorter duration were substituted. In the old days, even so late as the time of the Middle Kingdom, so far did the prevention of killing and burying the old king go, that very probably an actual sacrifice was offered for his supposed dead body, a statue which was ferried over the Nile and carried in procession to the sacred lake. It may well be that the funerary temple of king Menthehtetep Neb-

...etep-Hi, of the XIXth Dynasty, discovered by Naville and the present writer at Gebel el-Halabi in Bubastis, was dedicated to a temple: the great hypogeum beneath its western wall, which they called a ‘k-sanctuary’ or a ‘sanctuary house’; if it is not the actual tomb, he the heb-sed tomb of the king, and the neighboring tomb called the Heb-het-Boin may be the heb-sed tomb of another king, or another house.

Connected with Diodorus’ statement as to the popular judgment of the virtue of a deceased king is his remarkable description of the carrying of the body of every man to a certain lake, where it was judged by the god Apis. This was a necessary part of a good man’s life, for to do person would be buried in a tomb when the period of mourning was over and the tomb ready, till which time it was, no doubt, kept in a special chamber in the house. The time between the death of the deceased and the burial was allowed by different authorities as from three to ten months. According to Gn 50th, the embalming occupied forty days, and the period of mourning seventy days.

With regard to the actual funeral ceremonies Di-

...ostrich, or bust, and buried opposite the lake to the place of burial. There is no doubt whatever that nothing of this kind actually took place, and that Diodorus or his informants were misled into think-

...the Book of the Dead’. A full description of what is known to us from Egyptian sources as to the real proceedings at the funeral of an Egyptian of high rank will be found in Wallis Budge’s book The Mummy, p. 153 ff. This account is based largely upon the evidence of the well-known ‘Papyrus of Ani,’ in the British Museum.

In accordance with Egyptian conservation in religious matters, the bier and the various chests containing canopic jars, etc., which were borne to the tomb, were not till a comparatively late period placed upon wheels. The ancient sledge-runners of the days before the terracotta figures were probably still used when the funerary ones were elaborated, and, when, at a later period, wheeled carriages were introduced for the funerary procession, the old sledge-runners were still used, and the wheels were placed beneath them. Oxen were used to drag the carriages to the tomb. The chief priestly participants in the procession and in the rites performed at the tomb were the kher-heb, or ‘charteror,’ as the Greeks still call him, and the an-nut-f. The kher-heb seems to have acted as a sort of general director of the funeral; he was often a relative of the deceased.
He read the appointed prayers and spells. The friars then the mummiTF read the spell. He seems to have represented the god Osiris, and walked in the procession, bearing the crook and flail, the emblems of the god. The sem had very peculiar duties. On the night before final burial, after the procession, he used to seat himself down to sleep, covered with the mystic cow-skin, before the upright coffin containing the mummy. During his sleep he was supposed to see all the transformations of the god, i.e., the god himself as Osiris in all his phases and the four, three persons preceded the procession and solemnly adorned the sem, who then took part with the kher-hob in a sort of antiphonal service, in which the two took the parts of Horus and Isis, that of the latter being, as was often the case, a mere figure. Finally the sem donned the skin of a leopard, and performed the very important ceremony of opening of the mouth and eyes, in order that the dead man might be able to see and eat the offerings near his tomb and so be safe in the afterworld. The children touching the mouth and eyes of the mummy with a model adze or chisel of antique form. The ordinary ceremonies of offering at the grave were performed by the 'sequ-ka, or servant of the ghost,' in the case of a private burial or that of the king a regularly appointed priest. The funerary chapels of the kings had broad lands assigned to them for their maintenance, and in the time of the XIXth Dynasty developed into huge temples. Of these the Ramsesian and Medinet Habu at Thebes are examples. These, like the royal tombs, were decorated with funerary subjects taken from the Theban 'Books of the Under World,' already mentioned; but in the royal temples scenes of the ordinary life of the monarch were also introduced. The private tombs are almost exclusively decorated with such scenes, as they had been in earlier days.

An interesting custom existing in connexion with the funerary chapels and tombs may be mentioned here. Since Osiris had become, in succession to Anubis, pre-eminently the god of Abydos, the necropolis of that place became, so to speak, the metropolis of the Thrice-Blessed, which all ghosts, who were not its rightful citizens would come from afar to pay their court to their ruler. So the man of substance would have a monumental tablet put up to himself at Abydos as a sort of pied-a-terre, even if he lived in a private burial place. In the case of the king, who, for reasons chiefly connected with local patriotism, was buried near the city of his earthly abode, a second tomb would be erected, a stately mansion in the city of Osiris, in which his ghost could reside when it came to Abydos. We know that both Semenst III. and Aahmes I. had second tombs, which they never occupied, made for them at Abydos; queen Teta-sheba, grandmother of Aahmes, had an imitation pyramid made for her there (cf. Chapter on Egyptian Worship [Egyptian], B); and it is by no means improbable that the so-called royal 'tombs of the kings of the lst Dynasty, the contents of which have already been described, were in reality cenotaphs, also, the monarchs being buried not where, but near where, they would be in a sort the regular service of the dead. As was often the case, a mummiTF was always an amulet, typifying entrance into being' or 're-birth,' expressing the hope that the 'members' of a man would ultimately re-unite in a new life.

From the time of the Theban domination onwards, papyri containing chapters of the 'Book of the Dead' were always buried with the mummy, so that he could have with him his guide to the next world and its dangers. In earlier times this was not done; only in the case of kings were the older series of spells, out of which 'The Book of Coming Forth from the Day,' developed, inscribed upon the walls of their tombs. These are known to us as the 'Pyramid Texts,' and they are a most interesting monument of the archaic stage of the Kingdom language. Later such kings, as we have seen, had the spells of 'The Book of the Gates' and 'The Book of That-which-is-in-the-Underworld' similarly painted on the walls of their tombs.

The style of mummification and the coffin were at different periods: the great rectangular coffins and sarcophagi of the early period are very different from the gaily painted cartonnage coverings and coffins in the human shape which were usual in the Period of the Saite and Its Successors. Coffins of the Roman period: it is of faience, but very rude in style, and bears in Greek letters the simple inscription Σατερ ραφει — 'Soter, a sailor.' By this time the Egyptian mummies and funerary ceremonies had become the theme of the half-desire of the rest of the world, and indeed we need hardly be surprised at the decision, for the whole spirit and practice of the ancient rites had degenerated utterly and they became mere ridiculous ceremonies; the dead were supposed to express the sources of religious charlatanism and more or less humbugging 'philosophies.' So Egypt 'expired,' a drivel and a show.'

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Europe, Pre-historic).—1. Palaeolithic period.—Owing to the negative evidence of archaeological researches, there are no data with which to combat the supposition that during the earlier stages of the evolution of humanity little or no attention was paid to the disposal of the dead, the deceased members of a family or community being simply abandoned by the way, like those of the lower animals. Nor is it known in what precise phase of social culture the custom of burial became re-established. It is difficult to give a satisfactory answer to this problem, as there is still a debatable problem among archaeologists whether the reindeer hunters of the Palaeolithic period, who frequented the caves and rock-shelters of the Dordogne and other parts of Western Europe, were in the habit of systematically burying their dead. The few humans remains hitherto encountered in the débris of these inhabited sites, which are accepted without cavil as belonging to the people of that period, are held by some archeologists to be those of persons who had been accidentally killed by the fall of materials from overhanging rocks, and their skeletons are now occasionally met with under circumstances which clearly establish the above sequence of events. On the other hand, those few remains which are inherent evidence that they had been intentionally deposited in the Palaeolithic débris and attended with sepulchral rites are still regarded by some anthropologists as interments of later times. The theory that the shelter of Cro-Magnon has long been regarded as representing the people of the later Palaeolithic period; but, as they were lying on the surface of the culture strata of the shelter, in a small open space, it is unlikely that they had been recovered by a subsequent talus, as they are now often regarded as belonging to the Neolithic period.

That Neolithic people were in the habit of burying their dead in caves formerly inhabited by Palaeolithic races has been frequently noticed and recorded by explorers. Thus, in the upper strata of the débris in the Schweizersbild rock-shelter, a Neolithic civilization was attested, not only by a characteristic assortment of relics, but also by the fact that the shelter had been contemporaneously used as a cemetery which contained no fewer than 22 interments. The graves were dug into the underlying Palaeolithic deposits, and ten of them contained the remains of children, as well as those of adults. Fourteen adult skeletons reported on by Kollmann belonged to two very different races, one of a fair size (5 ft. 3 in.), and the other so small as to be characterized as a race of pygmies. Dr. Nieuwesch, the explorer of this rock-shelter, thought the remains belonged to a distinctly different time (viz. only for the purpose of burying, or perhaps cremating, the dead—an idea suggested to him by the large quantity of ashes in the upper strata). It would appear, from the facts disclosed during the exploration of this cave, that the inhabitants had no discontinuity in the human habitation of this part of Switzerland since the reindeer hunters made this rock-shelter their rendezvous up to the Bronze Age; but no evidence of systematic burial had been detected till the true forest fauna of the Neolithic period had taken possession of the land.

The celebrated station of Solonstré (Saône-et-Loire), which has been given its name to one of the intermediate phases of Palaeolithic civilization in the north of France, has been hitherto regarded as having been subsequently utilized as a cemetery up to, if not beyond, Roman times; but, although some of the graves were clearly shown by their contents to be of greater antiquity than others, it was impossible to assign any of them with certainty to the Solonstré period. Moreover, the cephalic indices of 18 cranial submitted to Broca varied from 58:34 to 88:26—an extent of variability which could be better accounted for by a post- than by a pre-

Palaeolithic population.

Palaeolithic burials.—Formerly it was commonly held among anthropologists that the Palaeolithic people had no religion. But a fresh examination of old materials and some more recent discoveries have compelled the archeologist to acknowledge the existence of religious ideas, although they do not prove the contrary. It is difficult to epitomize the facts and arguments thus raised, but the effort must be made, as otherwise our evidence would resolve itself into a series of bare assertions.

The sepulchral remains of the human skeletons disinterred in the Montene caves (Balzi-Rossi), notably those known under the names of Barma Grande and La Grotte des Enfants, leave no doubt that the bodies had been intentionally buried with their personal ornaments, such as necklets, pendants, etc., made of perforated shells, teeth, fish vertebrae, pieces of ivory, etc. Among the grave-goods discovered along with some of these skeletons, were one or two well-formed implements of flint, which are in themselves inherent evidence that they had been intentionally deposited in the Palaeolithic débris and attended with sepulchral rites. But these remains are still regarded by some anthropologists as interments of later times. The discovery of two skeletons, of a negroid type, in the Grotte de la Mouthe, near the Montene caves, confers an additional importance to human palæontology. The Chauvadele skeleton, found in the small rock-shelter of the cave, and described as that of a man of about 60 years of age, lay at a depth of 5 ft. from the surface, in Magdalenian débris, on the left side, with the hands and knees strongly bent towards the face.

The Hominus eruditus de Langerie Basse (Dordogne) is here noted, because the evidence is conclusive that during life this individual had been crushed, probably while asleep, by a fall of rock from the roof, and that consequently the victim must have lain in a horizontal position, whereas the remains were found as belonging to a new race, intermediate between those of Neanderthal and Cro-Magnon, marks an important addition to human palæontology.

A remarkable contrast to the skeletons of Chauvadele and Langerie Basse is that recently found in a small grotto at La Chapelle-aux-Saints (Corrèze). It is described as that of an aged man, about 6 ft. 3 in. in height, who had been buried in a prepared grave beneath a bed of undisturbed Magdalenian débris, 12 to 16 in. thick. The grave measured 4 ft. 8 in. in length, 3 ft. 3 in. in breadth, and 1 ft. 6 in. in depth. The body lay on its back, the head bent downwards, the right hand flexed under the head, and the
DEATH AND DISPOSITION OF THE DEAD (Europe, pre-historic)

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left extended. Around the body were bones of various animals broken for their marrow, together with a few flint scrapers and bone points—jewelry to be the remains of a funeral feast (J. Anthropology, xii, 619).

Another skeleton, which has a striking resemblance to that just described, was recently found in the upper strata of the rock-shelter of Le Mouster, in the upper valley of the Vezère.

It is described as having been buried intentionally in the attitude of sleep, beneath undisturbed strata of Mousterian age. The skeleton was that of a male, 5 ft. 7 in. in height, whose wisdom teeth had not yet been fully developed. Bones of various animals, some of them being described as partially calcined, were close to the body. Both the discoverers and Dr. Klaatsch, who examined this skeleton, formed the opinion that it had been intentionally buried with sepulchral rites (ZfB, 1880, p. 537).

A further discovery of a portion of a human skull has been announced, at a place called Combe-Capelle, near the town of Montferrand-du-Périgord. From its inconceivable characters and associated relics this individual is regarded as occupying a chronological horizon intermediate between the Mousterian and Magdalenian periods.

It is of some significance that all the traces hitherto recognized as coming within the Palaeolithic range of Western Europe are dolichocephalic, and that brachycephalic skulls are rarely found outside Neolithic burials, and then only in deposits of the transition period, to which reference will now be made.

2. Transition period.—Outside the haunts of these highly skilled hunters, artists, and workers in stone and bone, there existed, in certain parts of Western Europe, a transition culture between the stone age and the bronze age. The bearer of this culture, probably by emanating from the same stock, who, owing to the exigencies of a changing climate and the gradual disappearance of wild animals from the plains, began to exploit new sources of food, which, in the course of time, caused a considerable divergence in their domestic economy. Thus, while the Chellean and Mousterian culture relics can be more or less paralleled throughout the whole of Southern Europe, the artistic phases of the later civilization of the neanderthal types are found to vary in a limited area, mostly in Southern France. Implements of Mousterian types have been found in the Mentone caves, but not a trace of the relics characteristic of the Magdalenian stations of France; and yet both sets of cave-dwellers may have been contemporary.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the investigation of the 'kitchen middens' of Maglem, in the valley of the Tagus, was the discovery of upwards of a hundred interments at various depths in the shell-mounds; but it does not appear that any special grave-goods had been associated with them.

From the data at our disposal the point of most importance to the present inquiry is that the recently discovered skeletons at Mouster and Chapelle -aux -Saints, which undoubtedly were survivals of the earlier types of humanity, appear to have been buried in the same rites, so circumstantially carried out as to suggest that they were founded on an already established cult of the dead. But, however this may be, it cannot be gainsaid that, during the Neolithic civilization, there is unmistakable evidence to show that the disposal of the dead had become a sacred obligation on the surviving relatives and friends. By this time the sepulchral remains are overwhelmingly conclusive in support of the doctrine that religion is a belief in a future life were the dominating factors in the social organizations of the period.

3. Neolithic period.—During the Neolithic period the cult of the dead prevalent among the peoples of Western Europe was accompanied by a series of psychological ideas which linked human affairs with the souls of men, animals, and things in the spirit world. The writer agrees with the animistic theory of Tyler, which represents man as first attaining to the idea of spirit by reflection on various physical, psychological, and psychic experiences, such as sleep, dreams, trances, shadows, hallucinations, breath, and death, and so gradually extending the conception of soul or ghost till all Nature is peopled with spirits. It may be, therefore, that there can be no doubt that the religion of these pre-historic peoples, as disclosed by their sepulchral remains, involved a belief in intercommunications between mankind and the supernatural world. When a prominent chief died, his weapons, ornaments, and other cherished objects were placed in the tomb along with suitable viands for his supposed journey to the Unseen World; and, indeed, the various characters and associated relics found in the graves of distinguished men, women, and children are readily recognizable. Such facts undoubtedly suggest that the people of those times did not regard life beyond the grave as differing widely from that from which death was the portal to the community of departed heroes and friends, to which they looked forward, across the span of human life, with hopeful anticipation of a more perfect state of existence. Hence, the exhumations, which are considered of greater importance than those of the living. Constricted of the most durable materials, and generally placed on a commanding eminence so as to be seen from afar, the tomb became an enduring memorial for many generations, till eventually its actual purpose and meaning became lost amidst the changing vistas of succeeding ages. One of the most common and effective methods of perpetuating the memory of the dead was by rearing a mound of stones or earth over the grave. To this custom we owe some of the grandest monuments in the world's history—the Pyramids of Egypt, the topos and dagoba of India, the mighty mounds of Silbury and New Grange. In the megalithic circles of Stonehenge and Avebury, together with the numberless rude stone monuments known as dolmens, cromlechs, menhirs, etc., scattered along the western coasts of Europe and extending into Africa. To comprehend fully the motives which underlay the construction of ancient sepulchral monuments, it would be necessary to examine not only their structural peculiarities and contents, but also their surface accessories, such as stone mounds, mounds, earthen ditches, etc. Although a strong family likeness permeates the whole series in Western Europe, they differ so widely in certain districts that to deal with their local peculiarities in Europe is equivalent to deal at least as many chapters as the number of countries within that area. Then the attention paid to the dead before, at, and subsequent to, the burial disclose a wide field of speculative research, involving us in a failure to solve the most mystic problems of religion, ancestor-worship, and general cult of the dead.

(1) Inhumation and cremation. — Pre-historic sepulchres varied so much in form, structure, position, and contents that to make a systematic classification of them on the lines of their chrono-
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Logical development is almost an impossibility. One special element which complicates such an inquiry was the custom of cremating the dead, with the bones removed, and to have spread westwards, reaching the British Isles towards the close of the Stone Age. This practice, of course, introduced various innovations on the sepulchral customs previously in vogue. Burial by inhumation, which belonging to Greenwell, was much more common in the Yorkshire Wolds, is thus described by that veteran explorer:

The unburnt body is almost always found to have lain upon the site, in a contracted position, that is, with the knees drawn up towards the head, which is generally more or less bent forward; the back, however, is sometimes quite straight. So invariably is this the case, that out of 301 burials of unburnt bodies, which I have examined in the barrows of the Wolds, I have only met with four instances where the body had been laid at full length! (British Barrows, p. 22).

On the other hand, when the body was cremated the incinerated remains were carefully collected and usually placed in an urn, and then buried. When these urns were buried, the remains were laid in a little heap, either in the grave, or upon the site of the mound was subsequently raised, or in a hole in earth already consecrated to the dead, as a former barrow. The corpse, thus reduced to a few handfuls of ashes and burnt bone, required no great space for its preservation either in a public cemetery or in a family burying-ground. Hence sprang up a tendency to diminish the size of the grave, and thus megalithic chambers gave place to cists containing the body placed in a contracted position.

Simple inhumation, i.e. placing the body in a hole in the earth and covering it with the excavated earth, was probably the earliest method of disposing of the dead, and at the site of the cemetery the survivors naturally raised over the spot a mound of earth or stones. Among a sedentary population the next step in advance would be to protect the body from the pressure of the surrounding earth, and to bury it in a suitable chamber, lined with flagstones set on edge, over which a large one was placed as a cover, thus forming the well-known cist; sometimes, instead of flagstones, wooden planks were used in the shape of a rude cist. The simplest method used was to burn the body, and at a distance from the site of the mound, and to place the ashes in a well-kept stone, or in a box made of wood; if this was the case, the box was sometimes treated with pitch or bitumen. The burial, however, was not necessarily a final disposition of the body, but was the means of preserving it for a future use, in which case the body might be wrapped up in various ways, and placed in the tomb, which was usually a chamber, or cist, sometimes built of stone, and sometimes formed of wattle and daub. The body might be interred in a cist, or a plain grave, with or without additional ornaments, such as a stone or wooden lid, and a few grave goods, such as weapons, tools, ornaments, &c. These were often placed with the body, and were sometimes found in the same position as when they were in use. The most common grave goods were a bronze sword in its wooden sheath, and a stone knife, and a bronze sword in its wooden sheath. The whole of the deposit in the grave was wrapped up in a cloth which probably served as the warrior's outer cloak (Worsaae, Danish Arts, London, 1885, p. 53).

The stone-laid cist, or burial chamber, the most widely distributed type of early grave known, from the megalithic chamber, with its sepulchral compartments, entrance passage, and superincumbent cairn, was an easy transition. But the chronological sequence thus suggested is of little value in dating these monuments throughout the British Isles, as there is evidence to show that some of the chambered cairns and long barrows were constructed before the introduction of cremation. Thus, in the counties of Argyll, Caithness, Ross and Cromarty, and some surrounding localities, there are chambered cairns in which the primary burials were by inhumation, and the human skulls found in them belonged to a dolichocephalic race. Similar chambered cairns, containing remains of a dolichocephalic race, have been found in the Island of Arran; but as regards the analogues groups of sepulchral monuments further north, such as those in the counties of Argyll, Inverness, Sutherland, Caithness, and the Orkneys, it is conclusively proved that cremation and inhumation were contemporary from the very beginning, and the same remarks apply to the dolmens of Ireland. It would thus appear that, subsequent to the cremation of the burials in the Stone Age in Britain, there was a period of degradation in this kind of sepulchral architecture, during which the well-known barrows of the Bronze Age became the prevailing mode of burial. In Scandinavia, and in the Giant Mound of the Stone Age in Britain, but gave place during the Bronze Age to large stone-lined cists, suitable for more than one corpse. Finally, in the early Iron Age, both these monuments were discarded, and simple burial, either by cremation or after cremation, and there were then raised huge earthen tumuli, such as the mounds of Thor, Odin, and Freya at Gaula Upsala, and the ship barrow at Gokstad. The dolmens of the Iberian Peninsula, known as aiztu in Portugal, belonged to the Stone Age, and their interments, which were almost exclusively of unburnt bodies, showed that the people who constructed them were a dolichocephalic race—a remark which also applies to the cairn barrows of the northern part of Spain, which were older than the dolmens. Cremation appeared at a comparatively late period in the Bronze Age, probably owing to the distance of the Iberian Peninsula from the seat of its supposed origin. The primary object of inhumation might have been nothing more than protection of the corpse from enemies and wild beasts; but, in the evolution of the grave from a mere hole in the earth up to the elaborately constructed chambered cairn, we must seek for a higher motive than a pious act of respect to the memory of a departed friend. The general idea entertained by archaeologists on the subject is that the grave was looked upon as also the temporary home of the departed, and that the body was placed in the grave till the natural decay of the latter had been completed—"a process which took some time, and entailed on the ghost the irksome ordeal of passing through a sort of purgatory, or internment, between this life and the next, in the spirit-world. It is now surmised that the effect of fire had long been known as a means of purifying not only the body, but also the soul, from the pollution which death brings with it—"an opinion which may account for the finding of so large a number of partially burnt bodies in graves, even before cremation was generally adopted. As soon as it became generally realized that burning was merely a speedy method of accomplishing the dissolution of the
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body,—now regarded as nothing more than a mass of corrupt matter,—cremation became the culminating point of a religious cult, which taught that it was a most desirable object to set free the soul from its association with the corpse as speedily as possible.

But, whatever were the motives which led to the adoption of cremation, whether religious or sanitary, there can be little doubt that burial by inhumation was associated with religious rites and ceremonies long before its introduction into Western Europe. Subsequently both methods were practised concurrently during the whole of the Bronze Age, and down to the time when Christianity superseded paganism. According to classical writers, the Greeks and Romans practised both methods, but in fluctuating proportions, probably under the influence of fashion or current religious opinions. That cremation was more prevalent among the richer classes was partly due to its being an expensive process, and, therefore, beyond the means of the common people. But one has to be cautious in drawing deductions founded on motives, as the predominating belief in one or other of these burial customs varied in separate districts, even within such a limited area as the Wolds of Yorkshire. On this point Greenwells writes (op. cit., p. 21):

In some localities on the Wolds it has been seen that cremation prevailed, though inhumation was the general custom throughout the whole district. In part of Yorkshire, however, cremation was all but universal; as, for instance, in Cleveland, where Mr. Atkinson's very extensive investigations show that cremation was a single instance of an unburied body; and near Castle Howard, there was a large series of barrows contained nothing but burnt bodies.

Burial mounds are called 'earns' when their construction material consists of small stones, and 'barrows' when the mound is formed of a great deal of earth, though both substances were used in the same mound—a small earm being often included within earthen barrow. Their great diversity in external form gave rise to a number of qualifying epithets, such as 'long,' 'round,' 'ovate,' 'lenticular,' 'square,' 'round-sharped,' etc. Sometimes the mound was surrounded by a ditch, or a stone circle, or both; and instances are on record in which one or both of these features were found within the area covered by the mound, whether by inhumation or after cremation, may be found beneath the natural surface without any superincumbent mound, or any such surface indication whatever. At other times, when the mound or earm consists of a standing stone, or a circle of stones or of earth, or a ditch may indicate the site of a burial. Sometimes the mound may be raised over an interment, whether burnt or unburnt, which had been simply laid on the surface of the ground. At other times a mound, more or less circular, of earth, and covered with vegetation, may contain a megalithic chamber with an entrance passage, and sometimes divided into sepulchral compartiments of the latter kind, which were evidently family vaults. The mounds contained the ossuary remains of several generations. As the abodes of the dead, specially adapted for the burial of unburnt bodies, were continued after cremation began to be practised, it often happens that both burnt and unburnt remains are found in the same barrow. We have already seen that the earliest interments in the chambered cairns in the North of Scotland were burnt bodies.

(2) Megalithic monuments. They are the sepulchral monuments still extant in Europe, that are known as 'dolmens,' take the first place, not only for the wealth of evidential materials which they have supplied, but also on account of their great number, imposing appearance, and wide geographical distribution. A dolmen, in its simplest form, may be defined as a rude stone monument, consisting of at least 3 or 4 stones, standing a few feet apart, and so placed as to be covered over by one megalith, called a capstone or table.

A well-known example of this kind in England is Ruts Cotyl House, near Midlothian, which in its present condition consists of three large megalithic stones supporting a capstone measuring 11 ft. by 8 ft. Originally the space between the supports had been filled up by smaller stones, so that as to enclose a small sepulchral chamber, and after the capstone had then covered over by a mound of earth, but without an entrance passage.

Between this simplest form and the so-called Giants' Graves, Grottes des Fées, Altesse couvertes, Hunnebedden, etc., there is an endless but regular gradation of structures in proportion to the number of supports and capstones used.

The well-known Altesse couverte de Haguen, near the town of Sumur, measures 18 metres in length, 6'50 in breadth, and 1'50 in height. It is constructed of thirty supports and eight capstones, including the west end, and 1'50 in height. Another, near Ene (Ile-et-Vilaine), called La Roche aux Fées, and about the same length, is constructed of thirty supports and eight capstones, including the west end, and 1'50 in height.

Although many of these free-standing dolmens show no signs of having been at any time embedded in a cairn or mound, some archaeologists maintain that that was the original condition of all of them, and that the theory which derives some support from their present dislocated condition, for the destruction of them may be seen throughout the whole area of their distribution in all stages of denudation. Were the materials which compose the tumulus of New Grange, in Ireland, removed, leaving only the large stones of which its entrance passage and central chamber are constructed, there would be expected to view a rude stone monument similar in all essentials to that at Callenish in the Island of Lewis.

The covers of these dolmens vary in shape and appearance, owing to vegetation, and other natural surface changes; and, as to size, they range from that of an ordinary barrel—a few yards in diameter—up to that of New Grange, which, in the form of a truncated cone, has been measured to a height of 70 ft., with a diameter at the base of 215 ft., and of 120 ft. at the top. Silbury Hill is 170 ft. in height, and over 500 ft. in diameter at the base.

There is no rule as to the position of the entrance gallery, it being many times to the side, as in the Giant's Grave at Oen, near Roskilde, in Denmark, and sometimes to the end, as in the tumulus of Gavrinis (Morbihan). The Drentche Hunnebedden, which in the present day are all unheaved, had both entrance closed and the entrance passage on the side facing the sun, as was the case in all the dolmens.

Ruin dolmens are abundantly met with in the provinces of Hanover, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg. According to Bonsdorff, there are more than 300 distributed over the three provinces of Lüneburg, Oeselbruck, and Stade; but the most gigantic specimes are to be found in Oldenburg. In Holland they are confined, with one or two exceptions, to the province of the Drente, where between 50 and 60 still exist. The Drente Hunnebedden, the largest of the group, is 79 ft. 8 ft. 14 ft. wide, and in its primitive condition contained 45 stones, ten of which were capstones.

In Scandinavia the dolmens are confined to Danish lands and a few provinces in the South of Sweden. In the former country, in addition to the great chambered tumuli, free-standing dolmens may be seen situated on the tops of artificial mounds, and surrounded by enclosures of stones, either in the form of a circle (Randueisen) or oval (Lau unwers).

Only one dolmen has been recorded in Belgium, but in France their number amounts to close upon 400, irregularly distributed over 73 Departments, of which no fewer than 618 are in Brittany. From the Pyrenees they are sparsely traced along the north and west coast of Spain, through Portugal and Andalusia, where they occur in considerable numbers. The most remarkable sepulchral dolmen we have in the province of Antequera, situated a little to the north of Malaga. The chamber is slightly oval in shape, and measures 21 metres long, 6'15 metres wide, and from 2'7 metres to 3'3 metres high. The entire structure comprises 31 monoliths—ten on each side, one at the end and four on the roof. The stones are made of the Jurassic limestone of the district, and, like those of Stonehenge, appear to have been more or less dressed. The
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entire structure, now partially exposed, was originally covered with earth forming a mound 100 ft. in diameter. In Africa, dolmens are met with in large groups throughout Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis. According to General Faucher, who has examined them there, they are quite analogous to those on the European Continent, with the exception that, in his opinion, none of them had been covered with a mound. (De Mortillet, 1873, p. 496.)

Near the center of the mound, one of several known to have formerly stood there. It is more probable that such enclosures were, like our modern churches, used not only as cemeteries, but for the performance of religious ceremonies in connexion with the cult of the dead.

(4) Sepulchral caves.—The custom of burying the dead in natural caves, to which we have already referred as having been met with in the Paleolithic period, was continued throughout the Neolithic and Bronze Ages. Discoveries of this character have been recorded in numerous localities throughout Europe, and especially in France. Professor Boyd Dawkins informs us that the most remarkable of these in Britain are to be found in a group clustering round a refuse-heap at Perthis-chware, a farm high up in the Welsh hills, in Denbighshire:

The human remains belong for the most part to very young or adolescent individuals, from the small infants to youths of 21. Some, however, belong to men in the prime of life. All the teeth that been found were greatly worn, and the skulls belong to that type which Professor Huxley terms the river-mouth skull. All the human remains had been buried in the cave, since the bones were in the main perfect, or only broken by the large stones which had subse-

questly fallen from the ceiling. The shape of the skull is a skull to a pelvis, and the vertical position of one of the femurs, as well as the fact that the bones lay in confused heaps, it is clear that the corpse had been buried in the contracted posture, as is usually the case in Neolithic interments. And, since the area was insufficient for the accommodation of many bodies at one time, it is certain that the cave had been used as a cemetery at different times. The stones blocking up the entrance were probably placed as a barrier against the incursions of wild beasts. . . . The Neolithic age of these interments is proved, not only by the presence of the flint-blades, but by the burial in a contracted posture, and the fact that the skulls are identical with those obtained from chambered tombs in the South of England proved to be Neolithic by Dr. Thorun (Cave-Hunting, pp. 125-135).

The same writer describes similar remains from caves in the limestone cliffs of the beautiful valleys of the Clywyr and the Clwyd near Clwyd. He has also shown that the people who buried their dead in these caves were of the same race as the builders of the neighbouring chambered tomb of Cefn, just then explored. The crania and limb bones of the skeletons were identical, and in both the tombs and caves the dead were buried in a contracted position.

In Scotland, human remains regarded as sepulchral have been found in some caves at Olaven, which had been explored in 1838, and also in the channel between the foot of the cliff overhanging the ancient raised beach on which part of the town is built. In one of these caves (M'Arthur Cave), along with some fragmentary skeletons, were two skulls sufficiently preserved to enable Sir William Turner to take correct measurements of their special character, from which it appears that their owners belonged to a dolichocephalic race, their cephalic indices being 70.2 and 75.4. Although no grave-goods are known to have been associated with these bones, there is sufficient evidence from collateral phenomena to show that the chronological horizon to which they must be assigned is the Neolithic period.

Of all the countries of Western Europe, France has yielded by far the largest number of burials under this category. De Mortillet, writing in 1883 (Le Prehistorique, p. 598), states that he could count 117 in France distributed over 36 Departments, 24 in the Alpes, and only 1 or 2 specimens in each of the other countries.

The following epitomized notices of one or two examples will give the reader some general idea of the importance attached to this class of sepulchral remains:

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In the course of exploring the natural cave of Casa da Mourel, near Lisbon, a large quantity of human bones, representing some 160 individuals, was discovered. It appears that the Neolithic inhabitants had converted the grotto into a cemetery—so far indicating a dolmenic feature. The most interesting feature of these skulls is of exceptional interest, inasmuch as it furnishes positive evidence of having been partially trepanned, thus disclosing the original position of the brain-case. The remains of the interment (Cartailhac, *Les Ages préhistoriques de l'Espagne*, p. 81) in this particular specimen contained log skulls, the two most remarkable being those of L'Homme Mort and Baumes-Chaudes, both in the Department of Lozère. In the former were numerous tools and instruments to furnish the necessary implements of these of the ephialtic indices of several dolmenic remains. Among these, indeed, and in the same dolmenic remains, there were other two were 78*5 and 78*8. There were, therefore, no brachycephalic skulls in this sepulchre, so that the race appears to have been composed of dolicocephalic individuals. Amongst these, however, there is one of mesaticephalic, and another, a dolichocephalic, which, though at first overlooked, subsequently became the subject of much interest to anthropologists. The animal remains were those of the Neolithic epoch, but among them were none of the reindeer, horse, ox, or stag. Among the relics were a lance-head, and a portion of a polished stone axe. Drs. Broca and Prunieres were of opinion that the individuals whose remains had been contained in this cavern belonged to an intermediate race, the Neolithic dolmenic remains of which had been discovered. In one of these caves only chipped stone implements were found, and even the latter were very rare, but in the other there were a few arrow-points, a head, some roundlets of deer-bone, etc., which are supposed to have been executed in culture. The crania measured and classified in M. Salomon's list from the Baumes-Chaudes cave, the average height of which was calculated to be about 5 ft. 3 in.

Examples of sepulchral caverns in which brachycephalic crania formed the majority, a series of caverns at Hautières and Foyert in Belgium may be cited. Of 92 skulls from the former measured by Professor Houze, 62 are dolichocephalic, eleven mesaticephalic, and sixteen brachycephalic. The well-known cave of Foyert (Fou de Foyert) was actually a rock-shelter, with a projecting cavity extending inwards for some 20 metres, and about one metre in height and one metre in breadth, and closed in front by a large slab. This cavity was filled with human bones mixed with earth and stones, but none of the bones had been buried, and bore signs of INTERMENT. The remains of these bones were in perfect preservation, and the rest of the skeleton, so that disembowelling must have taken place before their final deposition in the cave. From the number of lower jaws and similar remains, it was supposed that this sepulchre contained 16 individuals, of whom 5 were children. The crania measured were 111. A distinguishing element in the conclusions suggested by this discovery was the presence of fragments of pottery among the contents of the cave, which is not the case at Hautières. The accumulation of debris and refuse, which, judging from the fauna represented by these ossaceous remains, belonged to the Palaeolithic period. Hence, at the time, the human remains of Foyert were regarded as belonging to that period—an opinion which is no longer held, as the sepulchre is now admitted to be of the Neolithic age (Rev. de l'École d'Ant. 1895, p. 155). Artificial caves used for sepulchral purposes have also been discovered in certain Departments of France, more especially those with chalky formations, like the Marne district. Here upwards of a hundred dolmenic cairns have been excavated, and a number of artificial caves excavated in the flanks of low hillocks, have been most successfully explored by Baron de Baye (see his *Archeologie préhistorique*, 1889). Among some hundreds of interments, over 100 individuals, including crania and cranial amphules, have been collected and are now preserved in the Château de Baye. Associated with them were a number of implements, weapons, and ornaments of Neolithic types, and these axes, trampled bones, teeth, and so on. Of the crania, 41 were submitted to Dr. Broca for examination, and are thus classified:—dolichocephalic (71 to 70677), 13; mesaticephalic, 17; and brachycephalic (80 to 8873), 12.

Dr. Broca recognized in these human remains the unmixed dolmenic people of L'Homme Mort and Baumes-Chaudes.

Some of these dolmens, especially those of Petit-Morin, are supposed to have been constructed in imitation of the dolmens, as they were preceded by an entrance passage and occasionally a vestibule, from which a low door, closed with a stone slab, was added to the dolmenic chamber. Dr. Broca thinks that some of them had been used as habitations for the living before being appropriated to the dead, as they had sometimes niches and shelves cut out of the solid chalk walls, on which various objects of metal had been deposited. A rudely executed human figure with a bird-like nose, two eyes, a necklet, and breasts, together with the form of a stone axe in its handle, was sculptured in relief on the wall of the vestibule of one of the larger caves, and a funnel-shaped vessel, having been frequently, as the threshold was greatly trodden down by the feet of visitors. M. Cartailhac explains this peculiarity by supposing that it was a place for temporarily depositing the dead before finally transferring them to the sepulchres. Of these caves contained abundance of relics characteristic of an advanced Neolithic civilization, but without any trace of metals, and the surrounding neighbourhood is rich in flint objects of that period.

Finally, Mr. Houze has observed that analogous phenomena and grave-goods associated with the artificial caves of France are precisely of the same character as those of the neighbouring dolmens and natural caves, thus conclusively showing that all these monuments belonged to the same epoch and the same civilization. Their relationship to the rock-cut tombs of Egypt, Ethiopia, Palestine, and other countries, we must leave to readers to work out for themselves.

(3) GRAVE-GOODS. The gifts to the dead, as already mentioned, bear some relationship to the social position among the community in which the deceased lived. They include all manner of things—ornaments, weapons, tools, utensils, pet animals, and even the owner himself—preserved for the use of the deceased in the other world. When a departed friend appeared in a dream dressed in his usual garments and armed with his favourite weapons, it was natural to suppose that these objects had belonged to that same epoch and the same civilization. Their relationship to the rock-cut tombs of Egypt, Ethiopia, Palestine, and other countries, we must leave to readers to work out for themselves.
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positated in the earth without a urn, it has been argued that such objects had been used for binding the body. In which case, the bones were wrapped up. From the quantity of objects sometimes deposited in the grave, it has been surmised that, when a person was possessed of property of rare and exceptional value, it was customary to bury it along with him, evidently with the intention of its being utilized in the world of spirits.

As an illustration of this the following notice of a remarkable discovery of axes made of jade and other materials will be of interest:

The cist of Mont-Saint-Michel, which occupies a conspicuous position among the Carnac group of antiquities, rises to the height of 10 metres, on an elongated base measuring 125 metres in length by 65 metres in breadth. In recent times the top of the mound was flattened, and the eastern third is now occupied by a chapel, while at the other extremity there is the ruin of a modern observatory. In 1862 a small metallic chamber, some two metres square and rather less than one metre high, had been removed, and parts of jade and turquoise, supposed to have formed a necklet; also a number of very small, small, or roughly made of crystal. After these had been removed, the floor of this small chamber, there were found, under a flagstone, remains of an interment, and a space between the floor, and the natural rock (Réné Galles, Bull. de la soc. polygr. du Morbihan, 1863).

(6) Pottery.—The pottery found with pre-historic burials consists of a variety of vessels collectively called 'urns'; but, as they are found in graves containing either burnt or unburnt bodies, they could not all have been intended for cinerary purposes, so that they have to be classified according to their associated functions. Vessels associated with inhumed bodies are supposed to have contained food and drink—hence they are called 'food-vessels,' and 'drinking-cups' or 'beakers.' The cinerary urns, used exclusively for the purpose of preserving the cremated remains of the corpse, vary considerably in size, form, and ornamentation, being generally 10 to 18 inches in height. They are narrow-based and wide-mouthed, with a broad overhanging rim to which the ornamentation is commonly confined. The flanged rim is ornamented by one or two transverse ridges. The food-vessel, which is considerably smaller, more globular, and more highly ornamented than the cinerary urn, is also wide-mouthed and narrow-based. It was placed with an unburnt burial in the vicinity of the head of the corpse.

Drinking-cups, or beakers, are tall, highly ornamented vessels, narrowing from the mouth to near the middle, then bulging out and again narrowing at the base. A few specimens have been found with a handle like a jug. Beakers are almost invariably associated with unburnt burials—only two out of 24 having been found by Greenwell in the Wiltshire barrows, with cremated burials. Very small cup-shaped vessels that were placed with two or more holes in the side, and generally found inside a large cinerary vessel, are known under the name of 'income cups'; but there is no evidence to support the suggested use of them, and they are now regarded as cinerary urns for infants.

The Hon. John Abercrombie holds that the beaker is the oldest Bronze Age ceramic in the British isles, but also an imported ware from the Rhine Valley (JAI xxxii. 373ff.). As an interesting corollary to Mr. Abercrombie's views, it has been observed that, in almost all the instances in which the beaker has been found associated with human remains, the skull was brachycephalic.

That cephalic form of the beaker type have rarely, if at all, been found in Ireland may be accounted for in the superhuman, the Continental brachycephals were later in penetrating as far as Ireland; or, perhaps, that the few who did find their way to that country did so by a different route. This is doubtless the case on the upper way of the Rhine Valley. Anyhow, the rarity of both beakers and brachycephalic skulls in the pre-historic burials of Ireland is a suggestive fact to the student of Irish ethnology.

(7) Cemeteries.—As population increased and the influence of religion became more powerful as a governing factor in social organizations, the isolated and sporadic graves of the earlier people gave place to their aggregation in the form of cemeteries in certain selected localities, which were thus, as it were, consecrated as common burying-grounds for the disposal of the dead. The remains of such cemeteries may be found dispersed throughout the whole of Europe. There is documentary evidence that in pagan times the Irish Mss., and in it reference is made to the cemetery of Tailltun, which Mr. Eugene Conwell of Trim has identified as a group of chambered cairns near the town of Oldcastle, Co. Meath. Mr. Conwell also quotes the following stanza, among others, from a poem in the same old MS., viz. Leabhar na hUidhre:

On the ridge of this range of hills, which extends for a distance of about two miles, are situated from 25 to 30 chambered cairns, some measuring as much as 180 ft. in diameter, while others are much smaller and nearly obliterated. They were examined in 1873 by E. A. Le Strange, and an account of his discoveries was published in 1873 under the title of Discovery of the Tomb of Ollamh Fodha. An analogous group of dilapidated chambered cairns, with settings of stone circles, may be seen at Clava, near Inverness, and other localities in Scotland. Stonehenge, a flower-pot-shaped mound, is in the centre of a vast burying-ground consisting of barrows in groups over the downs.

Urns cemeteries, without any external markings to indicate that the burial of the burials, are frequently met with in the British isles, being exposed by agricultural operations, and especially by the removal of clay beds for the making of bricks. As the underlying clay slides from under the covering soil to a lower level, urns are frequently seen sticking in the broken margin of the surface soil.

A small urn cemetery was recently discovered at the digging of the foundation of a villa in the town of Largs. The site was a low gravelly mound, and the cemetery disclosed an unique feature in the finding of a stone-lined cist covered over with a large flagstone and containing seven flower-pot-shaped urns, all having more or less calcined bones in them (Archeologia, lxii. 239-250).

In 1886, in the course of removing the surface-earth above a gravel-and-sand-pit at Ayesford-in-Kent, the following relics were discovered: a wooden pail or situla, with a bronze band ornamented with late Celtic designs; a bronze jug (oomochet); a large handled pan and two fibula, also of bronze, together with calcined bones and fragments of pottery. These objects were discovered in what had been a round burial-pit, about 31 ft. deep, the sides and bottom of which had been contorted with a kind of chalky compound. The bronze situla contained burnt bones, and the fibula,
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the bronze vase and pan lying outside it, while around were the remains of several earthenware urns, some of which had been used as cineraries. This circumstance, coupled with the notice of Dr. A. J. Evans, who lost no time in making a full inquiry into the circumstances. The result of his researches was a paper, 'On a Late Celtic Urn-Field at Aylesford,' which appeared in 1846.

The conclusions to which Dr. Evans comes, after a wide comparison of Continental ceramic, is that the Aylesford urns are the derivatives of North Italian, and in a marked degree old Venetian prototypes.

A most instructive cemetery in Europe is that of Hallstatt, of which the present writer has elsewhere given the following brief account:

'...The ancient necropolis, known as Hallstatt, lies in a narrow glen in the Nördle Alpe, about an hour's walk from the town of Hallstatt, situated on the lake of the same name. Discovered in 1816, and systematically explored for several years under the superintendence of Dr. Brünnow, the subject is published by Baron von Sacken in 1825, in a quarto volume with twenty-six plates of illustrations. One of the peculiarities of this cemetery was that it contained inhumation by incineration indiscriminately dispersed over the entire sepulchral area, and, however, belonging to the same period, as was clearly proved from the perfect similarity of their respective grave-goods. The graves were thickly placed over an irregular area of about 2000 yards in length and about that in breadth, but there were no indications above ground to mark their positions, which were discovered by the depth of the clay...'

Out of 933 tombs described in von Sacken's work, 255 contained simple interments; 450 had inhumed human remains; and in only 180 were inhumed interments before being cremated. The inhumed bodies lay, generally, from east to west, with the head towards the south, and a head occasionally resting on a stone. At other times the body lay on a prepared bed, or coarse casing, of hardened clay. In two instances traces of a second coffin were observed. Sometimes two or more skeletons were found in the same grave, while, at other times, some portion of a skeleton often wanting. The skeletons were not scientifically examined as could be desired, but, according to Dr. Hoernes, they belonged to a well-developed dolichocephalic race, of medium height (5 ft. 6 in. to 8 in.), with a prominent occiput, long and slightly prognathic face, and a straight or gently receding forehead. The ashes and charred bones were carefully collected and deposited in the natural soil, sometimes laid over a flat stone, and sometimes in a roughly burnt trough of clay. Only twice were burnt bones found in a bronze vase, and once in a clay urn when the cremated remains had been deposited the grave-goods were placed over them which the coarser pieces of charcoal were heaped over the whole.

An analysis of the contents of the graves gave the following results: 407 persons, after inhumation contained: bronze — 18 objects of armour, 1834 articles of toilet, 57 utensils, and 31 vases; iron — 90 objects of armour, as well as 49 objects of tin; and 61 other objects (spindle-throwers, sharpening stones, etc.).

Similar results were obtained after incineration, as follows: bronze — 95 objects of armour, 1735 of toilet, 55 utensils, and 179 vessels; iron — 345 objects of armour, and 81 utensils; gold — 59 articles of gold, 106 of amber, and 35 of gold; 925 clay vessels; and 102 diverse objects.

From these statistics it would appear that the burials after cremation were richer in articles of luxury, such as bronze vases and flasks, beads of glass, gold cloth stuffs, etc., with the exception of objects of amber, which were more abundant with inhumed bodies' (Rambles and Studies in Romana, p. 399ff.).

Baron von Sacken assigned the Hallstatt cemetery to the second half of the millennium immediately preceding the Christian era, but it must be remarked that in the continuous and continuous till the advent of the Romans into that part of Europe. But, according to the grave-goods, to be exterminated further back by several centuries, even to 1000 B.C. Owing to commercial currents from Eastern lands, especially by way of the Adriatic, no doubt, to be attributed to a skilful, we might expect a considerable variation in the technique of the Hallstatt relics, even on the Sacken's hypothesis of the lowest of the cemetery. The collection as a whole is thus a mere jumble together of an assortment of objects, influenced not only by a rapidly progressing civilisation, but also by a continuous importation of new materials; hence the difficulty of classifying them into a more precise division than earlier and later.

In the cemetery of S. Lucia, near Tolmino, above the head of the Adriatic, in which inhumation was almost exclusively the mode of sepulture—there being only three interments by incineration out of 2000 tombs examined by Dr. Marchesetti—the warlike element was represented by only one sword, two spears, and seven lances (all of iron). The sword is distinctly the La Tène type—thus suggesting that the peaceful ways of the people had been disturbed only in later times, probably during one of the marauding excursions of the Gauls into Italy. On the other hand, the fibula numbered 1029 of bronze and 108 of iron; of which 248 were of the 'Cerossa' type—i.e. not much earlier than 400 B.C.—and 5 of the La Tène type. Of metallic vases there were eighty of bronze and one of iron, among the former being six eiste a cordone. A few of these bronze vessels were decorated with dots, circles, and perpendicular fluting, but rarely with animal figures. The necropolis of the high-mixed population now inhabiting the British Isles, on account of their swarthy complexion and curled hair (Agricola, xi.), the inference that these Silures were the direct descendants of the primitive long-headed people was not unreasonable, more especially as by that time the eastern parts of Britain had been taken possession of by successive waves of Gaulish and Belgian immigrants from the Continent—thus causing the earlier inhabitants to recede more and more westwards. And, if this reason of the long-headed man of the chambered cairns of Britain, Ireland, and France, as well as many other parts of the Continent, had a swarthy complexion, with dark hair and eyes, like so many people still inhabiting the more secluded parts of these localities.

The incoming brachycephali were taller than the dolichocephali already in possession of the country—a statement which is proved by actual measurements of skeletons (average height 5 ft. 6 in.). Although they have been described by many modern writers as 'light in hair and complexion' (Greenwell, op. cit. p. 636), there does not appear to be any archaeological evidence to support this assertion. We might speculate on inadvertently applying to the Bronze Age brachycephali qualities which were undoubtedly applicable at a later period to the Celts of history. The former buried their dead in short cists and round barrows, and carved with them a knowledge of bronze. While these two early races (the dolichocephali and brachycephali) were living together, apparently in harmony, the custom of disposing of the dead by cremation spread over the land—a custom which was introduced from the Continent, and had its origin probably in the strong religious
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Burial was the method of disposing of the dead followed by all the Mediterranean peoples during the entire epoch at least as far as is known obtained in Greece, and was continued without intermission at least until the Homic period. That the Greeks of the pre-Mycenaean and Mycenaean civilization buried their dead is evident from the tombs and chamber-tombs excavated by Evans at Mycenae, Orchomenus, and Vaphio. It has also been shown that Schliemann was mistaken in believing that he found in the Mycenaean tombs indications of a partial cremation of the dead. In the island of Crete chamber tombs and shaft-tombs, which discoveries many tombs of the Mycenaean epoch and others of different periods, found burial to be the invariable custom without any sign of cremation, either partial or total.

Apparently, then, the first notice of cremation occurs in Homer; it is described with grim vividness, especially in the account of the obsequies of Patroclus (II. xxi. 110 ff.). Homer also offers an explanation of this new funerary custom, which appears to be contrary to the beliefs of the Greek people. He makes Nestor say that it is necessary to burn the bodies of those who died in battle, in order that the bones might be carried back to their native land to the sons of the dead (II. xvi. 331 f.). But this reason is inadequate to account for so profound a change of custom. The change from burial to cremation must already have taken place in the Homeric age, just as it had previously been made in Central and, in part, in Southern Europe. It was then introduced into Greece as it had been into Italy, and very probably by the same races who were afterwards known under the name of Aryan, and who originated many other changes in the customs of the peoples subdued by them.

While in some regions of Europe there was a period during which cremation prevailed (and among these regions must be included Northern Italy, the Balearic Islands, and also, in part, Southern Europe), it is evident from time immemorial—possibly the descendants of the Neanderthaloid races of Paleolithic times. There is no reference made here to the Homeric occupation as a factor in the British etymology, because the Romans were more fully historical, and, though they introduced new arts, industries, and customs into the country, kept themselves aloof from the natives, and did not, as a rule, intermarry with them. Hence, when they finally absorbed these tribes, they left their habits racially unaffected, much as would be the case with India if the British were now to retire from it. To-day we hunt for remains of military roads, camps, accoutrements of war, and other relics of their civilization, but of their skeletons we know very little, and of their British offspring nothing at all.


R. MUNIO.
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covered with either rough or squared slabs of stone. In these graves the body was usually placed in a sitting position, and sometimes curled up, and

The pit-tombs consist of a kind of well which was almost always excavated in the rock, with steps descending into it; at the bottom an arched aperture is found which gives access to the sepulchral cell. The cell is generally supported by a double wall of rude blocks, and is sufficiently long to contain a skeleton stretched out at full length. But Evans remarks that this type of tomb, although it has different characteristics, resembles in its cell the large prehistoric tombs that were discovered in the Cres.

In the island of Crete no dome-tombs have been discovered like those of Mycenae or of Orchomenus; but the royal tomb of Isopates described by Evans and re-constructed by Fyfe (Evans, op. cit.) fills up the lacuna.

It appears to have been the primitive custom of the Greeks to bury their dead in the village where they dwelt, and sometimes in the houses themselves. It is certain that at Mycenae tombs have been found in the houses, and in graves in the graves of the deceased. But Evans remarks that this custom, although it has been abandoned in graves of five, or even of twenty, among the remains of habitations. At Athens, also, houses with tombs have been discovered. Plato makes mention of this custom, and calls it barbarous (Min. 316). It seems to have been abandoned by the laws of Solon. The agora also appears to have been used for burying: Mycenae supplies an example of this. Further, it is well known that in the classic epoch many Greek cities had, or believed that they had, in the agora, some burial-place of their more renowned heroes.

It appears, further, that the Greeks in primitive times offered human sacrifices at funerals. This seems certain not only from the Homeric account of the funeral of Patroclus, but also from some indications in the tombs of Mycenae. In the dromos of the rock-tombs, human bones have often been found, and in front of one sepulchre there were discovered six human skulls, placed crosswise and mingled with the bones of animals and broken pieces of common utensils. From this it has been suspected that the bodies were those of victims sacrificed to the dead (Perrot-Chipiez, Histoire de l'art, vi. 584). Further, Plato says (l.c.) that human sacrifices were offered in Lykaia (Aeolis), and also by the descendants of Athanor, although they were Greeks and not barbarians.

From the most remote antiquity, as we gather from the prehistoric tombs of Mycenae, the Greeks had a religious cult for their dead. They considered the right of sepulture as sacred, and consequently as a law. This sentiment was handed down to the historic Greeks, the true "Evaπερ. It was also a duty and a kind of Pan-Hellenic law (Ιαν.Διεκατον πλαγα, Eurip. Suppl. 524) to give sepulture to enemies who died in battle. The law of Solon, which exempted a son from the obligation to support a father who had rendered himself unworthy, imposed upon him the duty of burying him with all due honours (Esch. in Timor. 13; the very words ἐκλείω, ἑμηγα, affirm the right of the dead to sepulture). In the classic epoch, religious belief was permeated with the notion that the spirit of the dead could not enter into the subterranean realm if the body had not received burial—the soul (ψυχή) would wander about without a resting-place, and would not be able to pass over the fatal river in order to enter Hades.

We do not know how the primitive Greeks conducted themselves between the death and the burial of the deceased; but from what we know of the historical epoch we may infer without any doubt what were their customs in primitive times. In the prehistoric tombs of Knossos the corpse was buried in a grave, or else was laid on the pavement of the sepulchral chamber, or in a sarcophagus in a "κουρανσ" of clay. It was usually placed in a sitting position, and sometimes curled up, either in the grave or in the sarcophagus. There was no fixed direction or orientation of the position of the dead. In tombs of every type, objects belonging to the deceased were found, according to sex and condition: weapons, swords, knives, arrows, razors, ornaments of gold and of bronze, rings, seals, lamps, and so on. Tombs like those of Mycenae and Vaphio have furnished objects of great value both as to their material and as to their artistic value. Objects which were most dear to the deceased, and which he had possessed when living, were placed with him in the tomb. This usage continued without interruption to the historic epoch, together with other usages which were gradually abolished by various successive laws, because they were held to be barbarous. We have proof of this in the Homeric period, which may be regarded as an intermediate one between the pre-historic and the historic. The custom of sacrifices, as is seen, being still found which were no longer practised in the period which followed, as well as others which were retained.

In order to give an idea of this, it will be sufficient to relate in full what was done at the funeral of Patroclus, so admirably described by Homer (Il. xviii., xxiii.). We shall follow the poet's order:

The corpse of Patroclus was washed with hot water (Il. xviii. 349 f.), then anointed with unguent, laid on a bier from head to foot with a thin linen cloth. It was laid in state on a bed (εν ἄργει, 354), and was swept over with great lamentation by Achilles and the Myrmidons (255 f.). On the return from the fight in which Hector was slain, Achilles and his men cleaned the Myrmidons' arms and weapons, as if they were about to return to the camp. Weeping is an honouring of the dead (δύο γῆλα πέραν θάνατον, xxii. 9). A funeral meal follows the weeping. The corpse is to be cremated, and accordingly an immense pyre is prepared which is to receive the body of Patroclus. When the pyre is ready, the transportation of the body takes place in the midst of the ceremonies of a great ceremonial funeral; Achilles supports the head of his deceased friend, while the Myrmidons cut off their locks and cast them upon the corpse, thus covering it. Achilles also sacrifices his hair, which he puts into the hand of his dead friend. During the night those who attend to the preparation of the funeral (λειπον, xxiii. 163) remains with Achilles. On the following day the body of the deceased is placed in the midst of the pyre, and says (εἰς τὸ ἐν τῷ πυρι) is taken from the oxen and sheep which have been sacrificed; alongside are placed the dead animals, and amputated hands of the dead, and all such objects. The funeral rites do not end here: Achilles orders funeral games, and distributes rewards to the victors (258 f.).

In the classic period the dead body was washed, anointed with unguents and oil, and wrapped in a white garment. It appears, however, that the garment was not always white; it might be black. The eyes were closed, and the jaw was bound to the head in order that the mouth might remain shut when rigidity came on. The care of the dead was the business of the people of the house, especially the relatives, and among these the women. Further, a garland was placed on the head of the deceased. Afterwards the corpse was laid on an ordinary bed (νεκροσ), and was exposed to the view. This exposing of the tomb (νεκροσ) took place in the house, the feet of the dead being turned towards the door; a law of Solon prohibited an exposing before the door, as seems to have been done at first. This exposing of the corpse was, again, the practice the days after the death. An offering of an ox was prohibited in order, naturally, that there might be assurance that
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actual death had taken place; and, on the other hand, a too prolonged exposing was not allowed. According to Greek beliefs, the dead must be buried relatively soon in order that the soul might be made ready to pass to the heaven, and might not wander about. Patroclus, whose body, on account of the solemn funeral rites, was exposed for twelve days after his death, says to Achilles, to whom he appears in a dream, ἄφθετη μὲ ὅπλι τἀγών, πάνω Μάκαρ τὰρταύρα (Iliad. xxii. 71). When such seems to be a late period, a piece of money was placed in the mouth of the deceased as a ναπελόν to pay the ferryman who transported him to the further side of the river into the realm of the dead. A boy (μέλασσα) was buried with him, as an appropriate offering to the guardian of the doors of the infernal regions (Aristoph. Lys. 599). The scholiast on Aristophanes adds that the cake serves for Cerberus (q.v.), the piece of money for the ferryman, and the dead man’s garland is for the struggle which he has undergone in issuing from life.

Upon the bier was placed a vessel of earth, usually a λεγκοβ, which contained an unguent. On this, or the bronze casket, or the simple keratos form, were depicted appropriate funeral scenes; and, in fact, it represented the deceased. At the door of ingress was placed an earthen vessel (τάρταυρα) containing spring water (Aristoph. Eccl. 4250), which was used for purification. The biers of those who had been in contact with the dead, and in general all those who were in the house.

The exposing of the body was followed by its being carried (ὑπόπεφα) from the house to the place of sepulture. sepulchres could be done only by lay; criminals alone were buried by night (Eurip. Troed. 446), when sepulture was granted them at all. The dead person was carried on the bed upon which he had been exposed to view, but it is not easy to say exactly who were the bearers, although there are expressions like τεραρμομικα, τεραρμικα, τεραρμικα, which imply persons specially employed in this duty of carrying and of burial. However, we gather from Plato, Plutarch, Lucian, and others that these bearers were young men who lent themselves to this pious duty. Plato speaks of young men of the gymnasiurn (Legg. xii. 947). When the conveyance of the body took place, it was attended by a cortège which accompanied the bier as it moved on its way. According to the laws of Solon, the men must go first, the women must follow; the latter, moreover, must not be less than sixteen years of age (Demosth. Arist. i.). Plato describes at length (Legg. xii. 947) how the funeral cortége was to be formed, and he also notes that the women who took part in it must not be younger than the child-bearing age. The sepulchre (θήμη) must be excavated underground, of conical shape, and must be constructed of stone. But the dead were not always laid in a tomb of stone without a coffin (σφόν, λάθρως). When the latter was used, it was made of cypress or other wood.

This vessel was removed at the next stage, and the body was laid in a stone sarcophagus. The sepulchre was then covered with earth, and the mound was raised (νάεως). When the latter was used, it was made of cypress or other wood.

But the dead were not always laid in a tomb of stone without a coffin (σφόν, λάθρως). When the latter was used, it was made of cypress or other wood.

When the body was laid in its sarcophagus, it was usually accompanied by weeping and lamentation on the part of the relatives and friends, and of other persons who visited the dead when exposed to view and attended him to the sepulchre. These manifestations of grief were generally not excessive, and not different from those we have met with in Homer. They were prohibited by legislators like Solon and Charondas, who desired to restrain what appeared to many Greek writers to be chthonous and barbaric forms of grief. Plato describes other indecorous the weeping for the dead, and would have liked to prohibit lamentations (ὄπροια) outside the house (Legg. xii. 960). It is true that Ἁσέχυλος (Oorph. 201.) and Euripides (Iloc. 642 f.) describe displays of grief such as striking the breast, tearing and laceraing the face and garments, and pulling out the hair; but probably these two authors wished to reproduce primitive customs which were no longer in practice in their day. In spite of legislative prohibitions, however, there was no cessation at funerals of more or less exaggerated manifestations of grief; the bier was certainly accompanied by funeral singers (ὕποροιακ). Plato himself speaks of them (Legg. vii. 900) in the masculine only. This duty, however, was carried out also by women (κυρία, ὕποροιακ, μούσακα, probably, as is supposed, from their Carian origin, whence came the employment of the term for those women who sang over the dead, just as a kind of flute was called Pyrignon as having been invented by the Pyrignians, e.g. αὐλός ὕποροιακες (Poll. iv. 75). While in pre-historic times the places of sepulture were either the houses or the streets of the city or village, or even the gardens, the houses of the deceased the Greeks had fixed places outside the city, cemeteries in the common and broad signification of the term; or else they made use of the roads outside of the city, as may still be seen in Italy, e.g. at Pompeii. The tombs which had been in contact with the dead, and were objects which had belonged to him. Thus there have been found objects for the toilet, weapons, little figures of earth or of bronze, and, especially, bronze or earthen vessels. The sepulchres themselves contained animals, among which were those of the horse. In the ideas and beliefs of the Greeks there was the conviction that the dead person must have for his journey to the subterranean world the same objects of use and of ornament which when living, he shared, and also utensils and vessels which were proper for eating and drinking from, and containing food and drink. This usage did not cease in classic Greece, as has been proved by the vessels and other objects which have been found in the sepulchres of this epoch.

The burial was followed by the funeral meal (μεσθένσιον), already met with in the Homeric period, though not by the games, which had been abolished; and also by the purification (εὐποριαν). But solitute for the deceased did not end here; on the third day after the burial, sacrifices (called τερφα) were offered upon the tomb, especially on the stele or other object placed on it; these sacrifices were repeated on the ninth day (ἀράκες); and in the meanwhile the mourning began. This, in the majority of cases, lasted thirty days; the shortest period was twelve (Plut. Lyce. 27). As to external signs, mourning was shown by abstinence from everything which might cause joy and pleasure, and also by putting on a black garment, or clothing which was only in part black. According to Plutarch (Quest. Rom. xiv.), it was a custom with the Greeks that during the mourning the women should shave off their hair, and the men should let theirs grow, if the regular usage was for the men to shave off the hair, and the women to let theirs grow. Euripides makes mention (Iphig. Ant. 1437 f.) of the cutting off of the hair
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and the putting on of a black peplos for mourning. The Argive custom of wearing a white garment for mourning instead of a black one (Plut. op. cit. xi.) seems to have been an exception.

It was also the usury of the dead called by Herodotus (iv. 26) γεροσκόπιον, a funeral feast, during which sacrifices were offered to the earth (τοῦ γῆς)—a commemoration called by others γεροσκόπιον or ἱερά. It is to be supposed that such a custom was chiefly followed in the case of men well known and highly thought of, notwithstanding that no distinction of persons or classes is made by Greek writers. But a general feeling of respect for tombs, and especially for ancestors, may be supposed to have proved that one reads of the place of sepulture (Persepolis 401 ff.) concerning the tombs of forfathers (θισσα ἐν προγενεσί).

Just as in the commemoration on the third and ninth days after burial, so at the annual commemorations, there were sacrifices, offerings and liturgies (εὐτραπέλια) to the dead, who was supposed to be already in the subterranean world; whence such libations took also the name of χοάδα, and of χοάδας λειψάνων.

The inhumation of the dead alone was denied sepulture and a funeral. In Athens the bodies of criminals were thrown behind the tower Mehta and along by the northern walls of the city (Plut. Them. xxii.; Plato, Repub. iv. 430). The suicide's right hand was understood to be thrown behind Mehta. Plato would have the suicide buried in silence and without any sign of sepulture (Long. ix. 873). Finally, to those whose bodies could not be obtained, cenotaphs or empty monuments were erected. Euphorbus (Hdt. 1241) says that there was a law of the Greeks that he who died by drowning in the sea should be 'buried in a tissue of empty robes' (εὔφαντας ἐν πλέγμα διάφωνο).


G. SERGI.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Hindu).—Life and death stand in perpetual contrast. To give expression to this fact is the aim of Hindu ritual in all its processions, down to the minutest details. In the case of offerings to the gods the participants circumambulate the fire with their right side turned towards it, and in a direction from left to right; in offerings to the menes the surcharged is facing the fire; in offerings to the left—to the opposite of the sun's course (see CIRCUMAMBULATION); in the former case the fire is bowed, in the latter the fire; in the one case the fire is offered in the right hand to the left (under the left arm); in the other from right to left (under the left arm); ropes are twisted from right to left; even numbers are assigned to the gods, odd ones to the menes; to the former belongs everything that is young, healthy, and strong to the latter what is old, weak, or deformed. Everything that is bright-coloured—the forenoon, the ascending half of the month or the year—is assigned to the gods; everything that is black—the menes, the race of the dead, is allotted the descending half of the month or the year. Even in the course of a human life the 50th year marks a boundary, those who have not reached it belonging to the gods, those who have passed it to the menes.

Dread of the evil influence of the dead, their impurity, their return, and their interference with the living is another characteristic of the ritual. Fire-brands and jets of water serve to ward off this influence; stones and flames are used between the village and the place of cremation; on the way home from the latter, care is taken to obliterate footprints in order to prevent the dead from finding the way, or perhaps to save the footprint, which is a possible subject of magic, from being exposed to the influence of hostile spirits; at the funeral ceremonies plants are selected whose names—such as upārya, avakā, yeda—have a protective sense.

The living are bound to prepare the way for the dead in the other world, to provide them with food for their great journey into Yama's realm, and to supply them with means for crossing the rivers. These ends are served by the utkranti or vañavarti cow, which is led along in the funeral train, and whose members are finally laid in a coffin. The cow is sacred and the Greeks that he who died by drowning in the sea should be 'buried in a tissue of empty robes' (εὐφαντας ἐν πλέγμα διάφωνο).
DEATH

There is no interment, but cast away, also appears to point to the independence of the Brāhma-
ṇa in the matter of the disposal of the dead.

The data as to burial are found in the Vedic
hymns, and especially in the Sūtras—the Gṛhya
and Pitṛmedha and kindred texts—and in the
records of modern usages. It is not without
interest that many of the regulations of the Sūtras
find parallels at the present day among Indian
tribes.

As we find the injunction that those returning
from the place of cremation are to deposit stones or other objects between the dead man and his
village, so the Māngars of Nepal obstruct the
road leading from the grave with a barricade of
thorns, through which the soul, conceived of as
a miniature man, very tender and fragile, is unable
to force its way (Census of India, 1901, i. 355).

On the other hand, our Sūtras do not contain an
account of all the customs that existed or may
have existed, and do not coincide with the ritual
known to the Rigveda.

An interesting illustration of this is supplied by Dr. Bloch (Annual Report of the
Archaeol. Survey of India, circle, for the year en-
dering April 1905, Calcutta, 1905 [ZDMG IX. 227 ff.]),
who opened some burial-mounds at Lauria,
and found in the midst of them remains of a wooden post (sthāna), which recalls the post mentioned in
Rigveda, of whose meaning the Sūtra ritual
gives us no idea.

It would be quite out of place here to treat even
superficially of the huge mass of prescriptions to
be found in published and unpublished texts, or of
the numerous ideas attached to different
schools and families. Cālāṇa divides the whole
ceremonial into 114 acts, not to speak of the varia-
tions found in each of these. It is equally impossible to discuss the numerous verses which accompany
those, as he does here and remains, and of the
throws not always clear; or, more especially, the
circumstantial casuistry with which the highly
ingenious spirit of Brāhmaṇism has sought, in
manner that is far from uninteresting, to provide
for all possibilities. Like the ceremonies connected
with birth, those attending on death are a saṁ-
skāra. 'It is well known,' says the Brhadāyana
Pitṛmedha, iii. 1. 4, 'that through the saṁskāra
after birth one conquers earth; through the saṁskāra
death, which, if measured, is a remarkable figure, and
therefore easier to have this saṁskāra performed
with care and with regard to all circumstances.

It may happen, for instance, that the Hindu dies in
a foreign land and must be brought home, or
that he dies there and remains, and the latter case cremation is performed in effigy upon
a human figure composed of palāta stems. Should
it chance, however, that after all the man returns
alive to the ritual provides even for this, and ordains
that he must be born anew—i.e., undergo all the
rites of jātakarṇam, in which he sits speechless and
with elenchus fists, like an embryo in the womb
(Cālāṇa, § 44). When a prostitute dies, she must
not be cremated, according to some teachers, with
ordinary fire, but with that of the cremation of
the corpse; and this thing is accomplished in the
rites of a bājākarnam (or, a bājākarnam), in
which it is more slight vanities of cult going back to primeval times. If
ggats are not used, many take 'black rice-grains,'
of which are three rice-paps are made.

A cow is brought, the servants of the deceased have each to throw three handfuls of dust over their shoulders.

At the head of the procession (according to the
Rigveda) is a man with a bier and on which is the
knighted at the domestic fire; he is followed by the sacrificial fires of the deceased and the aparatus for the cremation ceremony, including
the above-mentioned amśutarṇi cow; next in order is the dead man on his couch, which is placed
on a mat or on the before-mentioned bier, carried
by servants, old people, sons, or relatives near and
remote, according as the custom may be. In
many circles it is the practice—still followed in certain circumstances in India—to lead a man with a bier and
on which is the corpse a waggon drawn by black oxen, and to place it upon also the fires and sacri
cials utensils of the deceased. Behind the corpse come the servants, the lower ones first and the
latter with loose dishevelled hair and their shoulders besprinkled with dust. [In points of
detail we meet with many variations.] When the
corpse is lifted, the invocation, 'May Puṣān bring
success to thee from here to thence,' which was
to Puṣān, who in the whole ceremonial appears as jjuṣnevā, the
role already assigned him in the Rigveda. When
a third or a fourth of the way has been covered, one
of the goats is killed, or one of the paps of rice (or,
if there be only one, a third of it) is poured upon a
dish of earth thrown to the south. Thereupon the
company, with the younger ones in front, thrice circumambulate the corpse and the ced from right to left, with their hair loose on the left side and bound up on the right, at the same time striking their right thighs with the right stick, and then proceed with the corpse with the extremity of their garments. Then comes a thrice-repeated circumambulation from left to right, with the hair loose on the right side and bound up on the left, with a stick of the left hand, and according to the view of certain scholars, without another fanning of the corpse. The same procedure is repeated at the second third of the journey and at its termination. The rice-vessel is finally dashed on the ground, and its frame is taken away. Anustarana, the cremation, is performed with the flames of the three or five fires kept up by him. Note is taken of which fire Sentence, and it is aed wherefrom whether the deceased has entered the world of the gods or of the menes, or into some other world. To the north-east of the ahuuvayya a knee-deep trench is dug in which a certain place is chosen—a clearly an ancient superstition—in order to cool the heat of the fire. The traditional explanation of the custom is that the dead man rises from the trench and ascends along with the smoke to heaven. Behind the pyre a goat is fastened, but in such a manner that it is possible for it to break away, and, if it does so, nothing is done to prevent it. The cremation is accompanied by a number of verses or songs by the officiant, a time each of the deceased belonged. While the pyre continues to blaze, the relatives move off without looking round. The officiant gives them seven pebbles, which on their way home they scatter with the left hand turned downwards. According to the tradition of another school, three trenches are dug behind the pyre; they are then filled with water from an uneven number of pitchers, and gravel is thrown in. The relatives enter the trenches, touch the water, and then fill their pitcher, which is placed on the ground, and bound together by a rope made of darbha-straw. The last to creep through tears the branches apart. Gautama directs a thorny branch, Vaikathanna a grass snare, to be held in the front of their mouth which they must creep. The company, as they leave the place of cremation, must restrain themselves from any exhibition of mourning, and go forward with heads bent down, entertaining one another with well-omened speeches and virtuous verses. Behind the corpse, and in the course of the road to the dead (cf. Bhojhwana, viii. 56). Yudhishthira is rebuked by Vyasa for bewailing the death of his nephew. Story-tellers (pavarnikas, etc.) are therefore engaged in order to drive away by their skill the sorrows of the relatives (Lüders, ZDME 1706 § 6).

3. Udakakarmman. — The offering of water to the deceased which follows is carried out in a variety of ways. According to one view, all the relatives—down to the sixth or tenth generation—must enter the water. They wear only a single garment, and the sacrificial cord hangs over the right shoulder; many also direct that the hair must be dishevelled and dust thrown upon the body. They turn their faces towards the south, plunge under the water, call upon the dead by name, and offer him a handful of water. Then they emerge, bow the left knee, and wring their dripping garment.

An interesting usage prevails at the present day. Immediately after the bath a quantity of boiled rice and prayer is set out for the crows (Caland, p. 78). This recalls the primitive notion that the dead appear as birds, and the comparison of the Karmas with birds, for the birds are an offshoot from the root of the dead. Scarcely anything connected with the history of cults can be seen more intolerable or more strongly reminiscent of the earlier times than an enormous Pipal tree—not the one sacred to the Buddhist community on the western side of the Akṣa—growing on the north of the Buddha’s stupa on the slopes of which offerings to the menes are continuously presented, while blackbirds fly to and fro amongst its branches.

After the bath the relatives seat themselves
upon a clean grassy spot, where they are regaled with stories or Yama-songs. They do not return to the village till dusk, for themselves, or the sun is partly set, or the herd come home. At the door of the house they chew leaves of the *pickhunanda* (*Azadirachta indica*), rinse their mouth, touch water, fire, cow-dung, etc., or inhale the smoke of a certain species of wood, tread upon a stone, and then enter.

4. *Āsauca* (uncleanness).—The occurrence of death renders those associated with it unclean—a condition which lasts from 1 to 10 days, and is variously regulated according to circumstances and the usages of particular schools. ‘After ten days’ the mourning ceremonies for Indumati are ended (*Raghavaśiṣa*, viii. 73). The prescriptions to be attended to during the *āsauca* are partly negative—in so far as they forbid certain things, such as the cutting of the hair and beard, study of the Vedas, *Gṛhya* offerings; and partly positive—e.g. the enjoining of certain offerings. The first night a rice-ball is offered to the dead, before and after which water for washing is poured out for him, and he is called on by name. Milk and water are set out for him in the open air. Many set out perfumes and drinks for him, as well as a lamp to facilitate his progress through the terrible darkness of the nights. From this time the city is not visited by Yama. Others cause a trench to be dug, into which perfumes and flowers are cast, while a pot suspended by a noose is hung over it. Even to-day the notion is to be met with that a thread secreted in a shady nook will enable one to reach the drink suspended by it (Caland, p. 88).

5. *Sānīchayana*—The collecting of the bones after cremation is usually carried out on an uneven day; according to some, during the dark half of the month and the waning constellations. For the bones of a man a plain urn is employed; for those of a woman, a ‘female’ one, i.e. one adorned with breasts. The bones are picked up one by one, with the thumb and ring-finger, and are laid without noise in the urn. Among the Taṭṭiriyas this duty is performed by women, regarding the selection of whom the prescriptions vary. According to the rules of Baidyāyana they must attach a fruit of the *bhrītī* or *guptī* (*Bṛha* 1, 5) or any other berries with a red thread, mount upon a stone, wipe their hands once with an *apāmaṅgula*-plant, and with closed eyes collect the bones with the left hand. The urn, which is closed with a lid, is placed in a trench prepared in the same manner as the place of cremation, and having no flow to it except rainwater; or it may be laid under the root of a tree. Others place grass and a yellow cloth in a trench, and then throw in the bones. From the latest period we have an account of how one ‘puts [the remains] into a little new barrel, and throws them into the water, if there be any at hand, or, if not, into some desert and lonely place.’ The Kapola-Banias tie up the bones in a piece of silk or linen cloth, and the bundle so made is laid in a trench dug in the earth. A piece of a tree in the burning-ground’ (*JAS* iii. 8, p. 489; Caland, 105.239). Many schools enjoin a second cremation, in which the bones that have survived the first process are pulverized, mixed with butter, and then offered in the fire.

6. *Śāntikarman*—This is another important department of the death ritual. [In many ceremonies it comes at the point at which we have now reached, in many not till after the *śāntikarman*]. The ceremonies which immediately follow are the *śāntikarman* and the *bhumikarman* were originally parallel usages, which were only afterwards brought into connexion, and the *śāntikarman* continued in several schools to hold the place which belonged to it at first.] According to Āvalayana, the ceremony is to be held on the day of new moon. The same authority directs that a fire, with ashes and fireplaces, shall be made, and the anthill is put down at a cross-road or elsewhere; then the participants are to circumambulate it thrice, striking the left thigh with the left hand. [Others kindle an ordinary fire at a spot between the village and the *śāntikarman* ground.] Then they return without looking round, touch water, and furnish themselves with a number of new articles—jugs, jars, fire-sticks of *śānti*, wood, etc. The fire is kindled afresh, and they sit till nightfall around it, entertaining one another with inquisitive stories. When the stillness of night reigns, an uninterrupted stream of water is poured around the house from the south to the north side of the door, and then the participants take their places on an ox-skin that is spread for them. The funeral uttered during this and other parts of the ceremony have regard to life and the averting of death. A stone is laid down to the north of the fire, ‘to keep off death.’ The young women anoint their eyes with fresh butter. Many texts speak also of the leading around of an ox, of which the company take hold and walk behind it: the one who closes the procession has to obliterate the footmarks. A strange notion entertained by certain Indian tribes is cited by Caland (*Ind. Myth. ii. 109 sqq.*), to the effect that, at an assembly held on the 12th day, the dead man takes possession of one of the company and intimates what his friends are to do for him, or takes leave of his relatives.

The funda—i.e. the foundation of the funeral—decision to take effective measures to ward off evil and to return to ordinary life. Hence even the fire that served the deceased is removed—not, however, by the door—and extinguished outside. Its ashes are placed on a mound of bones and are used, the mound being set down on a saliferous, and therefore unfruitful, piece of ground (Caland, 114). The new fire is kindled by the eldest son, after (or, sometimes, before) the removal of the old. The Rigveda is acquainted with a similar ceremonial, but the details of the ritual are considerably different (Hillebrandt, *Fed. Myth.* ii. 108 ff.).

Many of the ceremonies prescribed by the ritual literature for the *śāntikarman* to the dead are depicted by the hymns of the *śāmaśa*: e.g. the digging of seven trenches to represent the seven rivers: sometimes with something in each, sometimes in the other; but for the general interest of the subject it is a matter of no great importance what part of the death-ritual was worked upon particular schools.

7. *Pitṛmedha* or *śmaśāna*.—The questions for whom and at what time the *śmaśāna* is to be performed have given rise to ritual discussion, and have been variously answered by the different schools. The season of the year and the reigning constellations are of significance; on the whole, a preference seems to have been given to the day of the new moon. On the preceding day certain plants are rooted up at the spot destined for the *śmaśāna*, to the north of which earth is dug up, and around the horizon, the heads of bricks which serve for the structure, besides the number (not precisely defined) employed for packing. The urn with the ashes is brought and laid between three *polūda*-stakes driven into the ground inside a butt which must be between the village and the *śmaśāna* spot. If the bones are not to be found in the trench mentioned above, dust is taken from this spot, or the dead man is called upon from the bank of a river, and then any small animal (for this being taken to be the *tvāra* or *tvārakha*) is made to spring upon an outspread cloth and is treated as if it were the bones. Upon the three stakes is placed a perforated vessel containing sour milk and whey, which trickles through the numerous holes upon the urn below. To trumpet blast and the sound
of the late company circumscribe and delimit the spot after the fashion already described (striking the left thigh with the hand, etc.), and fan the urn with the extremities of their garments. [Many ritual authorities speak also of song and dance and female dancers: some do not mention the latter, but depicting an instrumentality with various ejaculations of the above. The variations are great, indeed: e.g. some.} place an empty kettle in the hut, and beat it with an old shoe.

The circumstances take place during the first, middle, and last parts of the night. The company repays quite early to the śākānāśa spot, regarding whose extent there are widely deviating prescriptions. It must be out of sight of the vil-

lage, in a hidden situation, yet visited by the rays of the midday sun. The spot must be staked off and surrounded with a rope, and—as in the case of the agničharyana, with whose ritual the śākānāśa has many points of contact—its surface must be covered with small stones. Puppests must be opened with a plough drawn by six or more oxen, and various seeds cast into them. In the middle of the ground a hole is made, into which gravel, sandstone, etc., are cast. Milk from a cow whose calf died is poured into half of a large jar, which is filled up with goats in a kind of drink; and this, or some-

thing else, is set out as food for the dead. [Towards the south (according to some) two crooked trenches are to be opened, and filled with milk and water. It was mentioned, as one of the numerous and frequently characteristic details, that in the śākānāśa a piece of reed is immersed, apparently to serve the purpose of a boat to the deceased (cf. above, p. 477).] The bones are laid down upon a bed of sarchāgrass, arranged in the figure of a man, covered with an old cloth, and asperged. The urn is destroyed. Over the remains ere the monument, which conforms to a definitely prescribed plan, and in which the present writer sees the precursor of that of the pitaras.

When the structure has reached a certain height, food for the dead is walled in. After its completion, the śākānāśa is covered with earth, and water is poured over it from pitchers which it is the task of nine of the deceased's relatives to fence up with arakā-plants and ektā-grass. Much is done also to separate the world of the living from that of the dead: the boundary betwixt them is marked by bumps of earth, stones, and branches; and the fence groove is served by the uttering of certain formulas.

The soul of the deceased does not pass at once into the world of the Pitaras; it remains separate from them for a time as a prāta, or 'spirit,' and has special offerings presented to it. But, after the lapse of a certain period, or when some fortunate circumstance occurs, the dead man reaches the circle of the manes through the instrumentality of the āpāitakāraṇa. The grandfather now drops out, since at this stage the rule, on one hand presented; but, as one of the manes, he receives his place in the ancestor-cult. This cult has struck its roots deep in Indian life. To feed the ancestors, to propitiate or keep them away, and to summon their aid, are the purposes served by the śādādhās described in ritual- and law-books. The śādādhās are offered either on special occasions, when fortunate occurrences take place, or regularly at certain periods of time. To the fire and dharma, a son, father, mother, wānaka-pragāraṇa, and other festivals, when the manes are spoken of as 'cheerful,' and are honoured in the same way as the gods: to the second belong the daily worship of the manes, that on the day of the new month, the giving offering to the manes at the four months' sacrifi-
cies, at the soma-sacrifices, and the agnāvāja cele-

briation with the ānapāitakāraṇa, which coincide with the close of the year (see, for details, the present writer's sketch in GIAI iii. 2).

LITERATURE.—Bloomfield, 'Women as Mourners in the Athr-

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Indian, non-Aryan)—1. Conception of death: not due to natural causes.—The conception of death among the non-Aryan tribes of India does not materialize out of the many and varied, and the like, which seem to indicate action by some indwelling spirit. This belief is naturally extended to accidents caused by wild animals, and deaths due to epidemic diseases, each of which is attributed to the working of an evil spirit. Hence many of these tribes use special means to identify the spirit, and the methods usually partake of the nature of Shamanism. The soul, again, is regarded as a little man or animal occupying the individual, which causes him to move. It leaves the body through the skull- sutures or other pure orifices of the body, in the case of persons who have lived virtuous lives; in the case of the wicked, by one or other of the many impure exits between the body and the mouth or the head from the body—a theory which explains to those who hold it the nature of dreams and the danger of waking a sleeper. There may be more souls than one, and these may have separate abodes—a belief accounting for the performance among some tribes of funeral rites at the place of death, at the grave, or at some other spot, where offerings are made to appease the spirit, and explaining much of the vagueness which characterizes their funeral ceremonies.

It is believed that a soul, the sarva, or the tān, is mortal; and with their lack of interest in their national history, and their imperfect recollection of past events, these people, after a time, regard their deceased ancestors as mere spirits, as devoid of reverence or fear, and the attention of the survi-

vors is concentrated on the more recently dead. The soul, when it leaves the body, is figured as a
naked, feeble mannikin, exposed to all kinds of injury until, by the pious care of its friends, a new body is provided for it. This often takes the form of a temporary refuge—a hat, a stone, a tree, or a hollow of the earth; and may be found among animal or insect; and this temporary refuge, or, among tribes who accept the theory of metempsychosis, this form of re-birth, may be identified by laying out ashes or flour at the scene of death. These, when properly examined, often show the footmarks of the creature by which the soul has been occupied. Among the jungle tribes the soul is commonly supposed to abide in a tree—a belief which perhaps has its origin among the sentiments suggested by the habit of tree-burial (see § 4 (b)). In W. India a common refuge of the soul is the jekhóda, or 'life-stone,' which is selected at the time of the funeral rites, and to which offerings and libations are made. This naturally leads to further development, when a rude image of the deceased is made, placed among the household gods, and honoured with gifts of food and drink. In some cases, as among the Kachins of Upper Burma, an attempt is made to ensnare the soul within a barrier of bamboos, from which it is solemnly released at the termination of the funeral rites (Gazetteer Upper Burma, i. 1. 409). Sometimes, again, during this intermediate period, the soul is believed to have entered the earth, to die in the bone, and abide in the grave or at the cremation-ground. When beliefs such as these are current among the people, it is obviously of supreme importance that the funeral rites should be duly performed. No infraction of this is more damnable than that which proceeds from a corpse unpurified by the customary rites; and perhaps no people in the world devote more anxious care than the Hindus to placating the friendly, and repressing or scaring away the unpropitious soul.

2. Spirits friendly and malignant.—The line between these two classes of spirits is clearly drawn, and it is based on the close family- and clan-organization of the non-Aryan tribes. The souls of the family dead, unless they are irritated by neglect, are generally benevolent; the souls of strangers are, as a rule, malevolent and hostile. In the case of the former no means of placation are neglected. Some tribes, after the soul has left the corpse, do not dare to defile it, but invite it to abide with them as a house-guardian; others make a miniature bridge to enable it, as it returns, to cross a stream, and thus evade the water-spirit (cf. art. BRIDGE, ii. 2, e); others, again, make a pretence of capturing the soul and bringing it back to its home. The provision of fire and light for the soul, either in the house itself or at the grave, is more general. Sometimes rites are performed to guide the soul to its longed-for place of rest; or it is solemnly invited to leave the grave and ascend to the other world, where it is welcomed by the friends who have gone before—a conception of the realm of theainted dead which may have been independently arrived at by the non-Aryan tribes, though the details may be due to Hindu influence. To secure the peaceful departure of the soul, it is essential that the due egress should be provided for it by removing the dying person into the open air or into an upper chamber—a precaution in Asia as in the west, advantage being taken of the custom of relieving the house from the death-tabu. With the same object, the skull is often broken at the time of cremation. When death occurs, the soul is placated by the wailing of its relatives; or, as among the Gonds, by the wailing of friends; or, if the soul appears to employ its time in working in the other world, and not to transform itself into a tiger and plague its friends (Risley, TC i. 408). More remarkable is the procedure of the Nagas of Assam, who enose the evil spirit which has removed their friend, and threaten to attack it with their spears (JAI xxv. 195, xxvii. 34; Dalton, 40). This custom apparently does not prevail among the Manipur tribes (Thurston, The Naga Tribes of Manipur, 1911, p. 146 ff.)

After death, the wants of the dead are provided for by gifts of food and drink (see art. FOOD FOR THE DEAD). Among some tribes the feeling prevails that the ghost or soul of the dead man should be appropriated to his use, and not taken by his friends, lest the envious spirit may return and claim them (Dalton, 21, 205; cf. Crawley, Mystic Rose, Lond. 1896, p. 94). The body is washed and dressed in its shape of a coin or some article of value, is placed with the corpse to support it on its way to the other world, as among the Paharias (Hosten, 'Pahuriah Burial Customs,' Anthropos, iv. 670, 672). But people in this grade of culture, while strictly governed by a regard for precedents, contrive to evade the duty by placing worthless representations of the dead man's effects in the grave, or by merely waving them over his pyre (Rivers, The Todas, 302 f.). The arms and ornaments which are often buried with the corpse, or placed upon the grave, are obviously intended for the protection or use of the dead; and these are sometimes intentionally broken, either in the belief that, if left intact, they render them unavailable, and thus prevent the riUing of the tomb. Special clothing is also sometimes provided for the soul, and, as the garments of the dead man are supposed to be infected by his glance, they are generally replaced by some menial priest, whose sanctity guards him from danger in using them. Ornaments are sometimes placed in the grave; a set of dindems, for instance, like those of Mycenae, having been found in a S. Indian grave (Obert, Notes, 1892). The dead were probably deposited as amulets to protect the soul from evil spirits (Thurston, Notes, 149 f.). Some deposit with the dead a prayer written by the tribal priest; others, like the Gáros of Assam, nail a dog at the grave to guide the soul to Chilkatng, the tribal paradise; or, as among the Gonds, clay images of horses, on which the soul may ride to heaven, are placed on the tomb (A. Playfair, The Gáros, 1900, p. 109; Oppert, 84 f.). CloseUy connected with this belief is the cutting of the victims at the funeral, in order that they may accompany and serve the soul. Some of the wilder Assam and Burma tribes, down to quite recent times, killed slaves with this object (Gazetteer Upper Burma, 1. i. 533; F. Mason, Burma, 1869, p. 92 f.). Blood being the favourite form of refreshment for the dead, it is provided by animal sacrifices. The victim is often slain at the grave, and its blood is poured upon it. The Andamanese mother places a shell full of her milk on the grave of her child, and the Dosald of the United Provinces pours blood into a pit, so that it may reach the soul (JAI xii. 184; Crooke, TC ii. 334). With the same intention water is poured on the grave, or dropped into the mouth of the dead or dying man. Many articles of food placed with the dead serve the additional purpose of scaring evil spirits. Rites such as these, performed at the grave, naturally develop into a periodical feast held in the house or in some advantageous spot, leading to a rude image representing the dead. The final stage is reached when it comes to be believed that, by feeding the tribal priest or a Brahman, the food passes on for the use of the soul.

3. Rites performed by the evil spirits.—The rites performed in the case of the malignant dead assume another form. Such spirits are the souls of those who have been removed from this world by an untimely or tragic death—those of the
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murdered, the unburied, the unmarried, childless women, robbers, men of evil life, and strangers. These are included under the general title of bhūt (Skr. bhūta, 'formed,' 'produced')—a term which does not necessarily connote malignity, but is not negatived by any circumstances. They tip the cherished feelings of envy and malignity towards the living, and it is necessary to placate or, more generally, to repress and coerce them. The souls of the unmarried dead are often precipitated by a nervous fit the demons may take in what — a court of law represents the dead youth or maiden. For the unburied dead a mock funeral is performed over such relics of the dead as may have been recovered, or over an image representing the deceased. The soul of a dead bandit, as among some of the robber tribes of N. India, is sometimes defiled and worshipped. The most common example of the discontented spirit is the churn of N. India, or, as she is called in the S., the aleuttin, the spirit of a dead woman. The dead woman lies within the period of sexual impurity. Like demons in other countries, she has her feet turned backwards, and is much dreaded. She is repelled by scattering grain on the road from her grave. When she rises, she carries the remains of her former dwelling or the cock forces her to return—a practice extended even to the benignant dead by the Fahürías of British Sikkim, who drive a nail through each finger and toe of a prospective churn, to prevent her from entering the house. The 'walking' (though Hosten, 679, records, without having been able to obtain any explanation for it, the custom of the Yakshas of British Sikkim, who, 'walking a man's dead, ploughs his hands from the middle knuckles to the wrist.') Spirits of this description of the malignant dead are repelled in various ways. Some tribes have an annual ghost-hunt, by which the evil spirits are scared from the home and village. Garuda, who has died within the house-ladder, is beaten, and rockets are exploded. Dances and other revels, in which the rules of morality are disregarded—indecency being a mode of scaring evil spirits—are performed. Sometimes the rites take place by carrying out the corpse and placing it up with stones or thorns; or, as among many of the wilder tribes, the body is buried face downwards—a practice adopted by the Thugs. In Upper India the ghosts of menial tribes, such as sweepers, are so much dreaded that masts have followed an attempt to bury their dead in the usual way with the face turned to the sky. Sometimes the grave is enclosed by a fence too high for the ghost to 'take it,' particularly without a 'run.' Such an encirclement is usual in the case of marking the place as taba, and was the origin of the stone circles, erected round cairns, which subsequently developed into the artistic railings of Buddhist stupas. Another common method is to deceive the spirit into believing or imagining that he is in a troot, and to change places on the road. Special precautions are taken not to name the dead, at least for some time after death, lest the soul may consider it an invitation to return.

4. Methods of disposal of the dead. — (a) Conni-
salvation.—Of all the most archaic method of disposal of the dead, the funeral burning is nothing less than the corpse of the departed kinsman (Hartland, L.P. ii. 278), India has so far supplied no clear examples. There are, however, numerous texts of the ancient producing the virtues or the powers of the departed, as among the Lusahis of Assam, and the Chingpaws and Was of Upper Burma (Lewin, Hill Tracts, 107; Gaetztrer Uper Bum,mathrm, p. 436, 496). But this custom is confined to the most isolated and savage tribes, and the similar tradition recorded by Dalton (229f), of the Birhors of Chotá Náagar is probably quite baseless—possibly an echo of a story told of tribes much further east.

(b) Dolmens and other stone monuments.—The earliest form of corpse-disposal of which physical evidence exists is that in dolmens, kistvaens, and other forms of stone monuments, of which India furnishes numerous examples. Though sporadic survivals, and one example, the curious monoliths of the many parts of N. India, the assertion of Ferguson (Rude Stone Monuments, 475 f.) may be accepted as generally correct, that they are peculiar to the country south of the Vindhyan Hills, and are numerous in the tracts surrounding the province of the Kistna, in the districts of the commuter, or on the side of the Ghats, through Coochbhum to the coast, and especially in the neighbourhood of Cossimbar, where the custom is said to be very old. These stone monuments is that of Brecks, who describes them under three heads—cairns, or rather mounds enclosed by a stone circle; barrows; and kistvaens. In the cairns have been discovered earthen jars containing fragments of burnt bones, and some beautiful bronze vessels, probably imported from Babylonia or some other foreign country. Questions connected with the origin, purpose, and date of this series of monuments have given rise to much controversy. The chief arguments of a form analogous to that of the ancient monuments, are used by the modern Todas has led to the inference that the members of this tribe are the successors of the lval, and the theories of the ancient builders. The character of the remains discovered does not, as a rule, suggest a date earlier than the Iron Age, which, if the analogy of Europe be accepted (though there are no materials for such a comparison), need not imply a date earlier than 850-600 B.C. But V. A. Smith (IGI, new ed., 1908, ii. 98) supposes that the Iron Age in N. India may go back to 1500 or even 2000 B.C. The difficulty of fixing an approximate date for these structures largely depends upon the fact that modern tribes, like the Kols and their kinfolk in Chotá Náagar, as well as the Nágas and Khásias of Assam, still erect stone monuments of a type closely resembling the pre-historic examples. The modern funeral monuments of the Khásias in India has been fully described by Gurdon (The Khásias, 144 f.), who divides them into three classes—those intended as seats for the souls of the dead while their bones are being conveyed to the tribal ossuary; memorial stones erected for indicating the site of a grave; and stones which mark tanks used for purifying the mourners from the death tath. Many monuments in Madras and among the tribes of the E. frontier take the form of ossuaries, into which the bones are removed after disinterment.

(c) Exposure to beasts and birds of prey.—Among other modes of disposal of the dead the most crude is that of exposure of the remains to beasts and
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birds of prey. This custom still prevails among the Tibetans and certain tribes of the N. frontier, where it probably originated from the difficulty of providing wood for cremation, or excavating graves during the severe winter of these regions. At a later date it was adopted by Persia and the Parsis. Among the non-Aryan tribes of the Peninsula this method is occasionally employed for those dying in a state of taboo, as is the case with the Pahārias of Bengal, the Nāgas of Assam, and some other tribes living on the eastern Ganges (Dalton, 274; JAI xii. 203; Rice, Essays, 69; Crooke, TC ii. 92, i. 7, iii. 144).

(d) Cremation.—The idea of protecting the corpse from violation, and the desire to prevent the decomposition, or that the spirit may be saved from the remains of the attacks of wild animals, and partly on the fact that the tree is the haunt of spirits. It is found among the Andamanese, Nāgas, and in Indonesia (JAI xii. 141, xi. 204; Kerslake, 199; Dalton, 43; Census Report Assam, 1891, i. 246; Hislop, App. xvii.). Among the Khāsis of Assam the corpse is placed in a hollow tree, and the next development is the use of a tree-trunk as a coffin, as among the Nāgas and some tribes of Burmah (Dalton, 56; Gazetteer Upper Burmah, i. 525; JAI xxvi. 199).

(e) Ceylon.—Ceylon bears the same marks as the rest of India, and is found at the present time among the Bihls of Bombay (BG xii. 87), the Kuchins of Upper Burmah (Gazetteer Upper Burmah, i. 386, 409), and among some of the Assam tribes (Dalton; Risley, TC i. 112). From such cauris the stūpas of the Buddhists have been developed.

(f) Cave-burial.—Cave-burial, common in other regions, is not observed in India, doubtless because it has prevailed widely in India. But it must be remembered that many caves have been occupied continuously even to the present day, and thus the evidence may have become obliterated, and numbers of them may still remain unexplored. In Malabar, however, sepulchral chambers excavated in the interine and containing clay vessels and iron implemments have been discovered; and in the same class are the pāndā-kuti, the name of which is based on the bird being there the abodes of the Pāndava heroes of the Mahābhārata (JAI xxv. 3711; Thurston, Notes, 148). See also the account of cave-burials in 'Anterior India,' a region not capable of identification, by Nicolo Conti (Indica, the 16th Cent., ed. R. H. Major, Hakluyt Soc., 1857).

(g) House-burial.—House-burial naturally leads to house-burial, and the examples of this practice are abundant. More than one reason probably led to the adoption of the custom, to retain the corpse in the house in the hope of its revival; the dead lest the relics might be used for purposes of black magic; or the hope that the soul of the ancestor thus buried might be re-incarnated in the present or in the future generation. This last belief seems to be most general, and the custom, sometimes with this explanation, has been recorded among the Andamanese (JAI xii. 141, 144; Temple, Census Report, 1901, p. 63), the Nāgas of Assam (JAI xvi. 200, 203; Wad and allied Burman tribes (Scott, Burman, 408), and some Māras and Pānjiab tribes (Thurston, Notes, 155; PNQ i. 123).

(h) Disposal in water.—The custom of consigning the dead to the river is more common among orthodox Hindus, the bones and ashes after cremation are deposited in a river or tank at some sacred place. Among the lower tribes, in most parts of the country, the corpse is often flung into the nearest river, sometimes after a perfunctory attempt at cremation by singing the face and beard. It has been suggested that this method of disposal is in some cases based upon the desire to free the bones rapidly from the products of decomposition, thus to placate the spirit; but more usually the intention is simply to get rid as quickly as possible of the corpse and the taboo which emanates from it. Hence it is frequently adopted in the case of those dying in a state of spiritual sleep, and those perishing from epidemic disease; and the bodies of tānavas and other holy men are frequently consigned to running water. Sometimes, again, the rite is in the nature of sympathetic magic, as when in Bengal those dying of leprosy, on the principle of water to water, are flung into the Ganges (Asiat. Res. iv. 69; Buchanan, E. India, i. 114).

(i) Tree-burial.—The practice of tree-burial in India seems to have been partly on the desire to placate the spirit by saving the remains from the attacks of wild animals, and partly on the fact that the tree is the haunt of spirits. It is found among the Andamanese, Nāgas, and in Indonesia (JAI xii. 141, xi. 204; Kerslake, 199; Dalton, 43; Census Report Assam, 1891, i. 246; Hislop, App. xvii.). Among the Khāsis of Assam the corpse is placed in a hollow tree, and the next development is the use of a tree-trunk as a coffin, as among the Nāgas and some tribes of Burmah (Dalton, 56; Gazetteer Upper Burmah, i. 525; JAI xxvi. 199).

(j) Platform-burial.—This rite further develops into the custom of platform-burial, which prevails among the Andamanese and some tribes on the E. frontier (JAI xii. 144; Census Report Andaman, 1901, 65; Lewin, Hill Tribes, 109). Among the E. tribes the custom of smoking the corpse is frequently combined with this.

(k) Jar-burial.—Jar-burial is to have been carried out in an earthenware vessel, does not appear to prevail at present among the non-Aryan tribes; but instances of corpses placed in large mortuary jars have been discovered in prehistoric S. Indian interments (JAI xxv. 3714); and some of these terracotta cisterns closely resemble those found in Babylonia. At present, among most tribes which practise cremation, the ashes and bones are deposited in an earthen jar before burial, or consignment to the river, or at some prominent place.

(l) Contracted burials.—Besides the ordinary mode of burial in a recumbent posture, there are other methods which deserve special mention. First comes what is known as contracted burial, when the corpse is interred with the knees closely pressed against the breast. The tribal distribution of this practice does not throw much light upon its origin or significance. It is found among some of the more savage tribes, such as the Andamanese, and is more prevalent in southern India, and in the Lushai and Kuki of the E. frontier (Lewin, Hill Tribes, 109; Wild Races, 246). Among such people it has been suggested that it represents an attempt to save the body from the attacks of the famished bears. In other cases, among various races, the thumbs and toes of the dead are bound, apparently with this intention. Another theory is that it symbolizes the postural position of the child in its mother's womb. In some instances it may be due to the practical difficulty of digging a grave of the shape and size in which the body may rest in a recumbent posture; in others it may represent the position of a savage sleeping beside a camp fire. It has been adopted by some of the religious orders, like the sāvāṇajas of N. India and the Shenvi Brāhmans and Lingayats of the south. Here it probably represents the posture of the guru engaged in meditation, or lecturing to his pupils, because some of these sects place the bodies of their gurus in this posture after death, and worship them (BG xv. i. 149).

(m) Shelf or niche-burial.—Shelf- or niche-burial, in which the corpse is deposited in a chamber or cavity excavated in the side of some perpendicular face, is also found among the Mīrīs of Assam (Dalton, 143). It is found among some of the E. S. tribes, like the Kauṇāis of Manipur and the Pāniyas of Malabar (JAI xvi. 355f.; Thurston, Notes, 144); it has been adopted by some religious or semi-religious orders,
like the Jugs of Bengal, and the Râvala or Lingayats (Risley, T. I. 350; Crooke, T.C. ii. 19; BG XVIII. i. 361); and it is the orthodox method among Muhammadans, who place the corpse in a niche (bâhâ) high enough to allow the spirit to rise when the dread angels, Munkar and Nakir, come to question it. Otherwise regarding its belief in the Prophet and his religion.

(m) Concealed burial.—Concealed burial and the obliterating of all marks of the grave appear generally to be due to a desire to get rid of the spirit. It is perhaps a custom among the Mudras and Burma (Oppert, 199; Scott, Burma, 408).

5. Disinterment of the remains.—The practice of disinterment of the remains after decomposition has ceased probably rests upon the belief that the soul is inimical in the body. The Andamanese and the Nicobarese disinter their dead, wash the bones, and, after wrapping them in cloth or leaves, re-bury them, or fling them into the jungle, or sink them in the sea (JAL xxxii. 209, 2191., xii. 143, iv. 405, xi. 235 f.). Among the Khasis of Assam those who die from infectious diseases are buried, the remains being dug up and cremated when danger from infection is over (Gordon, 137). This custom leads, among some tribes, to the provision of ossuaries in which the dry bones are stored. Such structures are found in E. and S. India (JAL v. 40, vii. 211 f.). The same belief in the continued, though mysterious, oneness of the body with the soul, and the sacred character of the site and tracts of cemeteries, to which, often from long distances, as among the Chimbons of Upper Burma and some tribes in the central hills, the bones of tribesmen are removed (Gazetteer Upper Burma, t. 467; Dutt, 201).

6. Immediate and deferred burial.—In most cases climatic conditions necessitate the immediate disposal of the remains by cremation or burial. The custom of deferred burial, in which the remains are retained in the huts, causes trouble from a distance to pay their last tribute of respect to the dead, is less common, and is found chiefly among the tribes like the Khasis, Nagas, or Lushais (Gordon, 133; JAL xxvi. 195; Lewin, Hill Tribes).

7. Embalming the dead.—Customs of this kind naturally develop into the practice of embalming the dead, which is not common in India. In the form of preservation of the remains in honey or by smearing them with oil, there is no such custom found among some of the E. and Burman tribes (Hooker, Himalayan Journals, ed. London, 1891, 480 f.; Shwe Yoe [Scott], The Burman, ii. 330 f.)

8. Inhumation and cremation.—The methods of disposal of the dead which have been considered hitherto are all more or less abnormal. The modes now generally adopted are either simple burial in a recumbent position or cremation. We may, perhaps, in consideration of the Indian evidence, assume that the most primitive form was exposure of the corpse, followed by inhumation, and then by cremation. It has often been asserted that cremation was specially an Aryan practice, but the evidence from India monuments indicates that possibly it was only in the case of persons of rank that cremation prevailed (cf. art. Aryan Religion in vol. ii. p. 16). At the same time, the facts at our disposal do not enable us definitely to settle why inhumation and cremation followed in succession. It appears, however, that after the belief in an abode in the sky where the soul joined the pîtri, or sainted dead, had become generally established; and, if it arose, as he argues (ib. i. 539 f.), in a forest country, where the hat was consumed with the corpse to avoid taboo, there seems no reason why it may not have been independently discovered by the non-Aryan tribes.

At present it is only the most primitive non-Aryan tribes and some ascetic orders who still maintain the practice of cremation. On the other hand, many tribes in a low state of culture who now cremate their dead may have adopted the practice under Hindu influence. No literary evidence exists by which the historical development of this custom can be traced. In this transition, however, between the two forms of disposal, is in many instances clearly indicated. For example, among some tribes the ordinary dead are buried, while those under tabu are cremated; or the rich are cremated, while the poor are buried. The question which mode is to be adopted depends upon the season of the year in which the death occurs. Among some tribes we find more than one method in use. One clan of the Nagas combines platform-burial with cremation, placing the dead in open coffins raised several feet above ground, whereas the remains are subsequently removed and burned close by (JAI xi. 209, 213). The Khasis of Assam place the corpse into water, as may be convenient at the time (Risley, i. 365). The Hâburas of the United Provinces either cremate or expose their dead in the jungle, as best suits their nomadic habits (Crooke, T. C. ii. 476). While many other tribes combine the two modes of disposal, among the Nagas, who bury, expose on a platform or in a tree, and sometimes cremate the corpse after placing it on a platform (JAI xli. 293, 213; Hudson, 146 f.). After cremation the bones and ashes are usually deposited in a sacred vessel while in process of removal to the sacred place being hung in a tree so that the spirit, when so disposed, may revisit the bones.

9. The death-tabu.—As among all races in the same grade of culture, the infective tabu arising from the corpse is specially dreaded. All who come in contact with the dead are considered to be infected. The corpse-bearers, for instance, as among the tribes of the central hill tract, have their shoulders rubbed with oil and smeared by the women of the mourning family, while they are sprinkled with cow's urine from twigs of the sacred Nîm tree (Melia azadarachta). The dread of the death-tabu appears throughout the rites of mourning, while the variety of practice appears among the Parsis, who bury, expose on a platform or in a tree, and sometimes cremate the corpse after placing it on a platform. As among all races in the same grade of culture, the infective tabu arising from the corpse is specially dreaded. All who come in contact with the dead are considered to be infected. The corpse-bearers, for instance, as among the tribes of the central hill tract, have their shoulders rubbed with oil and smeared by the women of the mourning family, while they are sprinkled with cow's urine from twigs of the sacred Nîm tree (Melia azadarachta). The dread of the death-tabu appears throughout the rites of mourning, while the variety of practice appears among the Parsis, who bury, expose on a platform or in a tree, and sometimes cremate the corpse after placing it on a platform. As among all races in the same grade of culture, the infective tabu arising from the corpse is specially dreaded. All who come in contact with the dead are considered to be infected. The corpse-bearers, for instance, as among the tribes of the central hill tract, have their shoulders rubbed with oil and smeared by the women of the mourning family, while they are sprinkled with cow's urine from twigs of the sacred Nîm tree (Melia azadarachta). The dread of the death-tabu appears throughout the rites of mourning, while the variety of practice appears among the Parsis, who bury, expose on a platform or in a tree, and sometimes cremate the corpse after placing it on a platform.
DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Jain)

J. Biddulph, Tribes of the Hindoos Ksosha, 1886; F. Drew, Jummao and Khashmir Territories, 1875. For Burm.: British Burmese Gazetteer, 1886, passim; Sir J. Maclean, Gazetteer Upper Burma, 1900-1, passim, also Burm. as it was, as it is, and as it will be, 1901. A. R. McMahen, The Korsos of the Golden Chersonese, 1876.

W. Crooke.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Jain).—The Jains agree, on the whole, with the Brâhmins in their notions on death. The soul of every living being—the highest gods included—must be re-born as long as it possesses karma, i.e. merit or demerit; but, when the karma has been annihilated, then the soul, on death, will enter on its innate state of purity, and will be released for ever from the cycle of births. But on some points the Jains have developed peculiar notions.

1. Re-incarnation and liberation of the soul.—According to the Jains, the effect produced on the soul by its deeds during life, consists of extremely subtle matter, which pours or infiltrates into the soul when worldly actions make, as it were, an opening into it (larsana). This karma-matter, as we may call it, is filled a bag, and acts on it like a weight. The soul by itself has an upward gravity (ardhavaratvat), and is kept down, during its worldly state, by the karma-matter, which, like all matter, has a downward gravity (ruparatvat). On the death of all karmas, the soul, on leaving the body, will rise in a straight line to the top of the universe, where the liberated souls reside for ever (see above, p. 160, 'Jain cosmography')—just as a pumpkin coated with very small grains to the bottom of the sea, but rises to the surface of the water when the clay has fallen off. But, if the soul is burdened with karmas, it will, on leaving the body, move in any direction—upwards, sideways, or downwards. It does not travel on a straight line, but makes one, two, or three angles or turns, and thus gets, in two, three, or four movements, to the place where it is to be reincarnated. There it attracts gross matter, in order to build up a new body according to its karmas.

2. Voluntary death or euthanasia.—It is a well-known fact that religious suicide is occasionally committed by the Hindus: under a vow to some deity they starve themselves to death, eat poison, drown themselves in a river, etc. In the Jains, usually the hair is shaved after the mourning period begins, or at its close. The shaving is usually confined to the immediate relatives or kinsmen; but in some cases the whole population shave their heads and bear the hair of a Kâja, e.g. in Kashmir and other parts of the Himalaya (VINAYA iv. 15, 48; Drew, Jummao, 54).

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Japanese).—I. GENERAL. The oldest traditions respecting burial speak of a mogyu ("husband"), in which the body of the deceased was kept, often for a very long time (e.g. that of Jinmu Temu is said to have been kept for 19 months in the mogyu); of religious dances and music; of an elegy or elegy (shimabi-kobo) pronounced by the head of the family; and of a funeral feast or wake. They also tell of the practice of the self-immolation of wives, retainers, and servants at the grave of a husband or master. The advent of Buddhism in the 6th cent. A.D. brought in certain limitations and modifications. Cremation was introduced in A.D. 703; from that date to 1644 all the Emperors were cremated. Funeral regulations concerning, e.g., periods of mourning, etc., have existed since the 16th cent.; the self-immolation of retainers began to lose favour in the 14th cent., and was prohibited by Ieyasum, though it still continued sporadically for some time. During the whole of the Tokugawa period only members of the Imperial House were buried with Shinto rites, and even then the present forms of Shinto funerals date from the same period.

We will suppose the patient to have been given up by his medical attendant. Relatives and friends stand around his bed, watching his last struggles. Some of them moisten his lips with drops of water conveyed on a feather (matsumo no mizu), water of the last moment); others gently rub his eyelids and lips with their hands, so that nothing and even the slightest movement of the body may be followed. When death has taken place in the province of Iyo, in Shikoku (a district in which there are many quaint survivals), efforts are sometimes made to retain the dying soul, especially when there still remained trusted retainers, and servants to guard the man at the point of death. Three men clinch to the roof of the house, sit astride on the roof-ridge, and cry aloud: ‘Come back, So and So, come back once more.’ Nobody inside the house is supposed to have heard the cry, but the dying man will revive for a little, and his spirit will linger for an hour or two before finally departing.

After death, the corpse, which is washed by all Buddhist sects, but not universally by the Shinto (some sects apparently being contented with rubbing with a wet cloth), is laid out, with its face covered with his gaf, whereupon the spiritual master, who will test him in various ways before he gives him his permission. Then, for a period of twelve years, the monk has to exert himself by every means to overcome all passions, worldly feelings, desires, etc., and to annihilate his karma by austerity—trying, however, to ward off a premature death. At the end of this period he should abstain from all food till his soul parts from the body. There are three different methods by which this end is brought about; they are called bhaktayatriyagamana, thatamana, and padoparaman—a of which the last two are distinguished by the restriction of the movement of the person, and the motion of his head. The ritualistic suicide figures on the subject of three canonical books—Chausarana, Atreypachakha, and Bhaddatarpana.

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the article.

H. JACOBI.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Japanese).—II. DISPOSAL. The last distinguished modifications.

The monk. Prakrit master. Hoernle, a German, has kept and studied the Buddhistic books, and has shown whether the Buddha himself or his disciples actually delivered the following instructions, as preserved by the Dutch Consul General for the Netherländische Oost-Indische Gesellschafts fur Nahr- und Volkskunde, in the Deutscher Gesellschaft fur Nahr- und Volkskunde, in the winter of 1909-10.

1 Horne, Ueberina Indo (Bibl. Indi.), 1890, tr. p. 44, 'Vivara.'
2 Horne, op. cit. p. 47.
3 Prakrit pachamana, for which the correct Sanskrit is prapamana (see SBE xxvi. 74 ff.).
4 A pachamana under great obligation to Dr. Obrt. of the German Embassy in Tokyo, for permission to consult the Buddhist manuscripts delivered by the Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Natur- und Volkskunde Oost-Tokio, during the winter of 1909-10.
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potent protectors of the soul. In addition to the other garments, the Buddhists dress their corpses in slipper sandals (gegari) and socks (tobu), the sandals being put on behind the corpse. The corpse is also provided with a dzudabukuro, or bag, containing the rokumonsen, or six pieces of money required for the ferry across the Sandunogawa, or Japanese Styx. The serval of these six pieces of money is the same as, or nearly the same as, 6, 12, 18, 49, according to circumstances; and the dzudabukuro, which is really an ascetic pilgrim's bag, contains all manner of things necessary for the long journey now commencing—the first holy book, the image of the true god of the village, a threepiece garment, and a towel; but there must not be ten pieces of money. When a husband dies, a wife cuts off her hair and puts it into the bag; when a father dies, the children cut their nails and put the parings into the bag.

In some houses, when a death occurs, a notice—kichi ('period of mourning')—is posted at the entrance as a notification to visitors. In one of the busiest thoroughfares of Tokyo the present writer recently observed an expansion of this idea. In addition to the kichi notification, there was a little white table standing in the street, with a white cloth over it, a bowl, and a flower vase containing a single branch of shiki or. One of the first things to be done after a death is the notification to the authorities. This is made, first of all, to the headman or mayor of the village or urban district, while in the case of the Shinto it is also made to the priest of the nijujuni shrine (the shrine of the local god of the village or family). Should that shrine be at an inconvenient distance from the deceased's residence, some other temple near by is selected. The Shinto clergy do not, however, have much to do with the arrangements, as a matter of course, they have a voice in the selection of the day for the funeral obsequies.

In Buddhist funerals the priests play a larger part, and in former days their role was more important even than today. This is in the fact that in some very ancient temples there may still be found a yubanka ('bath-room'), in which the ceremony of washing the dead (yukan) was carried on under their directions. (The washing ceremony takes place after midnight in a wash-tub, pal, dipper, and towel are used, and, after the washing is over, all these utensils, together with any hair, nails, etc., taken from the body, are buried in some secluded spot.) The intervention of the priests is also necessary for the ceremonial shaving of the corpse, since shaving is the sign of ordination, and it is the theory of all Buddhist sects that the Buddhist layman passes his death into the Order of Monks. When the shaving ceremony is over, the priests prepare a kekib-imagubu, (lit. 'letters of orders,' i.e. 'certificate of ordina-
tion'), which, as we saw above, is placed in the dzudabukuro for use during the soul's pilgrimage in the realms of the dead.

A post-mortem is also attended about the selection of a day suitable for the funeral, and about the posthumous name to be given to the deceased. Government regulations and sanitary requirements interfere somewhat (not much) with the absolute freedom of choice of a post Mortem day, and attempts are made to get the funeral fixed for some time within 24 hours after death. But these regulations are more frequently honored in the breach than in the observance, and an ultra-urgent name, sometimes occurs. (The difficulty is occasionally got over by postponing the formal announcement of the death until all the necessary arrangements for the funeral have been made.) In addition to the ordinary cycle of actual names for the seven days of the week, there is another cycle of six days (generally to be found in the almshouses), according to which the propitious and unpropitious days are selected. The names of these six days are sensho, tonbaki, san, sanka, rotsu, and tomoki. A tomoki day is never selected for a funeral. The posthumous name is always one with a religious meaning, and it is also so formed as to mark the sect to which the deceased belonged. Thus we always, given by the priests; and the honou, Jodo believer, and nichig and zen in those of Nichiren and Zen believers respectively, but it is not always the case with the latter. Appended to the post-

humin name is a designation of the deceased's

status: koji ('landlord') and dachi ('landlady') for a gentleman and lady of high rank; shoji ('layman') and shinnj ('laywoman') for ordinary men and women; dai ('lad') for a boy; daino ('lady') for a girl. The posthumous name is desig-ned by the shisi, which is executed in duplicate, one being retained in the house, while the other goes to the funeral and is deposited in the temple. At the end of 100 days after death, launcered thasi take the place of the plain wooden ones first used. In the same way, in Shinto rites, the tawsifon is at first placed in a 'temporary soul-receptacle' (kezirimitsumon); at the end of 50 days it is placed in a 'permanent soul-receptacle' (butsumon). In both cases, there is a list on which the names of all the deceased members are inscribed, 100 days after death. It should be noticed that some Buddhist sects, e.g., the Shinshu, speak of two kinds of posthumous names: the kekib, given by the priests; and the honou, given to the soul in Paradise by Amida himself—a kind of 'new name which no man knoweth saving he receiveth it.'

Notice is now sent, post-card or otherwise, to friends and relatives, as a matter of course, it is customary to pay visits of condolence, and to send presents to the house of the deceased. The nature and manner of presenting these gifts are fixed by custom, but it is very common at the present-day to present in Japanese denominations, of the kindling of the memorial fire, a kindly tribute which is always very acceptable in view of the heavy expenses which a Japanese funeral entails. 1

1 The cycle of six days (see the talismanic tables in books on magic, e.g. Barrett's Magnus, 1863) depends on the six elements common to Kabbalism, Gnosticism, and Shintoism, which are symbolized by the term Abazabubak, to which reference is made in this article. It is one of the many links connecting the Mahayana with the Judaeo-Gnostic thought of the New Testament times.

The days are: (i.) Sensho, 'first half good.' A sensho day is good for pressing and urgent business during the foam, but not after noon. (ii.) Sensho is urgent business, lawsuits, petitions, etc., are, meant. (iii.) Tomoki, 'drawing friendship.' These days are good in the foam or evening, but not in the after-

noon. There is no debate about any other gift of its own luck, and no amount of human striving will alter it. (iv.) Sensho, 'first half bad.' No urgent business should be undertaken on such a day. The afternoon is, however, lucky.

(v.) Butsumon, 'destruction of Buddha.' A sort of unlucky day. Nothing is to be done on such a day, a large stone (v.) Butsumon, 'great peace.' Very lucky for anything, especially removals or journeys; e.g. the old scound's superstition about starting on a journey on Shinto. (vl.) Sensho, 'hell.' The exception of the noontide hour, the whole of this day is unlucky. In the cheap Japanese calendars (yoyog) each day is marked according to this sixfold cycle.

2 E. Schiller, 'Japan, Geschenkealten', in vol. viii. of the Mitteil. der deutschen Gesellschaft für ethische Altertumswissenschaft; or also A. H. L. Lay, 'Funeral Customs of the Japanese,' in TAJI, vol. xiv. p. 36. The subject is a very large one, and beyond the limits of this article.
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In due course the body is placed in the coffin. Coffins (hitogagi or kawa, the former distinctively Shintōist) are of two kinds—nekowam (‘sleeping coffin’) and zakkwam (‘sitting coffin’). In the latter the corpse is placed in a praying posture; in the former, in a recumbent one. At the bottom of the coffin is placed a piece of white cotton cloth, 4 ft. wide and 6 ft. long (shakus) (dup. feet), one half

length; over this, a white futon and fukumo (‘quilt’ and ‘coverlet’), and a pillow. Then the corpse is put in, together with any objects, e.g., an inskind or photographs, prized by the deceased, and the living; (4) fresh figs, (5) pinwheels, and (6) bunches of wildflowers are also carried up with backwheels to keep the body from moving. No metal object may be put into the coffin. The interval between the encoffinment and the funeral is the most important period of the watching by the deceased. It was a period of festivity in the old Shinto, but is now generally passed in silence; in the Buddhist shōge (‘wake’) the silence is broken by the voices of the priests who are summoned on the last night to read Sūtras by the side of the deceased and for his benefit. This is known as shakusan'yō, or ‘pillow-Sūtric,’ and is accompanied by much burning of incense. Entertainments are provided for the guests. The lawfulness of the officiating priests partaking in them has been frequently discussed in Buddhist magazines. Very often the priest is provided with his meal apart from the laity, who do not begin until the clergy have finished; and an attempt is sometimes made to save appearances by drinking the sake out of tea-cups.

There are several strange old customs with regard to the choice of a location for the grave. Thus, in some of the remote mountain-villages in Tosa, while the corpse is still lying outstretched on the rush mat, the near relative, with the pillow, if under his care, puts it on a cart, and leaves it, but keeps a watch over it. 'I lay seven square feet of ground from the god of the earth.' Another old custom, still surviving in remote districts, is for a person not connected with the deceased by blood, and therefore free from death pollution, to sweep the ground selected for the grave, to spread a rush-mat on it, and on a table placed on the mat to erect a hinurōji (‘temporary tabernacle’) for the earth-god. This is done by setting up saki branches with little paper flags, etc., and putting maki offering of rice, fish, vegetables, seaweed, and fruit. Then he offers the following prayer:

1. Address the great god who is the lord of this locality. A new grave is here to be made for N. (name, office, rank). With an offering of wine, boiled rice, and meat, I pray thee to grant that he may lie in this grave for ever, free from affliction and in peace. I speak with all respect and humility.

Then he clasps his hands and bows twice.

When the preparations for the funeral are all complete, the coffin is carried into the front chamber, and incense, lights, and a single flower are again offered before it. A set of zen is also provided. In this case, the zen consists of a bowl of unhulled boiled rice (kurogome no maki), soup, raw miso (‘bacon’, or unseasoned salt), and a pair of chopsticks, one of which is made of wood and the other of bamboo. Everything is now in readiness for the funeral ceremony. From this point sectarian differences become more marked, and it will be well to treat of Japanese funerals in detail according to the various sects.

I. Certain Buddhist sects—Thursday, the body is placed in the coffin. In the Zen sect it is Tukyo (Eka-Sutra); in the Shingon, Rokushō (Buddhi-Sutra). These Sutras, which do not exist in Sanskrit or Pali, are said to have been preached by Sikyamuni shortly before his entry into Nirvāṇa. They are classified under the Nehangyō or Nirvāṇa Sutras.

II. Shinbutsu—A purely Shinbutsu funeral is divided into five distinct portions: (a) the initial numbering of the tama-bashira (b) shakkwam, or taking the coffin out of the house; (c) sōko, or funeral procession; (d) naio, or communal offerings to the deity of the earth; and (e) the subsequent purification. The various ceremonies are conducted by the mosho (‘chief mourner’), who is generally the eldest, oldest son, or other near relative. Relatives in the ascending line are generally excluded. Recently, when H.H. Prince Arisugawa lost his son, the mosho was the boy dressed in the dress of some dark colour, over which is worn a white hitate (‘surplice’) and an eboh (‘mitre’). In the middle classes, however, the ordinary hōari (‘upper garment’) and hakama (‘lower garment’) are frequently worn.

(a) The milamatsushki takes place apparently as soon as the tama-shiro is provided. The masu (sometimes a kammashki, ‘priest’) sits down before the tama-shiro, bows twice, clasps his hands, and announces that the spirit (tama) of the deceased has taken up its abode in the tama-shiro. This is known as the zokuyi, and the following norito (‘prayer’ [Shinto]) is used (tr. by Oishi): 2

This norito is frequently repeated, as well as the invitation to the soul to participate in the feast. The tama-shiro is then placed on the kami, or ‘god-shell,’ used in Shinto houses.

(b) Shakkawam—Before the bier is taken out of the house, offerings of boiled rice, saké, etc., are again made. Then the celebrant seats himself before the bier, bows, clasps his hands, and, presenting a tama-shiroki, addresses the spirit with the following norito:

This day, as the sun sets, we shall reverently celebrate thy obsequies. We pray thee to behold us in peace and without anxiety, as we set out on our journey and pursue our way (to the cemetery). I speak with deep reverence and humility.

Then he bows twice, clasps his hands, and retires. All relatives present do the same. After this, four men, dressed in white, carry the coffin into the court-yard, where a fire is burning (on the theory of a midnight funeral), and the procession is formed in the following order: (1) coffin (maki), (2) coolies carrying torches or lanterns (still on the theory of the midnight funeral); (3) servant with a brol (relic of the old custom mentioned above); (4) white banner, 15 in. in width by 8 or 9 ft. in length, carried on a pole, and inscribed with the name and title of the deceased; (5) bearers with consecrated branches of the sakaki tree; (6) chest with offerings; (7) bearers with torches and lanterns; (8) the coffin (if a zak Kwam, it is carried in a kaga, ‘litter’); if a nekowam, on a bier of white wood; it is carried on the shoulders of bearers in white surplices; (9) bohyō, a post, inscribed with the name, to be set up as a temporary mark for the grave; and (10) the chief and other mourners, on foot, as a gesture of humility. Treaties (boshita), a table for offerings, hangings, and a wooden pall and pillow also form part of the paraphernalia, but are now more generally found at the place of interment.

The saki no shiki is generally celebrated within a curtained enclosure, though in Tokyo and other large places there are mortuary chapels to serve the purpose. The enclosure, or chapel, is invariably arranged in accordance with the annexed plan. The ritual observances in the chapel differing very slightly from that in the enclosure.

As the funeral procession arrives, the musicians take their seats and begin to play. During this

1. I.e. a consecrated branch adorned with numerous pendants and streamers of paper.
time the bier is placed in its proper place, the flower-standards are arranged, and a high stand is erected, from which a pendant will later be suspended. When every one is seated, the celebrant, with his assistant, advances before the bier and bows. During this ceremony the music has ceased, but it begins again as soon as the priests return to their places.

The assistant now takes his place before the bier, but a little to the right of it. Acolytes bring a banner for the stand, and offerings to be placed on the table—goke, boiled rice, fresh fish, vegetables, seaweed, cakes, fruit, etc. Again the music ceases, while the chief celebrant advances once more, and, with his mace on his left hip, commences the repetition of certain prayers, which contain a recital of the dead man's birth, lineage, school-life, and career, official or otherwise, and conclude with words much to this effect:

"Our honoured N. has passed away to our great regret; to our sorrow he has given up the ghost. The prayer of our utmost

heart was that he might live to very great age, but it is the way of the fleeting world that he should come to this. Our prayer is that he will regard with tranquil eyes the obsequies we are now performing, and lie down to rest in his grave, leaving his spirit behind him to guard the house. Reverently and with humility I make this prayer."

This prayer is known as the maai-no-kotoba (words of committal). Everybody stands while it is being offered. When the music begins again, the chief mourner, habited in black with a white surplice, and wearing a black boshi ('mitre') and straw sandals, comes forward and offers a branch of sakaki as a tamagushi. All the celebrants, and the relatives and friends follow this example, the attendent priests having a large number in readiness for the needs of the visitors. Funeral offerings are delivered, sometimes before and sometimes after the offering of the tamagushi.

(d) Maai.—The coffin is now carried to the grave, and lowered into it, with few or no ceremonies. A few handfuls of earth are thrown upon it, and a boshi, 'plate,' inscribed with the name, age, rank, etc., of the deceased, is put on the coffin—then the grave is filled up, and on the new-made mound is planted the bokyo, a few lanterns, and banns. An open shed resting on four pillars is sometimes built over it, and generally it is surrounded with a magoké ('bamboo fence'), and a shime ('cord') of rice-straw string.

The Shinto ritual does not contemplate cremation, but it is sometimes adopted. In that case the maai-no-kotoba and the ritual that follows are used at the time of the interment of the ashes.

(e) The purificatory rites are of two kinds—of the house and of the mourners. The house is purified, immediately after the corpse has been taken out, by a Shinto priest, who comes in and waves a tamagushi in every direction, though sometimes the purification is accomplished by the priest's rinsing his mouth with water and throwing salt over his head.

The mourners are purified on their return from the funeral. (The return journey is always by a different road from that taken when going to the funeral.) There are apparently three methods of purifying persons, viz. (1 and 2) the methods observed in purifying a house, and (3) a slightly more elaborate one. Offerings are placed before the tamashiro, and in front of them a branch of sakaki. The priest (or the mochita) recites the following motto:

"I thus address the spirit of (my father) who has now become a god. I prayed day and night that thou mightest live to be a hundred years old, and now I can but weep and lament that thou hast left this beautiful world, and gone to the dark land beyond. I beseech thee, listen in peace to thy relatives assembled here, as we celebrate the worship of the dead with all manner of food."

Then the offerings are removed.

The first fifty days after death are observed according to the Shinto rituals with daily offerings before the tamashiro. Special emphasis is laid on the 10th, 20th, 30th, etc. On the fiftieth day, the tamashiro is removed from its temporary shrine to the mitanaya or bokyo ('spirit-house'), and henceforth the worship of the spirit is performed along with that of the other ancestors. On this occasion,
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the meshi no-kotoba are used—prayers asking the spirit of the deceased to take up his abode in the kubō, and beseeching the whole body of the deceased to receive the body into their company. Similar prayers are offered on the 100th day after death. On that day the temporary post should be removed from the grave, and a stone monument set up. The first anniversary is observed; after that, the anniversary dates from the 3rd, 5th, 10th, 20th, 30th, 40th, 50th, and 100th years. After that, there is a commemoration every 100 years. The reader will understand that it is only in very exalted families that such minitute can be attended to, but the Shinto burial is in any case almost entirely confined to the highest classes.

311. BUDDHIST.—Something has already been said about customs observed in Buddhist houses in the care of the dead. These are somewhat as follows (it is more striking to the eye by reason of the greater splendor of vestments, etc.): (1) bearers with natural flowers (seikirō); (2) bearers with artificial flowers (tsubuki-banai); (3) (sometimes two) paper dragons on poles (yato), these being evidently connected with the friendly Nāgas of Indian Buddhism; (4) banner (meiki), with the personal name of the deceased; (5) the officiant priest (dōshi), with his assistant (shōshoku), white paper lamp (nuki kē); (7) incense (kōrō); (9) the coffin on a bier, borne on men's shoulders, and with a few friends of the deceased walking beside it; and (10) the mourners (generally in jinrikisha). A few days are generally laid at the grave-side, and a stupa or atibō, actually a post, notched near the top, and inscribed with Sanskrit characters, often form portions of the procession.

1. Ceremonies of the Zen.1—(1) The service in the temple that is sung on this occasion, generally called the indōshi, because a large part of his duty is supposed to be to guide (indo suru) the soul of the deceased on its voyage through the realms of the dead. The indōshi begins by laying his bowse (čherow), a brush made of long white hair) on the lid of the coffin, as a sign of authority. Then he takes up the razor that has been used to shave the deceased. This is followed by the words:

Beten sanjōkū Onnai funshōkan Kion nyūkiyō Shinshū Kion shha: 'Whilst transmigrating through the Three Worlds, ties of kindness and affection cannot be cut off. He who has cut off this tie, and entered the realm of the unconditioned, is truly a grateful man.'

Now follows an exhortation to the deceased to confess his sins:

Young man of good birth (it will be remembered that the deceased is supposed to have received the tonsure), 'if thou wert to stand at the Refuges to observe the commandments, thou shouldest first confess all thy sins. There are two forms of penitence; there is also the form of confession which is practiced by the laity, and has been handed down by successive patriarchs.' All thy sins will be pardoned. Reite these words after me.

Then the priest recites the confession, with the sound of clappers (kisshakē) once at the end of each line, and twice at the end of the stanzas. The spirit of the deceased is supposed to join him in his recitation:

All the evil karma, which I have accumulated in the past, has had its origin in desire, hatred, or ignorance, in a series of previous existences, which has had no beginning. It is due to the body, the tongue, and the mind. All this I confess.'

2. The priest continues:

Thou hast confessed thy evil deeds of body, tongue, and mind, and hast obtained the perfect purification. Now, therefore, thou must stand first in the Three Refuges, in Buddha, in the Law, and in the Author. The Three Treasures have a threshold virtue, the threshold absolute virtue, the threshold virtue as it was in Buddha's time, the threshold virtue as it is in time when there is no Buddha. (čhāntamagha, samādhi samādhi.) When thou hast taken refuge in them, thy virtues shall be completed.'

Recitation of the ninefold Creed follows:

Nanmoku Butsin, 'Glory to Buddha in whom I take refuge.'
Namūbō Hī, 'Glory to the Law in which I take refuge.'
Namūbō Shō, 'Glory to the Author in whom I take refuge.'
Kite-buten-undou-son, 'I take refuge in Buddha, the super-manent.'
Kite-bōtō-son, 'I take refuge in the Law, the undefiled.'
Kite-čk-kō-šyō, 'I take refuge in Author, the honor of the one.'
Kite-čk-čk-čk, 'I have finished taking refuge in Buddha.'
Kite-čk-čk-čk, 'I have finished taking refuge in the Law.'
Kite-čk-čk-čk, 'I have finished taking refuge in Author.' (After each sentence the clapper sounds once; at the end it sounded twice.)

The officiant goes on:

'After this we have now conferred on thee the Refuges. Henceforth, the Taithāgata [the Buddha], the Truest, the Perfectly Enlightened, in the Teacher. For those that follow the holy path, whether in any heretical teachers, but have respect to the great Righteousness, Deliverance, and Compassion that have been vouchsafed thee. Now will I recite for thee the ten grave commandments. They are these:

1. Jecchō, 'You shall not destroy life.'
2. Jucchō, 'You shall not take away what is not given.'
3. Jucchō, 'You shall not commit fornication or adultery.'
4. Yumma, 'You shall not lie.'
5. Jucchō, 'You shall not sell intoxicating liquors.'
6. Jucchō, 'You shall not use tobacco.'
7. Jucchō, 'You shall not use opium or such-like drugs.'
8. Jucchō, 'You shall not steal.'
9. Jucchō, 'You shall not speak evil of the Three Treasures.'

These ten grave commandments have been formulated by previous Buddhas and handed down by successive Patriarchs. I have now entrusted them to thee. Keep them well in thy existence, until thou attain to the Buddhahood. [This formula may be repeated at the discretion of the celebrant.] Sentient beings that follow the commandments of the Buddhas are placed in the same rank with him. He that is in the same rank as the Perfectly Enlightened one is truly a son of Buddha.'

(Wooden clappers are struck twice, handclaps three times.)

The priests present now chant a stanza known as the daichikō. When it is finished, a priest (not the one who led the service before) takes up his word:

'After this wise has been sung the daichikō. The merits arising therefrom are to be transferred to N, there insert the name of the deceased, not the name of the person who is speaking. We pray that when we place his body in the coffin the Saṁbhoga land may receive him.'

Then all together:

'All the Buddhas in the Ten Directions and in the Three Worlds, all the Honorable Bodhisattvas and Mahāsattvas, and Mahāprajñaparamitās, the land of the Saṁbhoga Kāya.'

The same priest continues:

'If we meditate deeply on these things, lotus birth and death succeed each other as fast as follows come. They come like the lightning flashes over the sea, the waves move and are gone like the waves of water on the great sea. The newly deceased N has this day suddenly come to the end of his life, by reason of the exhaustion of all seeds of existence. He understands that all composite objects must be dissolved, and is convinced that the extinction of the seeds of existence is bliss. The holy existence, the land of the Saṁbhoga Kāya.

Vairochana, the Buddha of the Holy Dharmakāya.
Buddha, the Buddha of the Perfect Saṁbhoga Kāya.
Sakya, the Buddha, whose Nirmāṇakāya Incarnations are hundreds upon hundreds of millions.
Honorable and most higharya Buddha, for the coming day at the coming time. All Buddhas in the Ten Directions and the Three Worlds, Mahāvyūha-Saṁdhikāpārahāra Simha (personified).

Mahāprajñaparamitā Bodhisattva.'
When the body has been lowered into the coffin, the funeral ceremonies begin. The coffin is placed on a bier which is usually illuminated with candles. The coffin is then taken to the temple or to the cemetery, and the procession begins. The coffin is carried on the shoulders of the mourners, and bells and cymbals are rung to accompany the procession. The coffin is then placed in a grave, which is usually prepared in advance. The grave is filled with earth, and the coffin is sealed. The mourners then gather around the grave and perform various rituals, such as reciting prayers and offerings.

The coffin is then left in the grave for a period of time, usually ranging from a few days to several weeks, depending on the beliefs and customs of the family. During this time, the mourners continue to perform rituals and offer prayers for the deceased. At the end of this period, the coffin is opened, and the body is either cremated or buried.

After the funeral, the family and friends gather together to mourn the loss and to healing. The mourning period may last for several days or weeks, depending on the cultural and religious traditions of the family. During this time, the family may hold memorial services, light candles, and offer prayers for the deceased.

When the mourning period is over, the family may choose to hold a memorial service to remember and honor the life of the deceased. This service may include reciting prayers, offering flowers, and sharing memories of the deceased. The service may be private or open to the public, and it may be held in a temple, church, or other place of worship.

The funeral and mourning rituals are an important part of the Buddhist tradition, and they help to provide comfort and support to the family and friends of the deceased. By following these rituals, the family can honor the memory of the deceased and find comfort in the belief that the soul of the deceased has moved on to a higher plane of existence.
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The universe impersonal he passes to that of the Universe personal, to the Five Buddhas, to Amitabha, the giver of immortality, and to Amitabha with his attendants Avalokitesvara and Mahaveera, the great protector, to which the body goes to the funeral ceremony. The officiant invites the deceased to enter the bliss of Paradise. After each of these invocations, the komyōshingen, or invocation of the Five Dhyāni-buddhas, is chanted three times. Then, coming lower in the scale of dignity, we have the invocation of Ksitigarbha, the sextoif protecting angel of the dead (Bokub Jizō), and that of Fudō-myō-ō (Akiyamagirōja) and the other great vishvayānas—Mahatājas, Vajrayāsa, Kumāral, and Tridhāvajiva. Then the mantras of Ksitigarbha is Kōbakū shōnomi abiramakan sonota; that of Fudō-myō-ō, which is chanted three times, is Nōmon kā**********************************************************************************amanabara senda mokurai kaitō sonota youzai ru soman. The meaning of this Sanskrit formula is wholly lost.

We now get three mūdrās, representing the 'preaching' of Vairocana of the three Kāyas—the Dharmakāya (Nama A), the Sambhogakāya (Nama Vam), and the Nirmanakāya (Nama On). The first gesture, an A-sūnu, resembling Skt. or =an+mu represents the 'Trinity' of Vairocana. Then the stūpa is figuratively opened and shut—an evident allusion to the Suddhārāmapundārika Sūtra; next, a mūdrā (or manual gesture) figuring the stūpa of Fudō-myō-ō, with Vajra and ōhōq repeated three times; next, three representing respectively the Dharmakāya, Sambhogakāya, and Nirmanakāya (possibly of Fudō-myō-ō), with mantras respectively—A manran kaen kou, Abhirvānak, and an Fudo ku sonota kiseragikara, is sixfold in his operations in the six spheres of sentient existence, and we consequently have a suitable gesture, imparted to Kōbō Daishi by his Chinese tutor Kēikyō, for which the mantra is Abhirvānak, together with a secret formula which may not be written down, but which may be attained by means of a proper 'meditation on the Fire.'

Thus, the whole celestial hierarchy of the Shingon having been invoked, it remains only to procure for the deceased, on whose behalf all these celestial beings have been summoned, a suitable understanding of what it all means. This is effected by means of four more formal manuals and mantras, signifying the attainment of the perfect knowledge of rupadhārma and cittadhārma, of chittadhārma ('objects conceivable, but without form'), of rupadhārma and cittadhārma together, which are not two, but one; and, finally, a meditation on the dhāraṇī for which the dhāraṇī is Om Maityra Śeśhā. The Shingon are firm believers in Maityra, more so than any other of the Buddhist sects. It is their conviction that the body of Kōbō Daishi, which never decays, is awaiting the advent of Maityra in his tomb at Kōya San, and Shingonists often send the bones of their dead, after cremation, to Kōya San, so as to be near to Kōbō at the resurrection, which will take place when Maityra makes his appearance.

The officiant now prostrates himself three times before the assembled deities, offers incense, strikes the bell three times, and recites a sort of creed:

'With deep respect for all the Buddhas here assembled, I take my refuge in Buddha. May all my actions be excellent, O Maityra! I take my refuge in Buddha. May all my actions be excellent, O Maityra! I take my refuge in Buddha. May all my actions be excellent, O Maityra!'

With deepest reverence I address the great Vairocana, the Tathāgata, the Master of Shingon Buddhism, and all the beings and sounds of the two assemblies (i.e., the Vajradhātu and Garbhadhātu); and especially Amitabha, the master and teacher of the Land of Bliss, the Merotai Maityra whose coming is the holy Hope Kongō (i.e., Kōbō Daishi), who sits cross-legged in deep meditation; all the great Bodhisattvas, the transcendental beings in three countries (India, China, Japan), and also in the lands illumined by the eye of Buddha, and pitied by the Three Gems.

If we meditate deeply thereon, the moonlight of "Opportunity which is born where the desire-throes are extinguished." (Ei mond ki okobō suraawāt skin) shines in the sky of the tranquil spiritual Nature. The colour of the flower of "The Cause—being-exhausted—presently-disappears." "Blossoms in the garden of unbounded Adornment."

Appearance is as non-appearance, disappearance as non-disappearance. Both appearance and disappearance are unattainable. They cannot be reached.

The deceased N., his causes of life having been exhausted, has gone to another world. He has left his body in Jambudvipa, and has been transferred to the intermediate state (Skt. antarabharana, Jap. chō-ō). Therefore, now, in accordance with the testament of this human king, who has departed in the ten merits (kēren), we will with tears celebrate the ceremonies of funeral rites and cremation. Having adored the Sacred Altar upon which the body has been placed, with the sound of the symbols we will pray for the favourable acceptance of his soul by the Venerable Ones, and for its deliverance. We will kindle the funeral fire, which reaches through all the six elements (kokusha mu-ō), and so cremate the body which from the beginning has had no true phenomenal appearance (jikō-ōshin). We pray that all the Buddhas may certify for him, that all the saints may pray for him, and that they may receive him to a lotus-stand of superior merit. May the living and the dead, reason and wisdom (Vairocana [?] Amitabha [?] Ei mond) endow him with the highest Buddha-fruit! ... And may all sentient beings in the Dharma-bhūtis be equally benefited! ... I speak this with all respect.'

This ends that portion of the service which is known as hyōka, 'the expression of belief.' Next follows the singing or chanting of the Jibun shin'yō, i.e., the Mahāyāna-jāramāramaitadhyā Sūtra, for the purpose of giving pleasure to the assembled spirits, in order that they may make their appearance upon the altar. After this a priest says:

'In the yard where funeral services are being conducted (for a deceased person), it is generally the case that his sins all pass, and that he enters the next existence only as the result of his ascension to the land of Bliss, and we may consequently expect that Yasaka no Shingon is the true form, of the other realms of existence, will make their appearance. We pray, therefore, to the thirteen great Buddhas, to the infernal officers, to all the rest of the universe; may they aid him to lay aside his karma, and attain Supreme Enlightenment.'

Ch. 'Hal, Mahāyānasamādhistā Sūtra!' (one bell).

That the departed soul may ascend to the secretly adorned sphere of flowers of rupa-kō (rūpa-kō), we invoke—

Ch. 'The Name of the great Buddha Vairocana!' (one bell).

That he may ascend to the world whose inhabitants hunger not, neither thirst (gōsojō), we invoke—

Ch. 'The Name of Amitabha' (one bell);

Ch. 'The Sūtra on the Netherworld' (one bell).

That he may be re-born in the inner palace of Togitakura, we invoke—

Ch. 'The Name of the Buddha Maityra' (one bell);

Ch. 'The Name of all the Saints in its inner and outer palaces' (one bell).

That the Buddha-field may be accessible to all times at which desire it, we invoke—

Ch. 'The Three Treasures' (one bell).

That all sentient Beings in the Dharma-bhūtis may be benefited equally (with him whose obeisances we celebrate), we invoke—

Ch. 'The Name of Maitreya' (one bell).

The Name of Vajrapāja' (one bell).

(Here the officiant lays down his corner and takes upon his nō-ō, or mace.)

Jōma (homage).

Kōya chō ka Ōnohegusa,
Shōretindo Ōjōgokuraki,

It is a common fiction amongst Japanese Buddhists that Jambudvipa, which is, of course, Hindustan, comprises China and Japan as well as the principal seats of Buddhism in Nichiren Sect books it is Ichi-embudai, which comes nearer to the sound of Janabudiva.
Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, whom I worship with bowed head, and profound devotion, may this holy soul be led to, and be reborn in, the land of Bliss!

It is by the adornment and honouring of the Altar of the Twenty-Two Boddhisattvas, by the recitation of the Sūtras, and by offering of flowers, etc., that the Boddhisattvas may be obtained as in a moment. It is by the proclamation of the teaching, or the manifestation of the material body is identified with what Buddha, that the Boddhisattvas will themselves develop enlightenment in the doctrine that phenomenon is itself reality.

Next follows an ekō ("prayer of transference"). The officiant lays down his ugo-ko, and resumes his censor.

1. I respectfully pay homage to the Three Eternal Treasures, and call the names of the Bodhisattvas of the Buddha, who has realized Nirvāṇa and passed beyond birth and death. If any man will listen to Him with all his heart, that man's soul shall be exalted with unhappiness. All composite things are impermanent; they are possessed of the necessity of growth and decay. They spring into existence; again they perish; their extinction is blest.

Then the Risshūkyō (Buddhi Sutra) is read, and the ceremonies in the house are closed. On the road from the house to the temple, the priests meditate upon Fudo, and chant his mantra (see above).

2. Ceremonies in the temple.—Near the entrance to every Shingon graveyard or temple will be found the six images of Ksitigarbha (Boku-Jizo), the friend and protector of the dead. These must first be worshipped, as also the corresponding set of six Avalokiteśvara (Boku-Kwannon), then the officiant, entering, walks three times round the sacred ground, which is found in every Shingon temple, with manual gestures and formule representing the five elementary colours, the putting on of spiritual armour, the breaking of hell, the raising of the mind to the contemplation of Buddha, and the meditations on Sumeru (Fugen), the special patron of truth. The last of these dhāraṇīs is Om-sam-ma-nu-sa-tobowan, which we have mentioned above (p. 490).

All this leads up to what appears to be the central portion of this temple-service, the ceremony of abhiṣeka (Jap., kōbō, "baptising"), a kind of baptism mystically performed, and transferred by a subsequent ekō to the credit of the deceased. The abhiṣeka is threefold, and followed by an indō, "greeting words," very much the same as that used in the Zen ceremonies. But the Shingon indō, which is traditionally attributed to Kōbō Daishi, is not in writing, neither are the dhāraṇīs used in this, the most sacred part of the service, are all handed down orally from teacher to disciple, and it is not every Shingon priest that knows them. Next follows a passage from the Dainihkōkyō (Mahāvairochana-nabhisambodhi Sutra), also with a secret accompanying mantra:

Without leaving this physical body, man may attain to the supernatural power of jinkō (Skr. śakti, "means of attaining magic power"), and, walking treulously about in great space, may comprehend the secret of the body.

Then come: abhiruken (five times); the mantra and gesture of the eye of Budhha (not committed to writing); a list of the succession of teachers, with the kōmyō, of the deceased inserted at the end; separate mantras and gestures for all the six elements composing the enlarged Abhraks, earth, water, fire, wind, emptiness, consciousness; the

It is an essential feature in Shingon teaching that all material objects—stones, trees, the human body, etc.—partake of the Budhha nature.

3. Ceremonies of the Tendai.—The Tendai has always been a sect with strongly developed Eschatological tendencies. In the days of its initiation in China, it was the ally of the Sui and Tang Governments in their efforts to control the heterogeneous mass of teaching calling itself Buddhist, which was flooding China in the 6th cent. A.D. Introduced into Japan about A.D. 800, it served the same ends. And, when Ieyasu was to embark peace to Japan in the 16th cent., the Tendai played a considerable part in the spiritual policing of the country, which was carried on during the whole of the Tokugawa period. The Tendai rite which we are about to describe were those observed at the obsequies of Viscount Takamatsu (August 1904).

1. Ceremonies in the house: the otoji, or ʻwake, —The ceremonies begin with the adoration of the Three Precious Things. The celebrant (indōshī) thus begins:

1. I take my refuge in Buddha. May all sentient beings comprehend the great Path, and raise their thoughts towards the Supreme Object!

2. I take my refuge in the Law. May all sentient beings (follow my example, and), plunging deep into the Treasure House of the Scriptures, acquire knowledge as vast as the sea!

3. I take my refuge in the Orders. May all sentient beings (following my example) attain to positions of rule in the great assembly!'

Then follows what is called the instructive stanza, as taught by the previous Buddhas, the predecessors of Sakyamuni:

1. It is our prayer that all sentient beings may refrain from the commissions of sin, that they may do good, and purify their own minds. This is the teaching of all the Buddhas. We worship the assemblage of the Sakyas."

The Stanzas of Evening:

1. Harken to the Stanzas of Impermanency under the similitude of evening. When this little day is over, our lives will end and we shall disappear. We see by the dim light of dawn orally from teacher to disciple, and it is not every Shingon priest that knows them. Next follows a passage from the Dainihkōkyō (Mahāvairochana-nabhisambodhi Sutra), also with a secret accompanying mantra:

2. All composite things are impermanent, for they are liable to growth and decay. They spring up into existence, and perish. Their extinction is blest. The Lord Buddha has realized Nirvāṇa and banished for ever birth and death. He that wills to listen to this teaching with his whole heart shall gain inestimable happiness."

The Six ʻFors' 1:

1. For all believers in the Ten Quarters, let us meditate on the Tathāgata Sakyamuni. (One bell.)

2. For His Majesty our Emperor, let us meditate on Yakushi Ririkō Nyorai. (One bell.)

3. For the four "benefactions" 4 in the Three Worlds, let us meditate on Amida Nyorai. (One bell.)

4. For our Great Teacher, Domyō Daishō, and all the Venerable

The Ten Dō is one of those sects which profess to base their tenets on the whole vast Canon of the Mahāyāna.

2. The Jap. word is daini-dai (Skr. dārayāna, "generosity"). Giving is the first duty of a layman. The word has come to mean "householder," "kōmyō" and is commonly used by servants, etc., in addressing their master.

3. See above, for the connection of Tendai with the State. Yakushi (Dainihkōkyō) is the man who cured his own sickness and had twelve disciples. He was a very famous god during the Nara period.

4. The abhiṣeka represents the great formula by which we owe for the benefactions we receive from (1) our parents, (2) our rulers and the State, (3) sentient creatures in general, and (4) the Three Precious Things of religion.

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Omit, let us meditate on the Saddharmapundarika Sutra. (One bell.) For all the gods, let us meditate on the Mahaprajnaparamita Sutra. (One bell.) For all sentient beings in the DHARMA, let us meditate on the Bodhisattva Mahayana. (One bell.)

The Dwelling and Revolving: 2

1. There is delight in the scattering of flowers (bis).
2. We reverently invite all the Tathagatas in the Ten Quarters to alight on this altar, and reverently invite Sakyamuni the Tathagata to alight on the sacred altar, there is etc.
3. We reverently invite Amithaba the Tathagata, there is etc.

The reading of the Sukhāvatīvyahāra (Amida Kyō)

Naamu Amida butsu, Amida butsu, Amida butsu.

Prayer of Transference (ekā): 3

1. All the benefits arising from the invocations we have just made, we transfer to the Lord Amithaba in the Land of Bliss. May we be graciously accepted in the great seat of His Vow, may our wishes be fulfilled, and may we realize amashī (‘supernatural tranquillity’)? May the Devas and deities of the Ten Worlds experience an increase of their dignities, and may the gods (Shin) be assembled in this place take pleasure in what we do! May the Great Teachers who have passed away, the Enlightened One, accept the incense, and may all souls, noble and mean, attain to Buddhahood, seated on a lotus-seat of high degree! May the Court of Our Wise Emperor be preserved from harm, and may the reign of His Majesty be long drawn out. May the country be peaceful, and may religion prosper! May the laymen in the Ten Quarters be free from evil and sorrow, and may the freemasons of monks who invoke the names of the Buddhas accomplish perfection! When they come to the end of their lives, may they not fear the descent to the Land of Bliss, and may they meet Amithaba and his attendant hosts face to face! May their destinies be safe! May they never fall, and may they be the leaders of all sentient beings in the Three Worlds and in Dharma Ниta? May they all, partaking, as they do, of the same spiritual nature, alight (tō) to bodhi?

The post-ekā hymn:

‘May we, living in this world, be as though we lived in the heavens, like the lotus untarnished by the water! Prostrate on the ground, according to the pre-eminent One, with hearts purer than the lotus.’

Adoration of the Three Precious Things.

The Instructive Stanzaas preached by the Seven Previous Buddhas.

The Confession of Sins:

1. May the three obstacles (passion, karma, and the secondary results of karma, Jap., kha) be removed absolutely and universally, of the three obstacles (note 4 above), and for beings in all spheres of existence and throughout the different cycles of time, the bodies, the souls, and the minds, from the bottom of our hearts, in the presence of all the Buddhas in the Ten Quarters.’
2. Gonenmon, or meditation on the Five Gates of praising Amida, by which men enter into the Pure Land. These are all taken from Vaishnavamūnī’s treatise on the Pure Land (Jīlovam). They are: (1) Raikōmon (the Gate of Worship); (2) Senmon (the Gate of Praise); (3) Sakyamunmon (the Gate of Prayer); (4) Kekōmon (the Gate of Observation); and (5) Ekkōmon (the Gate of Transference). The following is an abbreviated form of the Gonenmon, as recited at a Tendai funeral.

With my head touching the ground I adore Amithāba the Sage, the noblest of two-footed beings, whom gods and men

1. i.e. the Shin deities of Japan, adopted into the Budhhist pantheon.
2. These forms will be found in the sects of Jedo and Shinshū, which, originating in the Tendai, developed the doctrine of the Nichiren, which rejects Amida, they are not found. The Zen derived either doctrines nor ritual from Tendai, nor did the Shinshū.
3. From this that Geshhin (Jap. n. 942-1017), the first Japanese Patriarch of the Shinshū, derived his teaching about the Kōhō-Paranirvāna, in which the names of the ‘mean souls’ are prepared, and Bōdo, in which noble and mean alike attain to Perfection. This is brought out in Shinshū’s poem Shinso, in Tendai.
4. Jikaku, the second Patriarch of the Tendai (A.D. 794-861).

delight to honour, who dwells in the choice Paradise of case and bliss, surrounded by an innumerable host of the Sons of Buddha. The pure golden body of the Buddha is like the king of Mountains, and his footsteps, when he walketh in tran- quillity, are like those of the still-treading elephant. His eyes are as pure as the lotus. I, therefore, with my head touching the ground, adore the venerable Amithaba. His face, good, round, and pure, is as that of the moon at her full. His majestic brilliance shines as if that of thousands of suns and moons. His voice is as mighty as that of the celestial drum (thunder) and as soft as the voice of the Karishma bird. Therefore I, placing my hand on the ground, adore the venerable Ami- thāba... Thus I worship the Buddha and praise his merits. May the dharma that be adored (with many virtues)! May sentient beings, arriving at the term of their lives, go to the Western Land, and, mingling with Ami, they accomplish Buddhahood! May sentient beings go and be reborn in the Paradise of bliss.

May they go and meet with Amithaba, the Venerable One?

Next follow the burning of incense and the presentation of oblations (cakes, tea, hot water sweetened with sugar, boiled rice). The chief mourner, the family, and relatives offer incense. Then are read passages from the Saddharmapundarika Sutra, illustrating the various ‘gates’ of the Gonenmon, and the thus the oti (ceremony (which is supposed to take place on the day of death) is brought to a close.

(2) Ceremonies in the house: the first part of the actual funeral. — This is conducted by the bhūdā (‘second celebrant’), with a choir of six assistants, the first celebrant (chōkō) awaiting the cortege at the temple.

The Four Invitations (as in the oti).

Stanza of Repentance.

‘All the evil karma,’ etc. (see above, ‘Ceremonies of the Zen,’ p. 489).

The three Refugees:

‘Hail to me, and I take refuge in, Buddha. Hail to me, and I take refuge in, Dharma. Hail to me, and I take refuge in, Candrasākya (Japanese)’

I take refuge in Sakyamuni, chief of two-footed beings.

I accept, with two-footed beings.

I take refuge in Amida, chief of bodhisattvas.

I have finished taking refuge in Buddha.

Dharma.

Candrasākya.

The General Vows (adōmon):

‘Sentient beings are numberless. May I make them all traverse the sea of samsāra (‘eternal death’). Evil passions are numberless. May I help sentient beings to destroy them.’

The gates of the Law (Scriptures) are infinite. May I cause sentient beings to understand them)

Supreme Buddhahood is ineffable. May I make sentient beings attain to it.’

Hyōhōka (see under ‘Shingon,’ above, p. 491).

Chanting of a Sutra; either the Sukhāvatīvyahāra or the Saddharmapundarika. Preface (as in the oti above).

Burning of incense and offering of oblations (as above).

Chief mourner, family, and relatives burn incense.

The Invocation of the Buddhas in the Ten Quarters.

‘Hail to the Buddhas in the Ten Quarters.

Dharma.

Candrasākya.

Hail to the Buddha Prabhutaratna (mentioned in Sūtra), Hail to Sakyamuni, whose body is divided into the Ten Directions.

Hail to the Saddharmapundarika Sutra.

Maitreya, the Bodhisattva (Mandara).

Samantabhadra the Boddhisattva (Pugen).

This ends the ceremonies in the house.

(3) The ceremonies in the temple. — On arrival at the temple, the bell is tolled, and the choir of clergy take their seats, followed by the celebrant

1. In the Tendai very generally identity Sakyamuni with Amithaba. Hence the application of the same epitaph to both. In the Shinshū, which derives much of its terminology from Tendai, this identification is known as ni-ei-ō (‘the identity of the two Blessed Ones’).
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and his assistant. The choir recite, in debased Sanskrit, the fourfold hymn of Wisdom:

On hesaramata shikyagana.
hasaramatanamadakura.
hesaramata-karukawara.

The celebrant now goes up to the High Altar, and there makes a mudrā ('manual gesture') known as 'Kongo-gi.'

An introit is sung, the 'Hymn of taking the seat.'

Indo, 'guiding words,' spoken by the celebrant.

The praise of the shakūji, 'pilgrim's staff':

I judge that my hand (does) so. May all sentient beings follow my example!

The whole choir say with the celebrant:

'Give a feast of charity, and, showing the true Way, make offerings to the Three Precious Things (bō). With a pure mind make offerings to the Three Precious Things (bō). Striving to raise a pure mind, I make offerings to the three gods (shakes the shakūji twice); may all sentient beings follow my example! May I become the Teacher of Devan and men; may I fill the Heavens with my vows; may I acquire my being in the reverse of the cause of业, and, guarded by spiritual beings, to make offerings to the Three Precious Things! May they make offerings on our behalf to the Buddha (Amida), to the Bodhisattvas, to the Buddha, to the Buddha. (Shakes the shakūji twice.) May all sentient beings learn the ascendent Truth? (shakūji): may they treat their fellow-beings with respect and sympathy, and make offerings to the Three Precious Things! May they learn the doctrine of the vehicle, and treat their fellow-beings with respect and sympathy; may they respectfully make offerings to the Three Precious Things— to Buddha, to Bodhisattva, to Buddha, and to Buddha—(shakes the shakūji twice.) All sentient beings practice Silaparamitā (the perfection of charity), ... Panaparamitā (the perfection of generosity), Kundayamāna-paramitā (the perfection of perpetual, ... Vīryaparamitā (the perfection of fortitude), as a note to an interesting point; ... Prajñāparamita (the perfection of wisdom), ... and may they treat their fellow-beings with respect and sympathy! (The shakūji is shaken twice.) Buddhists in the past have taken up the pilgrim's staff and have been enlightened. Buddha he who has taken up the staff, may he be enlightened. Buddhists in the future will take up the staff and be enlightened. I therefore take up the staff and make offerings to the Three Precious Things (shakūji).'

The celebrant comes down from the High Altar and burns incense.

Offerings of tea and hot water with sugar. Lifting the collar off the neck and closing it.

The assistant (fukudōshi) reads the Funeral Oration.

Chanting of a Sūtra.

Chief mourner, family, and relatives burn incense.

General congregation follow their example.

When all who have burned incense come to the celebrant and choir leave the temple.

So end the funeral ceremonies of the Tendai.

4. Ceremonies of the Jodo.—The Jodo sect, founded by Hōnen Shinōn in A.D. 1174, is an

offshoot of the Tendai, or rather an attempt to call back the Tendai to that sole Faith in Amītābha which the Jodo sects maintain to be the essential feature of the whole Mahāyāna.

(1) The ceremony of the house (Gongyō-shiki).

Opening verse of the regular service:

'May our minds be purified as the incense-flower! May our minds be bright and clear as the fire of Wisdom.

Turning the incense of morality and tranquility, thought by thought, make offerings to the Buddhas in the Ten Quarters, in the Three Worlds.'

Sanbōri, or worship of the Three Precious Things:

'With all our hearts we pay supreme honors to the Supreme Buddha in the Ten Quarters.

With all our hearts we pay supreme honors to the Supreme Dharmas in the Ten Quarters. . . .

With all our hearts we pay supreme honors to the Supreme Saññas in the Ten Quarters.'

Shikūjō, or fourfold Invocation, as in the ceremonies of the Tendai: (1) Al the Buddhas, (2) Ōra, (3) Amītābha, (4) Kwanwo, Seishi, and the other Mahābodhisattvas.

Tambutsu no ge, or hymn of praise for all the Buddhas:

'The handsome physical bodies of the Tathāgatas are unparalleled in the Universe. They are incomparable beyond conception.

Therefore, behold, I worship them. The physical bodies of the Tathāgatas and spiritual beings are the same, their Wisdom is as their bodies. Dharmas are infinite. Therefore I take refuge in them.'

Ryūkubansu, or abbreviated form of confession:

'All the evil karmas, etc., as in the Zen and Tendai.

Senkiki, or the threefold Taking of Refuge:

'Take refuge in Buddha . . . Dharmas . . . Saññas.'

The ceremony of the corpse is being prepared for burial, the name of Amītābha is being repeated ten times. This is known as Jūn. The number of repetitions shows that the shaving occurs only a short time. It is a ceremony called Kuri-ma, 'head-shaving,' roughly corresponding to Christian confirmation, which implies a formal acceptance of admission into the sect. It is administered by the head of the sect only, and consequently largely over the head of the candidates as they kneel before him. The ceremonial shaving of the dead is very often nothing more than this.

Rakkyōs or hymn introductory to the reading of the Scriptures:

'The Law, which is pre-eminent, profound, and sought out, can rarely be met with, scarcely once in a thousand kalpas or ages of the world. But we have seen and heard, and do accept it. May we understand the true meaning of the teaching of Amītābha.'

Reading of a Sūtra—generally a chapter from the Amitayurdhyāna Sūtra, or the Aparimitāyins Sūtra. Sometimes also the Amitābhatāṇḍāga-muladhārān is read.

In accordance with the Original Vow of the Buddha we pray that we may hear His Name, and be reborn in the Land of Bliss. On being re-born in that land, we must do the work of the Buddha, and not waste time. We must, in the meantime, be born in the Sixfold Supernatural Power (rōkujin-dei), which shall enable us to assume visible forms, and to secure happiness in the Worlds of the Ten Quarters for the Salvation of mankind. The Sky and the Law are infinite in extent; our vows are boundless.'

Not in the Buddhist sense of 'sought out of them that have pleasure therein.' The allusion is to the Vow of Amītābha, which was framed after a careful survey and examination of all the Buddha-śāstras.

2 The doctrines of Buddhism.

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DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Japanese) 495

definitely under Amitābha's protection. Immense
crowds of worshippers from every part of Japan
came to worship.

(2) The funeral to the corpse.—This took place
on the following day. Three short ceremonies
were observed, the first in the apartment where
the coffin had been lying in state since the previous
day. It was then removed to the daishidō, or hall
set apart for the worship of Shinran Shōnin, the
founder of the sect, and from there to the Amidō, or
Hall of Amida. In each of these places a ser-
vice was held, consisting very largely of repetitions
of the Namu Amida butsu1 and the burning of
incense. Not unnaturally the third service was
resented the most dignified. Notons, blood rela-
tions, but proxies representing the princes of
the blood, and the heads of other subdivisions of
the Shinshu, came forward to burn incense, and, im-
nediately after this last ceremony was over, the
procession was formed and the funeral cortège
started for Uchina, where the main obsequies were
to take place.

(3) The procession need not delay us. It was on
the same general lines as the procession mentioned
at the beginning of this section (p. 492). On
Only, as befitting a personage who, in addition to
being the hereditary head of one of the largest
of the Buddhist sects in Japan, was a peer of the
realm, and a collateral descendant of the great
Fujiwara family. But it was, of course, imposing
procession, more than a mile in length.

(4) The service at Uchina.—Uchina was in
former days the cremation-place connected with
the Eastern Hongwannji temple. But the growth
of the city has rendered it unsuitable for the
purpose. In the case, however, of the funeral
of an Abbot, there are historical reasons why a
part of the service should still be held there.
An open space had therefore been curtained off, large
enough to sent the great number of invited guests,
and it was here that that part of the service took
place which in ordinary cases would be held in
the temple. (The farewell to the corpse, thrice re-
ported, corresponded to the service in the house
at ordinary funerals. It followed, then, almost
exactly the same order as is observed in Jodo
funerals.) A temporary crematorium had been
erected for the symbolic cremation to be held here.
The chief mourners were the new Abbot and his
wife (the urabata). The actual cremation took
place later at Kwazan, where the regular crema-
torium is situated.

The service, which was of the regular type,3
followed the usual order:

The Four Invitations.
The Shōshingō,3
Nembutsu wo nusan,4 or hyōn in praise of Buddha,
followed by invocations of Amida's name.

Eko, as in Jodo sect, with the following addition:

2. Oo arukobake.

We pray that the merit of this service may be given equally
to all sentient beings, that they may cross the river and ascend
forth with re-birth in the Land of Ease and Comfort.\footnote{1}{It is to be noted that the common interpretation given to
these words is \textit{Buddhism} and \textit{Buddhist} instead of \textit{Buddhism} and \textit{Buddhism}. This
meaning, which has been read into, not out of, the Sanskrit
words, is interesting.}

2. In the memorial service held by the Shinshu in Tokyo
in honour of King Edward vii., the form approximated much
more closely to the usual English rite. The explanation of this will
be found in the Tendai origin of the Shinshu, and also in the
fact that it was not a funeral service proper.

3. This is a poem by Shinran Shōnin giving an account of the
transmission of the Amida doctrine.

4. Wazn are hyōn of praise composed in Japanese. The
Shinshu sect, which, to its credit, has always used the vernacular
whenever possible. They are particularly rich in these hyōn, some
of which are of very great interest.}
Symbal cremation. The Abbot entered the temporary crematorium and lighted some straw, and, as the smoke issued from the building, it was accepted as an actual cremation. This was, of course, a special feature of this particular funeral.

Shokage again.

Burning of incense by mourners, etc.

The coffin was now removed for the actual cremation.

(5) The cremation.—This was carried out semi-privately at Kwanzan, only the new abbot, near relatives, old body-servants, and the superintendent of the crematorium being admitted into the curtained-off space around the furnace. The pyre was made of pine logs and adorned with a white robe, and was attended to by four master-carpenters in white robes, overlooked by two priests in black.

The Abbot, as chief mourner, having already, as we have seen, symbolically lighted the fire, it was apparently not necessary for him to do it actually on the occasion; though in ordinary funerals this is a duty which always falls upon the chief mourner. It must be a "pure" fire (no sulphur or brimstone to be used in the kindling), and when kindled must not be allowed to burn with additional fuel, but also by constant libations of mutane abura ("rape-seed oil"). It is desirable that the coffin, as in this case, should be so thick that the body inside may be completely consumed before the sides of the coffin fall in, but this is, of course, merely a counsel of perfection not applicable in all cases.

When the cremation was over, the remains were reverently collected, with a short service (not used in ordinary cases), put into a small box, covered with a white silk cloth, and carried back to the late Abbot's residence, where they were privately disposed of in a suitable manner. A certain amount of secrecy was observed on this occasion. The Shingon is a highly conservative and monastic sect, and many centuries ago a bitter feud between the parent sect of the Tendai and her more prosperous but rebellious daughter, the Shinshu, when Renyō Shōnin, the greatest of all the successors of Shinran, died in A.D. 1609, the jealous Tendai monks made an assault on the procession that was carrying home the sacred relics, and tried to seize and dishonour them. Since that time it has been customary, at the cremation of a Hongwani Abbot, to bring the ashes home in secret, along a circuitous route, and under guard.

In collecting the bones, etc., after a cremation, it is customary to pick them up with chopsticks, one of wood, and one of bamboo. Hence, in ordinary life it is deemed most unhygienic to use chopsticks of different materials, e.g. one of wood and one of bone. Shingon believers send the bones to Kōya-san; amongst the Shinshūists in Echigo and Shinshu they are often preserved in the house.

In most cases, however, they are interred. Great efficacy is sometimes attributed to these roles (shari).

6. Ceremonies of the Nichiren sect.—The Nichiren sect, founded in A.D. 1253, differs from all other sects of Buddhism in that it concentrates the whole of its attention on the Suddharmapundarika Sūtra, which it almost personifies. This Sūtra consists of two parts, known as Shakaṃno (chs. i.-xiv.) and Homon (chs. xv.-xvi.), and the peculiar position of the Nichiren School is that for all the latter part of the work of religion, not of the Sūtra, while all other Japanese sects lay special stress on the former. Nichiren himself claimed to be the first of the Four Great Bodhisattvas mentioned in the latter part of that Sūtra as rising out of the earth at the head of a large company of believers. The services are very long; but they admit of condensed statement, because they consist almost entirely of readings from the Suddharmapundarika Sūtra.

(1) The house ceremonies.—a) Mukurugyo, entrusted to a minor priest (shokage).

Kōwajin, or words of Invocation:

"We humbly invite Jūryō, the homon (principal deity) of the True Teaching, to be present.

Glory to the Suddharmapundarika Sūtra, in which are contained the Three Treasures of the True Teaching.

Glory to Sakyamuni-Buddha, who is the great benefactor of sentient beings, who accomplished enlightenment before innumerable ages, and who alone is the master of the teachings.

Glory to the Buddha Tathā, who certified to the teachings of the Suddharmapundarika Sūtra.

Glory to the homon mentioned in the Homon (Real Teaching)—see above, as also to those spoken of in the Shakasūtra (Temporary Teaching), in this and in other worlds.

Glory to the Great Bodhisattvas in the thousand worlds, who were taught by the Buddhas of the Homon, and who issued forth in troops out of the earth, when the Kramādāna was being preached.

Glory to the Three Everlasting Precious Things mentioned in the Suddha, Sutra, in which the Temporal Buddhas are secreted (swallowed up) and the True Buddha revealed.

Glory to Nichiren, the Great Tathā, the founder of the sect, our mighty leader, who has been entrusted by Sakyamuni with the Secrets of the True Doctrine.

Glory to the supreme Buddha (Nichiren).

May all the Devas and good gods, the protectors of the True Faith, descend upon the altar and give a hearing.

Reading of Hōhebon, sect. 2 of Saddha. Saddha."

Jūryōshō, sect. 10.

Much repetition of the Dainichiyo, or the true standard of faith and worship (Nyanmohākārakagyo, "Glory to the Lotus-Scripture of the Wonderful Law").

Ekō, or prayer of transference. The gist of the prayer is that, by the virtue of the Sutra, sentient beings may attain to Buddhahood in their bodies and be born as Bodhisattvas of a Kūto-waza. The service may be performed before or after death, or may be entirely omitted. It is of great importance to the student, as giving the doctrinal position of the Nichiren body.

(b) The wake (otogi). This is also entrusted to a minor priest.

The whole of the Suddharmapundarika is chanted once, or sect, in thirty-six times. Sermons are delivered at intervals—for the elucidation both of the living and of the dead.

The tounre (a leaf of a palm or bamboo) is cut with a razor over the head of the deceased.

(c) The home funeral service, by one or more minor priests. Five banners are prepared and set up, inscribed as follows:

1. Glory to Kosho, to the Suddha, Saddha, to Sakyamuni, to Nichiren, the Great Superior Teacher of the Latter Days.

2. Glory to Jōgyō-kenzan, i.e. to the Nichiren, first of the Four Great Bodhisattvas.


5. Glory to Amurugyo-kenzan, fourth of the Four Great Bodhisattvas.

Four smaller banners are also prepared and set up, and inscribed as follows:

1. Jūryō is a portion of the Saddha, Saddha personified (sect. 20), and treated as the embodiment of the False (Gintoku).

2. Nichirenists maintain that there are three stages of Buddhist Teaching—the Smaller Vehicle, the Larger, and the Grand Vehicle (Gintoku). The Three Mysteries are: (1) The revelation of the true object of human life, the Messiah in the center of the establishment of the true standard of faith and worship, (2) the true teachings of morality.

3. Observe that the Sakyamuni of Nichirenism is only incidentally the historical Gautama.

4. Tahe (Skr. Mahāyāna) may be traced back to a Bodhisattva, previously to Sakyamuni, who, in the Saddha, is seen descending upon the latter as he teaches, in a diva; who is dep, then revives, and, after commending the teachings which Sakyamuni is giving in the Saddha, becomes in some mysterious way identified with him. This account appears in the Kramādāna, the 10th section of the Saddha, Saddha."

Nichiren is supposed to have had as his teaching committed to him by virtue of his being a reincarnation of the first of the Four Great Bodhisattvas.
DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Jewish).

1. Conception of death.—Although there is uniformly, in a sense, in the physical phenomena of death, its characteristic and circum-
stances and the impression which it makes vary in different times and places. In ancient Israel, death, like life, was more a matter of the family than it is now; it was not so much an occasion when an external professional element, repre-
sented by priests, lawyers, doctors, nurses, and hospitals, broke in upon or set aside the family. Again, violent deaths were more common; and the last illness of a dying man was not prolonged as it is now, by the resources of medical science. In all probability the death-rate was much higher than it is with us, so that death was more common and familiar.

The impression made by death depends partly on belief as to its cause and as to the future of the individual after death. The modern mind is occupied with the physical cause of death, the particular disease, and the failure of remedial treat-
ment. The Israelite and the Jew thought of death as an act of God; more especially a death in early years, or in the prime of life, or under exceptionally distressing circumstances, was often regarded as a judgment upon sin.

Death was not the annihilation of the indi-
vidual—at any rate, according to the ordinary Hebrew view. A feeble ghost of the dead man maintained a dim, shadowy existence in Sheol, the under world or Hades. But probably in early times other beliefs supplemented or replaced this view. There are traces of ancestor-worship and necro-
nancy in ancient Israel, and these imply that the spirits of the dead could manifest themselves to the living, and could exercise some influence upon their fortunes. Samuel, for instance, appeared at the call of the witch of Endor and foretold the death of Saul (I S 28). Although there is little positive evidence, it is probable that the popular belief in ghosts prevailed earlier as in later times. In Lk 24:52 the Apostles take the risen Lord for a ghost.

In a sense, the Israelite looked forward to re-
union after death, so far as this may be implied in such phrases as 'buried with his fathers' (2 K 12), 'slept with his fathers' (J K 2); but there is nothing to suggest that he looked forward to any satisfying fellowship with his deceased brethren in a future life. Thus, for all practical purposes, death was a final parting.

As regards what happened to the individual when he breathed his last, death was thought of as the departure of the neshph, or vital principle; that, curiously enough, neshph is some-
times used in the sense of 'corps' (Lk 15:21; Zcc 12:10, [all Hi], Nu 5:11:40 [all P], Hagg 2:9).

Probably various primitive views prevailed in ancient Israel as to death and the individual after death, and these views were connected with general Semitic mythology; but the editors of the OT eliminated accounts of such crude superstitions, in the interests of orthodoxy and estheism, so that only a few traces remain. A familiar myth is the death and resurrection of a god. Traces of this are found in the women weeping for Tammuz (Ezk 8:4). According to Gessmann,² the account of the death and resurrection of the Servant of Jehovah in Is 53 is based on some such myth; of this possibly other traces are found in the references to 1177:528, "mourning for an only son.³

The later books of the OT contain hints of a resurrection, which develop in the later literature, especially in the Wisdom of Solomon and the Apocalypses, into an express doctrine, so that for later Judaism and for Christianity—following Judaism—death became the portal to a future life. When Judaism evolved a hierarchy of angels, with proper perquisites and special functions, there appeared among the rest, Sammael, the Angel of Death. See DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Heb.) and (Jewish).

Later Judaism inherited or developed many curious fancies as to the hour of death; as, for instance, that the dying soul has a vision of the Shekinah just before its departure. Ben Kaphra, a Rabbi of the early Christian centuries, is quoted as saying:¹

'For three days the spirit hovers above the tomb, if perchance it may return to the body. But, when it sees the fashion of the countenance changed, it retires and abandons the body' (cf. Eun. in. Oc. Fas. [1901] on 21:13).

2. Disposal of the dead.—The regular and legiti-
mate mode of dealing with a corpse in ancient Israel was burial, and this has always remained the general custom of the Jews. Embalming was not an Israelite practice; when we read that Jacob and Joseph were embalmed (Gn 50:26), we must clearly understand that they were treated as Egyptians, amongst whom embalming was the regular custom. In later times we are told that the body of Aristobulus was embalmed in honey (Jos. Ant. XIV. vii. 4). Embalming in the strict sense must be distinguished from the Jewish custom referred to in 2 Ch 16:15 and in NT (Jn 1196, etc.) of wallowing the dead body and placing it in or wrapping it up in spices. Cremona, amongst the Israelites, was exceptional. According to I S 312, the men of Jabesh-Gilead burned the bodies of Saul and his sons, probably to pre-
vent their falling into the hands of the Philistines. The fact that 1 Ch 10:22 omits the burning, and that Josephus (VI. xiv. 8) states that the bodies were buried, is probably evidence of the repug-

¹ W. J. Bennett, Sp. cit. 155 ff.
³ Am 3:9, Jer 26; a Zcc 12:10; cf. Chyton, The Two Religions of Israel, London, 1881, p. 211.
DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Jewish)

The Jews, at any rate in later times, to the cremation of the dead. The EV of Am 6:6 speaks of ‘he that burneth ’ a corpse; but the reference to burning the corpse is due to corruption or to impiancy on the part of Jews in some cases, however, criminals were burnt alive (Gn 38:4, Lv 20:14, 21), or their corpses were burnt (Jos 7:15-17). The picture in Is 66:24 of the corpses of sinners consumed by fire may have been suggested by the actual treatment of dead criminals. According to Kimchi1 there were perpetual fires in the Valley of Hinnom for consuming dead bodies of criminals and animals. In Am 2:2 the burning of the bones of the king of Edom is an outrage which calls for punishment hereafter by the Edomites in the Doeh. 

Expose without burial was a disgrace and a misfortune. Criminals or their representatives might be so treated (2 S 21:16), but, according to Dt 21:22, even their corpses were to be buried. Sometimes this was done to avoid the judgment of God (1 K 11:17, Jer 7:35, Ezk 29:9, Ps 79:7). To bury relatives, and even strangers, was a supreme duty; it is specially insisted on in To 1, 2, and is illustrated by the story of Birelah (2 S 3:31), that the corpse of a wicked man was to have an honourable burial (Job 21:15). The desecration of a grave was a kind of posthumous punishment (2 K 12:13, Jer 49:1).

There is no such evidence in the OT of graves dug and sealed, and therefore in doubt as to the use of graves, only as to the discovery of tombs. The tombs of the various Palestine Exploration Societies show that rock-hewn tombs were exceedingly common; they usually occur in groups. A space for a single corpse, the chambers and even the tombs with a stone slab; this space was called a kîk, 32 (Jastrow, Dict. of the Targumim, 1886-1903, s.v.), by the Jews in later times. These are found gathered in some places in chambers in natural or artificial caves. One of the most interesting examples of such a burying-place is the cave of Machpelah, where Sarah, Abraham, Isaac, Rebekah, Leah, and Jacob are said to have been buried (Gen 25:9, 35:29, 49:30). Other tombs with groups of kîkîm are also found; and sometimes monuments were erected over tombs; for instance, Simon the Maccabee built an elaborate mausoleum at Modin for his father and brother (1 Mac 13:29-30), and this may be the dead and buried in the garden of Uzza (2 K 21:19). But usually the kings of Judah were buried in a royal burying-place in the city of David: e.g. Josiah (2 K 23:20), apparently near the Temple (Ezk 43:18), the Temple being in ancient times an adjunct of the royal palace. Obviously dwellers in towns, who had not extensive gardens, would be required, as in later times, to bury their dead outside the walls. Poorer people would have no family burying-place, and we read of a public cemetery on the outskirts of the city of the dead (Am 6:19) (2 K 23:18, Jer 22:25). Apparently a measure of disgrace attached to burial there, in a pauper’s grave, so to speak.

The family desired to be together in death as in life, and men were anxious to ‘sleep with their fathers,’ i.e. to be buried in the family tomb. It is part of the punishment of Pashhur that he is to be buried in Mahlah (Jer 26:20); and the Chronicler, in contradiction to the Book of Kings, states that certain wicked kings of Judah—Deborah and Josiah—were not buried in the sepulchres of the kings (2 Ch 23:20). In post Biblical times the Jews have had their own cemeteries. They still retain their anxiety to be buried with their own people. Jews who are lax in many religious matters will keep the Day of Atonement in order that they may be buried in a Jewish cemetery.

A certain number of graves of ancient saints and heroes, and probably, as amongst the Muhammadans, such tombs became shrines; e.g. the tomb of Joseph at Shechem (Jos 24:32), and the tomb of the patriarchs at Machpelah. Necro-mancy and similar superstitious were often connected with (Is 64:14).

On the other hand, the grave is unclean. In later times, at least, cemeteries were supposed to be special haunts of evil spirits; and the spirits of the dead lingered there, at any rate, till the corpse had been as imitated to the soil. This belief, that the spirits of the dead inhabit the tombs, is found in most primitive religions, and was probably prevalent amongst the Israelites in early times.

3. Mourning and other observances.—Numerous passages illustrate the distress caused to the Jews by bereavement; the mourning of Jacob over the supposed death of Joseph (Gn 50:24) of David over Absalom (2 S 18:33). In later times, there is the mourning of the death of Solomon (1 K 2:14), and the mourning of the death of the Israelites in Egypt (Ex 13:15), their sorrow and complaint prevailing, so that Rabbi Hamnìli ordained that corpses should be buried in a simple white dress. We read of Ananias, that they ‘wrapped him round,’ apparently in the clothes he was wearing, and carried him out, and buried him (Ac 22:19).

Later on, the use of a shroud or special grave-clothes or wrappings for the dead became universal; but it is not clear when this custom was first introduced amongst the Jews. In Jn 11:4 Lazarus’ hands and feet were bound with linen bandages (ερυμασίας), and his face with a napkin (στίγματα). The body of our Lord was wrapped in strips of linen (δημίου) We have already referred to the use of spices.

Collins were not used by the Jews in ancient times, except in the case of Joseph (Gn 50:26), whose remains were placed in an ουράς, or chest; but this, like his embalming, was an Egyptian custom. The Jews laid their dead on a bier (OT mîṣatta, נבי), the couch (2 S 3:31); NT ερυμασίας (Lk 23:40), as is the custom amongst Eastern Jews now. They use this bier to carry the corpse to the grave, and do not bury it.

The exigencies of the climate of Palestine called for burial soon after death, on the same day, or within 24 hours. As often, a natural necessity hardened into a sacred custom, which was long maintained amongst Jews in Western countries, where the same necessity did not exist; but after

a while it fell into disuse, and a longer interval is allowed in the West.

The carrying of the corpse to the burying-place was the work of friends of the deceased, and was the occasion for public lamentation, which, at any rate in the early centuries of our era, was partly performed by hired mourners and musicians. There does not seem to have been any formal burial service, or public character in Biblical times, but then and in the funeral oration were sometimes delivered. According to JE (s.v. 'Funeral Rites,' v. 529), the mourners recited Is. 91 on their way to the cemetery; in the ceremony, other funeral, conclusion, concluding with the Kaddish, or doxology; and on their return, the services from Lamentations. Women attended funerals in ancient times, and still do amongst the foreign Ashkenazim, but not amongst the Sephardim or the English Ashkenazim.

We may also quote the following description of modern Samaritan rites, which probably preserves many of the customs of Palestinian Jews in early times:

'Upon death the corpse is carefully and ceremoniously washed, it is not forbidden to the Samaritans, as has been frequently stated, to handle their dead, except in the case of the high-priest. Candles are burnt at the head and foot of the corpse, before which the Talmud Collins are used—an exception in modern Palestinian custom. The mourners, and the clergy also, wait until the following Sabbath, the community going each day to the tomb, where they read and pray. On the Sabbath the community again visit the tomb, where they partake of a meal while forwards all proper services are held in the synagogue.'

The duration of mourning, as it has always varied, according to the rank of the deceased and his relation to the mourner. Seven days was a very common period. The men of Jabez-Gilead fasted seven days for Soul and Jonathan (I Sam. 1312); Joseph mourned seven days for Jacob (Gen. 33); Jacob was mourned seven days (Jeh 16); Judith was mourning seven days (Jeh 17). In later Judaism the period of strict mourning, the Noah or first seven days; mourning of a less severe character lasts another thirty days, and in the case of children to the end of the yahrzeit. As to mourning-dress, the ‘skirt of sackcloth’ was customary in Gn 37 and extra of the mourning garments and the wearing of sackcloth are mentioned in Gn 37 and in Ps. 119. The mourning dress of a woman was worn by the widow throughout her life, and consisted of, or included, sackcloth. Modern Jews usually wear black mourning, except in Russia, Poland, and Galicia, where it is worn. Mourners garnish their garments at the time of death, and wear the outer garment cut and unbuttoned during the thirty days of mourning.

The presence of numerous guests at a funeral necessitated a funeral meal, 'funeral beaked meats,' which, in spite of the character of the occasion, was apt to become a feast. This is not a custom which is found in time of the OT as lechem 'omnim, 'bread of mourners.' (Hos 9), and was provided for the mourners by their friends at the close of the fast, which occupied the day of the funeral (2 S 3, Jer 16)—a custom which seems to have prevailed ever since.

Other acts of mourning were fasting (1 S 31), beating the breast (Is 37:3, cf. Lk 18:14), sitting in ashes (Jon 3:6), sprinkling ashes on the head (Est 9:2). Ezek 24:17 implies that mourners were wont to cover the lip with new, to begreek and bereaved. According to Jer 16, mourners incantated themselves, and plucked out or shaved off the hair; but such practices are forbidden in Lv 19:14, Dt 14.

Traces remain in the OT of the worship of the dead, of sacrifices offered to them, and of furnishing them with food. Probably at such funerals was partly a survival of such practices. The worship of the dead was closely connected with necromancy, which was prevalent in Israel (e.g. Is 59). The graves of ancient worthies seem often to have been shrines, or 'mother shrines. Thus there was a maggedah, or sacred pillar, at the grave of Rachel (Gn 35:20), and the important sanctuary at Shechem may have been connected with the grave of Joseph (Jos 23, 34). Ancient traditions of Dt 26:5 is a little doubtful. The Targum says, 'I have not given food for the dead,' but the reference probably is to offering food to the dead in the temples of the Dead, and not to the dead themselves. The practice was condemned by official Judaism; but the whole army, in such a name as 'mourners to the tomb of the righteous,' and Sir 30:2 refers to the custom. In some quarters necromancy and its allied customs survived among the Jews in later periods.

In Rabbinical times and among the stricter modern Jews, during the Shabbat, or seven days of strict mourning, the relatives abstain from work and remain at home, sitting on the floor or on a low bench, reading the Haggadah of the receiving visits of condolence. Bereaved children should abstain for a year from music and recreation.

A special feature of Jewish mourning is the repetition of the Kaddish by a bereaved son. According to the Jewish Prayers-book, this is to be repeated by sons for eleven months after the death of a parent, and also on the Yahrzeit, or anniversary of the death. It is a special form of Kaddish which runs thus:

'May his great Name be magnified and hallowed in the world which He created according to His will! May He establish His kingdom speedily in our days and in the lifetime of all Israel!' May his Name be blessed for ever; may it be blessed for ever and ever. May the Name of the Holy One (Blessed be He) be blessed and praised and glorified and exalted and set on high and honored and uplifted and sung above all blessings and hymns and praises and consolations that are repeated in the world! May the Name of the Lord He blessed from now even for ever-more! May there be great peace from heaven and life upon us and upon all Israel, and say ye Amen. My help is from the Lord that made heaven and earth. May He who maketh peace in His high places make peace for us and for all Israel! And say ye Amen.'

This is publicly recited in the synagogue, but according to Oesterley and Box it is recited in the house as a prayer for the dead, but the public recitation of it in this fashion by a son is regarded as a proof of the piety of the dead, as represented by a pioun survivors. This no doubt is the light of the enlightened Jews; but others belong to the petition of the Kaddish by the son shortens the purgatorial period which the father must spend in Gehenna or exalts him to a higher sphere in Paradise. The repetition terminates on the anniversary of the death, because it would be unprofitable to suppose that a father’s sins would require more than a

1. Oesterley and Box, 304 ff.

2. Sometimes interpreted, improbably, of the funeral feast given to mourners.

3. For example, see J. S. Montgomery, The Samaritans, Philad., 1907, p. 431.

4. Oesterley and Box, p. 168.


6. Oesterley and Box, 504 ff.

7. I. E. J., s.v. 'Mourning,' in 101.

8. Oesterley and Box, 504 ff.

year's purgatory. In the Ashkenazic synagogues prayers are said four times a year for the souls of the deceased.

Priests were forbidden to mourn except in the case of the nearest relationships (Lv 21:14, Ezk 44:19).

4. Significance of death and of funeral customs. —Some scholars see in many of the funeral rites, notably cutting of the hair, self-mutilation, etc., which were forbidden by the more advanced Judaism, traces of an animistic stage of the degenerate Israel, of the worship of ancestors, and of the allied ideas of the continued life of the dead, of the possibility of communion with them, of the necessity of providing for their needs and protecting them from evil spirits; or, on the other hand, of the need of protecting the living from injury by the spirits of the dead. No doubt the Semitic peoples passed through a stage of religious development when such ideas were current; and these ideas persisted and do persist when they have been outgrown by the purer forms of religion; but they do not belong to Jahwism or to Judaism so far as either was or is dominated by revelation. Nevertheless, the great importance attached to burial in the post-exilic period of the Tanh. era suggests that the condition of the spirit of the deceased was supposed to be influenced by the treatment of the corpse. Later on, in some districts the habit prevailed of visiting cemeteries in order to obtain the help or intercession of the dead.

Another quasi-animistic explanation of mourning rites which involve disfigurement, unattractive dress, covering the head, etc., is that they were intended to guard the dead man from recognizing the mourner, and so to protect the latter from any injury the spirit might wish to inflict upon him. Similarly, the mourners' shrieks were intended to drive the spirit away; and satisfactory burial was a condition that the dead might find their way to Sheol and stay there. The suggestion that many mourning rites were due to the anxiety of the mourner to humble himself before God hardly seems probable. The most probable explanation is that the expression and out of a natural desire to express the emotions caused by bereavement. Such distress gives rise to wailing, frantic gestures, neglect of the dress and person, an aversion to the pleasures of life. Acts which originally were spontaneous would soon harden into a fixed etiquette or ritual. Many customs might easily be thus explained; and it is possible that this may be the true explanation, even in cases where a mourning custom does not seem to us a natural expression of grief. A man distraught by sorrow may seek relief in any unexpected, strange, unusual act; such an act may appeal to the imagination of spectators by its very strangeness, and be imitated till it becomes a custom.

The contagious uncleanness of a corpse (Nu 5, Lv 21:11) might be suggested in many ways: by the fear of the spirit of the dead man mentioned above; centuries of the asking from an object so changed from the living friend or kinsman, and even by sanitary reasons. The uncleanness of the corpse would naturally be extended to the tomb. In the same way an unburied corpse defiled the land, as is laid down a curse on it (Lv 21:14). It would be a mistake to try to explain all the mourning customs, even of one people, by the consistent application of a single principle. Bereavement affects men in many ways, so that natural affections and considerations, superstition, and religion all contribute to give rise to the ritual connected with death. Moreover, a rite changes its significance and value from time to time, so that the meaning attached to it in later times may be quite different from that which it had originally; and the popular explanation of it may throw no light on its origin.

According to Gn 3, death was a consequence of the sin of Adam and Eve (cf. Ro 5:12); it would be natural to draw the conclusion arrived at in the latter passage, that because each man died because of his own sin (a view perhaps implied by Na 2:4). But the narrative in Genesis stands apart from the general course of OT thought, which regards death as the natural end of life. The righteous man, according to a widely prevalent view, enjoys a long and happy life, and is gathered to his fathers in a good old age. Some passages of the Wisdom Literature, even apart from any belief in a real future life, regard life as a burden and death as a boon (Job 7:4, Ec 6:10).

In some passages of OT, death is personified (e.g. Job 28:22, Is 28:17, Hab 2:4). In others the term is extended to mean spiritual death; it doubtless includes physical death, but only as a part of a wider judgment which includes guilt and condemnation, and exclusion from the Kingdom. In such passages, as Schultz said, 'death includes everything which is a result of sin.' This usage of the term is extended and developed in the later literature.

Thus Philo: 'The death of the soul is the decay of virtue, the taking up of evil.'

In later Judaism, death is regarded as atoning for the sin of the deceased. According to a popular superstition, the dead man suffers pain while his body is decaying in the grave, and this pain has an atoning value. But, apart from such ideas, we find the doctrine taught by Rabbinical and other authorities. Thus the Sephardic ritual for a dying man includes the following:

Let my death be a atonement for all my sins, iniquities, and transgressions, wherein I have sinned, offended, and transgressed against Thee, from the day of my first existence; and let my portion be in the Garden of Eden. Again we read: 'The Day of Atonement and death make atonement when accompanied with sincere repentance.'


W. II. BENNETT.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

(Manhannadan).—According to the Qur'an, 'every soul must taste of death' (iii. 182); the difficulty as to those who may be alive at the Last Day is got over by the explanation that on the blast of the trumpet all shall expire, except those whom God pleases (xxix. 68), the exempted being possibly some of the greater angels (Babawli, etc., in loc.). This is also laid down in the Koran: 'the hour of each person's death is foreordained (xvi.

1. Kähler, Sünde und Gnade, 244; but probably the passage regards Zealophoge as involved in the sin of Israel in refusing to enter Canaan, not Judah. Schodt.

2. (AT Theol., tr. ii., p. 310, 314; cf. Bennett, 283; and see Eck 260.)


5. Mish. Tanna, 29, quoted by Bender, JQR VI. (1904) 666.
In the traditions, men are forbidden by the Prophet to wish for death, though to a believer it will be desirable. Whoose last words are the Kalima (profession of faith, 'There is no god but God') will enter into praising the glorious and eternal name of God, until that this should be recited in the presence of the dying, and the Sura 71 Sin (Qur. xxxvi.) should be said over the dead. A fantastic tradition, given on the authority of Abu-Ja'far, relates what Muhammad is supposed to have said about it: 'O you who on the passing of the soul! In the case of a believer, angels of mercy clad in white come and invite the soul to the rest which is with God, and the soul comes out with a delicious smell of musk, which the angels sniff with satisfaction, and it reaches the souls of the faithful, who rejoice and question it about those left behind on earth. But angels of wrath come to the dying infidel, and his soul departs with a bad smell, which disgusts the angels till it reaches the souls of the faithful, who rejoice and question it about those left behind on earth. This idea is elaborated in other traditions, in which the soul of the righteous is said to issue forth like water from a skin, and the angel of death seizes it; but the angels in white snatch it from him and write his deeds on a book with an odor of musk, and convey it on and on to the seventh heaven, where the believer's name is registered, after which it is returned to its body on the earth, to undergo the questioning of its deeds. It is then visited by black-faced angels, and the soul is drawn out like a hot spit out of wet wool which sticks to it, and is wrapped in sakkeloth, smelling fetidly; and its name is written in hell (stijin); and it is violently thrown down upon the earth, to be examined by the angels of the grave, as will be described later.

Meanwhile the body is treated with a ceremonial which varies little in different parts of the Muslim world, and is nearly the same for men and women. Practica for most of the ritual are traced to traditions of the Prophet; but two customs—the wailing of women and the recital of praises of the dead—are observed in direct defiance of his command. The dying man is turned to face the gilda, or direction of Mecca, and, as soon his eyes are closed in death, the surrounding men ejaculate pious formulas and the women raise cries of lamentation (waulata), the family calling upon their servants, 'O my misfortune!' 'O my misfortune! The clothes of the deceased are instantly changed, his jaw bound, and his legs tied; and he is covered with a sheet. Women, friends, and sometimes professional mourners (qadiqat, dabbur), join the mourners and cry, 'Alas for him!' If he was one of the 'ulama of Cairo or some man of mark, his death would be announced from the minarets in the call known as the Aqdis (from Qur. xxvii. 5-9). The lamentations go on all night, if the death occurred in the evening, and a recitation of the Qur'an by hired figis takes place; but, if the death occurred in the morning, the burial follows on the same day, as, in addition to the rapid decomposition of bodies in hot climates, there is often a superstitions dread of keeping a corpse all night in the house. The washing of the dead is done by a professional washer (muhassal or ghassal), male or female according to the case, who brings a bench and bier, and does the work, often in a courtyard, with much reverence and decency, and with care in the disposal of the water, which people fear to touch; while the figis continue chanting in the next room. After a very elaborate washing, the nose and other orifices are stuffed with cotton, and the corpse is sprinkled with camphor, rosewater, and loti leaves (nale), the feet tied together and hands laid on breast, and the grave clothes (kafan) put on according to precise rules. Those vary from two or three pieces of cotton (or five for a woman), or a mere sack, in the case of the poor, to a series of layers of muslin, cotton, silk, and a kaffan of shawl, amongst the wealthy and the rich, and vary in different hands. Women usually have a long shift (yatal) added, and in India a cowl (demani). White and green are the favourite colours for the kafan, or any colour but black, but white alone is allowed in India. A shawl is thrown over the body when placed on the bier (jannah or sana). There is no coffin, and, of course, no priest.

The funeral or procession varies in different countries. In Asia, women do not attend as a rule, but they do in Bukhara. In Egypt the cortège is often preceded by half a dozen poor men (yamaniya), blind by preference, walking in pairs and chanting the Kalima. After them come the male friends and relations, and perhaps some darwishes, especially if the deceased belonged to a darwish order. A few schoolboys follow, carrying a Qur'an on a desk, and chanting lively verses on the Day of Judgment and similar topics. This is known as the 'ulama. Then comes the bier which the women and children has a post (shahid) at the head, covered with a shawl, and often adorned with gold ornaments, or, in the case of a boy, surmounted by a turban, carried head foremost at a brisk pace by friends, who relieve each other in transferring the bier from one passer-by to lend a hand or to follow the bier; and the Prophet made a point of always standing up when a bier was passing, and saying a prayer. The women walk behind the bier, with dishevelled hair, and relations, and perhaps some darwishes, especially if the deceased belonged to a darwish order. Rich people add camels to the procession, and hire figis to chant chapters of the Qur'an on the march, or members of religious orders carrying flags, and also sacrifice (al-kuffa) a buffalo at the tomb for the benefit of the poor; whilst ladies riding the high ass often follow their female relations. If it be a saint (wali) who is being buried, the women raise joy-cries (yanhratir) instead of the wailings, and, if the Boyd stops too; for saints are believed to be willful and able to stop their bearers, and even to direct them to where they prefer to be buried. It is said to be useless to try to rush a saint's bier in a direction he does not like, but the somewhat by-passing device of turning the bier round rapidly several times has been found successful in confusing the corpse's sense of orientation (Lane, Mod. Eg. p. 518).

The ceremony at the mosque consists in laying the bier on the floor, right side towards Mecca, when a service of prayer is recited by an imam and his attendant musallah in the presence of the congregation of mourners and all who choose to attend, ranged in a prescribed order, ending with an appeal to the audience: 'Give your testimony concerning him,' and their reply: 'He was of the righteou's.' The figis may then recite the Fikhia, etc., and the funeral goes on to the graveyard.

There a tomb has been prepared, of ample size, with an arched roof, so that the corpse may sit up at ease to answer the interrogation of the examining angels, Munkar and Nakir, who will enter the tomb to ask him as to his orthodoxy. If the replies are satisfactory, the grave will be enlarged to him, and a man with a beautiful countenance will appear to tell him: 'I am thy good deeds'; otherwise, a hideous face comes to represent
his evil deeds, and painful experiences ensue. The fear of 'the torment of the grave' is very real among Muslims.

The construction of tombs varies in different places, and no one pattern can be indicated. In Egypt, the entrance is at the foot, the side furthest from Mecca, and the tomb is often made to hold several bodies; but, if they are of opposite sexes, a partition is set up. Over the tomb is an oblong stone slab or brick monument (turkīya), with an upright stone (shahidī) at head and foot. The inscription is on that at the head, which is often carved with a turban. A small chapel covered with a cupola is frequently built over the tombs of saints and other distinguished people, while the tomb-mosques of sultans and amirs are often beautiful examples of Saracenic art.

The body is lifted out of the bier and laid in the tomb, on its right side, with the face towards Mecca, propped in that position by bricks. Its hands are usually placed in a Khandar or revel rent, lest it should tempt grave-robbers, a little earth is sprinkled, ch. ex., of the Qur'ān, or xx. 55, is recited (but this was forbidden by the Wāhilīṣ and others), and the entrance is closed. There is no second funeral, but the shroud is spread over the deceased (unless the burial be of a Mālikī), a figia, in the character of μαλώτγην, or tutor of the dead, sits before the tomb and tells the defunct the five correct answers to be given to the examining angels that night (the 'Ma'ât of Desolation,' Lawlat al-wundūla) when they come and ask him his catechism: he must reply that his God is Allāh, his prophet Muhammad, his religion Islām, his Bible the Qur'ān, and his gībga the Ka'ba.

The grave is left in solitude and the mourners depart, leaving a defunct and another for all the dead in the cemetery. Some figia take a repast in the room where the deceased died and recite ch. lvii. of the Qur'ān, or perform the more elaborate ritual called the Subba, 'Rosary,' in which a virgin thousand heads is used to count the thousands of repetitions of the Kālimah and the hundreds of other formule repeated. This performance ends with one of the figia asking the others: 'Have ye transferred [the merit of what ye have recited to the deceased?'] and their answer: 'We have transferred it.'

Wailing is resumed by the women on the Thursdays of the first three weeks after the burial, and the men receive friends of the deceased in the home of the bereaved and here to perform a Duty of the Qur'ān; and on the Fridays following these three Thursdays the women visit the tomb and go through various rites, including the plucking of a broken palm branch on the tomb and giving food to the poor; and the same is done on the Thursdays and Friday completing or following the forty days after the funeral. Men do not display mourning in their dress, but women dye their veils and other garments are done and sometimes smearing the walls of their rooms, and even stain their hands and arms with the same indigo dye. They also disarray their hair, and the furniture and carpets are upset in mourning for the head of the house.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Parsi).—1. Before death.—When death approaches, one or two priests are summoned to make the dying person confess his sins. The Paṭet, or confession of sins, is recited for his benefit, and it is a meritorious act if he is able to join the priest in repeating the confession. According to the Süd Dār (xiv.), the man who accomplishes repentance does not go to hell, but, having received his punishment at the end of the Chinvat bridge, is led to his place in heaven.

In a case of urgency the short Ashem-Vohū (Ys. xxvii. 14) formula may suffice, and the Hākhtī Naak fragment (xxi. 14) attributes a special value to the recital of Ashem-Vohū in the last moments of life. The Süd Dār adds (lxxix. 11) that it brings one who has deserved hell to the Hannistolān (the 'ever stationary' region between heaven and hell) of which is reserved the Hannistolān to heaven; and one who has deserved heaven to the highest paradise. The tāwās-perētha, after whose death the spnaman, 'waiting,' 'mourniNG,' of the relatives must be prolonged beyond the usual period of time (unless the deceased has been devoted as one who has died without Paṭet and without Ashem-Vohū. Sometimes a few drops of the consecrated kumāna juice mingled with water are poured, if possible, into the mouth of the dying person, and the corpse is kept in irons, or kept for a time in an ironed tomb, in order to bring it nearer immortality. Formerly this custom was more common; and it was also usual to drop into the mouth of the dying person a few grains of pomegranate, belonging to the holy ceremonies of the Parsi sacrifice.

2. Death.—According to Vend. v. 10, the ancient Zarathushtrians had special chambers or buildings (katā) for the dead—one for men, one for women, and one for children—in every house or in every village, and the common mortuary still exists amongst the Zarathushtrians of Persia and in the Mofussil towns of Gujārāt. In Bombay and other parts of India a special place in the house is prepared beforehand, and washed, before the defunct receive the dead body. The body is bathed all over and covered with a clean, but worn-out, white suit of cotton clothes, which must be destroyed and never used again after having served for this purpose (et. Vend. vii. 12), and the Soul is carried by a man to the Vampire of the Vampire of the ch. 88: 23-25). The corpse is placed on the ground on a clean white sheet. Two relatives sit by his side keeping themselves in contact with him—a custom probably derived, like the painna (see below) held by the watchers and the bearers of the corpse, from the idea of forming a bridge or a way for the soul. An Ashem-Vohū is recited close to the dead man's ear.

3. Impurity of the corpse.—The corpse is now supposed to be assailed by the corpse-omen, the Druj Naam. According to Vend. vii. 1—5, the druj of the corpse rushes on the body from the north, in the shape of a fly, before the death in a case of natural death. But in a case of violent death (by dogs, or by the wolf, by the sorcerer, by an enemy, or by the hand of man, by falling from a mountain, by strangling oneself, or by treachery), the demon comes only in the qah (one of the five divisions of the day) that follows after death. Only special despised officials, set apart for that purpose, are allowed actually to touch the body, and they must scrupulously observe certain precautions. If the corpse happens to touch it, the contagion spreads to him, and he must undergo the great purification, barr-
askim, for nine days (being washed with the urine of the cow, etc. [Vend. ix.]). The glance of a dog (see below) or other animal is considered to be particularly effective for driving away the corpse-demon.

In theory the old tabu ideas concerning the dead have been modified in a characteristic manner by the Avestan dualism. Thus, since the death of a Mazdaian implies a victory of the Evil Power, his body is unclean, but the corpse of an unbeliever, sacer, because his death favours the cause of Ahura Mazda, and a wicked man defiles only during his life, not after his death (Vend. v. 36-38).

4. Isolation of the corpse.—The place of the two relatives waiting on the body is next taken by the naus-khahs of the Avesta, now called khāndhya (‘shoulder-men’) by the Parsis of India. Two of those funeral-servants prepare themselves by washing and by putting on clean suits of clothes and themselves ritually separated citing the Sōsh-bāy (on which see Darmesteter, Le Zend-Avesta, ii. 686-688) up to the word ashak̄e. They then enter the room where the dead body is placed, keeping between them a piece of cloth or cotton tape—wāriservand—and cover the body with cloth except the face—which, however, in some parts of Gujarāt is also covered—with a padān (the patidāna of the Avesta, a piece of white cotton stuff which the Parsi priest holds between his mouth and nose, not to defile the sacred fire and the other pure things). Then the two khāndhyas lift the corpse on to slabs of stone placed in a corner of the room, its arms being folded across the chest. The face must not be turned to the north, while the demons proceed. In some districts of Gujarāt the old Avestan rule (Vend. viii. 8) is still observed of laying the body on a thin layer of sand in a cavity dug in the ground five inches deep, while in Zend the corpse, after being lifted from the bier in the common mortuary, is placed on a raised platform of mud paved with stone, about nine feet long and four feet wide (Jackson, Persia, p. 391). The place in which the body is deposited is ritually separated from connexion with the living by three deep circles, kosha, drawn with a metallic bar or nail by one of the two khāndhyas, who afterwards leave the house, still making paivand, and finish the Sōsh-bāy.

5. The sag-did.—If possible, ‘a four-eyed’ (catu-rinācaka) dog, i.e. a dog with two eye-like spots above the eyes, is now brought near the corpse in order to frighten the drū by his look, i.e. the sag-did (‘dog gaze’) is arranged. According to Zend, viii. 14-18 seem not to be observed nowadays, namely, that a yellow four-eyed or a white dog with yellow ears must be led three times if he walks willingly, six or nine times if he is unwilling, along the road where a man or a dog is carried, in order to scare away the corpse-demon. In Zend the ordinary street-dog is used, and ‘morsels of bread are strewn around the corpse, or, according to the older usage, laid on the bosom of the dead, and then the corpse’ (Jackson, op. cit. p. 381). Immediately before entering the dakhma (‘tower of silence’), the dead body is once more exposed to the sag-did. The demon-expelling glance is attributed by Zend. vii. 3, 28 ff., viii. 36, not only to the dog, but to ‘the flesh-eating birds’ as well as to ‘the flesh-eating dogs.’

These passages evidently refer to the moment when the animals, to which the body is exposed, rush on it to devour it; but the eminent Parsi scholar J. J. Modi, to whom we principally owe our knowledge of the actual funeral ceremonies of the Parsis, interprets Zend. viii. 3 in the following way: ‘It is enjoined that a dog is not permitted and frankincense and of flesh-devouring birds like the crows and vultures should be allowed, that is to say, it will do if a dog should happen to pass and see the corpse from above or if the flesh-eating birds fly in that direction’ (JASB ii. 414).

6. Demon-frightening fire.—We return to the mortuary room, where, after the first sag-did, the demon-killing fire (Vend. viii. 80) is brought and fed with fragments of grease and frankincense, and where, until the body is removed, a priest recites the Avesta, keeping himself, as well as every other person, at least three paces from the dead body (Vend. ii. 7).

7. Time of removal.—The removal of the body must take place in the daytime, in order to expose it to the sun (Vend. v. 13). In ancient times the corpse might lie in the special mortuaries as long as one month or even until the next spring (Vend. viii. 12). Now in India, the body is removed the next morning, if death takes place early in the night; if a person dies late at night or early in the morning, the body is removed in the evening. In case of death by accident the body may wait longer.

8. Removal. Two ‘corpse-bearers’ (naus-sibis), clothed in white, with ‘hand-cover’ (dustān) on their hands, and making paivand, enter the house (without one hand touching the sacred fire and the other pure things) Then the two khāndhyas lift the corpse on to slabs of stone placed in a corner of the room, its arms being folded across the chest. The face must not be turned to the north, while the demons proceed. In some districts of Gujarāt the old Avestan rule (Vend. viii. 8) is still observed of laying the body on a thin layer of sand in a cavity dug in the ground five inches deep, while in Zend the corpse, after being lifted from the bier in the common mortuary, is placed on a raised platform of mud paved with stone, about nine feet long and four feet wide (Jackson, Persia, p. 391). The place in which the body is deposited is ritually separated from connexion with the living by three deep circles, kosha, drawn with a metallic bar or nail by one of the two khāndhyas, who afterwards leave the house, still making paivand, and finish the Sōsh-bāy.

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11. Dakhimas.—Special constructions or towers (dakhimas), for exposing the corpses, are well known to the Avesta. They constitute the most awful and impure spots on the earth, and if possible it is one of the greatest merits to demolish them when they have served their purpose, and thus restore the ground to cultivation (Vend. iii. 13, vii. 40–58). The construction of the actual 'towers of silence' used to be accompanied by a series of religious ceremonies, the consecration lasting three days (Menant, Les Parsis, Paris, 1898, pp. 206–235, with plans and illustrations).

12. Dispersion of processions.—At every dakhma a kind of chapter (sūrah) is read over the impure corpses. The priests then carry them with painted faces, dressed in their usual clothes (Vend. viii. 10), but the so-called 'clothes of dakhma', open its gate, which is closed with an iron lock, lift the body, carry it into the tower, place the bones in the sarcophagus (the auspicious quarter) on one of the beds of stone (keš) arranged in concentric circles, rising like an amphitheatre, which are intended for receiving the bodies. These circles are separated by canals (a word which seems to be used of the sections divided by the canals). They remove the clothes from the corpse, leaving it naked (Vend. vi. 51), and cast them into the central well, forming the middle of the tower, and surrounded by the amphitheatre-like circles of stone beds. The naked corpse may be left 'on the earth, on clay, bricks, and stone and mortar.' They bury their dead in the earth, but, if there is none, the corpse is left in the clay or is exposed on a stone bed.

13. Ceremonies at home.—At home, immediately after the removal of the body, urine of the cow (nirang) is sprinkled over the shroud of stone or earth which the corpse was covered with. It is customary to open the doors into the house by which it was carried out of the house. All clothes, utensils, and other articles of furniture must be cleansed, principally by the same means—gōmez (urine of the cow) and water—or rejected altogether. If they have come into contact with the dead body, after the removal of the body, all the members of the family are required to take a bath.

In an ancient Iranian province, Harōva (Harat), the present residence of the Parsees, a passage in Le voyage en Perse, Amst. 1755, iii. 109, of abandoning the house to the dead, seems to have prevailed according to the vih-khrazēna of Vend. i. 9 (cf. N. Soderblom, RHE xxix. [1899] 256 ff.). The Great Bundahshah, according to the following Avesta text (pp. 234–35, note 34): 'They abandon the house and go away during nine days or a month' (Darmesteter, op. cit. p. 9, note 28). It may be that upamnā, 'waiting' (Vend. v. 41) originally meant a temporary abandoning of the house. At present, in Bombay, all the members of the family have to take a bath after the removal of the body, and fragrant fire is burnt on the spot where the corpse was laid. During nine days in winter and one month in summer a lamp is kept burning on the same spot, and no one is allowed to go near it during that period. After its expiry the whole room is washed. The members of the family and also near friends abstain from meat during three days after the death.

14. Recent opposition.—In some circles of Parsis society the question of introducing a more hygienic
and less savage manner of disposing of the dead has of late been very eagerly agitated. Both burning and burying being prohibited because of the purity of fire and earth, it has been proposed to consume the corpse by electricity, and the excessive cost has been discussed. Whether such a method can be considered as burning or not. No change has been officially permitted as yet in the disposal of the dead, which shows the tenacity of customs, and maintains continuity with an inmemorial antiquity.


NATHAN SÖDERBLOM.

15. Ancient Persian rites.—In ancient Persia, before the spread of Zoroastrianism, the means of disposal of the dead were quite different from those observed by the adherents of the great Iranian religious leader. Attention has already been called, in § 10, to the Baetican custom of leaving the sick and the aged to be devoured by dogs or to be burned (see secs. 21, 22). The Persians interred the dead body after coating it with wax (εκπλήκτων ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γι' κρύσταλλο). It was, therefore, rank blasphemy (οὐκ εἰσία) when Cambyses ordered the corpse of Ammisad to be cremated (Herodotus, 11. 16). It is very doubtful whether any credence can be given to Xenophon's account (Cyr. p. 25) of the request of the dying Cyrus.—Put my body, my children, when I die, neither in gold nor in silver nor in anything else, but cast it to the earth, as soon as may be (τῇ γῇ ὡς τῇ ἀκλανθίᾳ). What for more is blessed than this, to be mingled with the earth (γῆ μεθοδεύσα)?—since this last phrase would seem to exclude any coating of the body with wax. Equal suspicion seems to attach to Xenophon's story (ib. vii. 3) of the death of Abra- dates, for whom a grave was prepared, and whose dead head was held on her lap by her wife, whose corpse, after her suicide, and his were both exposed by a course held in the household. Ctesias, however, who is much more reliable than his ancient contemporaries would allow, may be right when he states (Pers. 59) that Parysatis buried the head and right hand of Cyrus the Younger, for here the wax coating may perhaps have been employed.

Unfortunately, our sole information on this subject must thus far be gleaned from the meagre statements of the classics. If we may judge from the tombs of the Achemenians, their bodies were not exposed as Zoroastrianism dictated; but it is by no means impossible that they were coated with wax, or even, as Jackson suggests (Persis Past and Present, p. 285), 'perhaps enamel, clothed the Egyptian of Egypt unlikewise, their bodies. According to Arrian (Anab. vi. xxix. 4-11), the body (νῦμα) of Cyrus was laid in a coffin of gold (πλατίναν χρυσήν; cf. Jackson, loc. cit. and p. 304 f., for further references).

Cyrus goes through a change, when Persia, definitely became Zoroastrian. In his account of the obsequies of Memeretes (v J.D. 554), Agathias (Hist. i. xix. 22) recognizes only the usage of the Avesta (with the addition of the exposure of the sick while still living), and he expressly says that the Persians could not place the dead in a coffin (θήκη) or urn (δομα), or bury in the earth (τῇ γῇ κατανυκτονον; and the 5th cent. Sasanian monarch Kavad demanded, though without success, that the Christian Iberian ruler Gurgesh should adopt the Persian custom of exposing the dead to birds and dogs, instead of burying them (Procopius, de Bell. Pers. i. 42).

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Roman).—As in other lands and in other times, so also among the ancient Romans the customs attendant upon death and burial varied so considerably according to wealth, rank, occupation, nationality, religion, place, and period that no single succession of circumstances may be taken as typical, and great caution must be exercised in dealing with the scattered and fragmentary evidence upon the subject, in order to avoid confusing the particular with the universal. Even confining to one period the customs peculiar to another.

The greater part of our evidence having to do with the upper classes during the late Republic and early Empire, it will be best to speak of it as a nucleus upon which to build up an account of burial customs in general, a typical instance of the death and burial of a Roman grandee of the 1st cent. of the Empire.

As the months passed he, the assembled relatives loudly and repeatedly called out his name in the conlamentatio—a more or less formal expression of grief which is probably reminiscent of primitive attempts to wake the dead back to life; and perhaps the next day a kiss of kisses is exchanged and preserved in the family line the last breath. After the formal announcement 'conlamentum est,' the eyes are closed, and the usual bathing and anointing, perhaps embalming, take place, performed by a priest of the household, or by the professional libitinarius or pollutrix. The body is composed, arrayed in the toga—the full dress of antiquity—ornamented with all the insignia won during the dead man's career, and placed in state on the lectus funeris in the atrium, or main chamber of the house, with the feet towards the street-door. There are also flowers, coronam of honour, and burning censers supported on cande- labra. Near by are attendants, among them being sometimes the ancestors as masks, who hasten to keep the funeral wall. These details may be seen in the Lateran Museum on the tomb relief of the Haterii, a family of considerable importance during the latter part of the 1st century.) Possibly a coin is placed in the mouth as passage-money across the Styx—a custom always in vogue to some extent. A wax impression of the face is then taken, afterwards to occupy its niche in the aed, a state room of the atrium, along with the masks (imagines) of the ancestral line, and to be supplied with the appropriate inscription, or titulus, recording the name, years, offices, and deeds of the dead. Outside, the fact of death is made known, and the proper safeguard taken against chance religious or social impurity, by the hanging of a express or pine-branch at the entrance of the house.

In due time, which in ordinary cases is as soon as arrangements can be made, and in funerals of state from three to seven days, the last ceremonies take place. The dead man's ghost, as he wanders through the streets announcing its coming occurrence in the ancient formula: 'Olius Quiris leti datus. Esecquius, quibus est commandum, irdam tempus est. Olius ex aestulis effertur' ('This citizen has been given over to his death. His ghost as the one who is to eat may now attend. He is being carried forth from his dwelling'). Under the supervision of the signarius and his attendant lectores, the stately
funeral-train takes form and moves: musicians, and perhaps paid singers; dancers and pantomimists, who jest freely, sometimes impersonating in the isis and ancesence of ears, at times amounting to hundreds (six hundred at the funeral of Marcellus), on which sit actors dressed to impersonate the long line of the dead man's ancestors, wearing their death-masks, now taken from the niches in the cenotaphs and accompanied by lictors, as in life—symbolically conducting the most recent of the family line to take his place with his forefathers in the lower world; a display of the dead man's memorials—trophies, household furnishings, the things of life, of his exploits—after the manner of a triumph; more lictors, with down-pointed fasces, reminiscent of old-time burial by night; and then, high on a funeral ear, the dead himself, with face exposed to the sky, or enclosed in a casket and represented by a realistic figure clad in his clothes and death-mask; the immediate mourners—sons with veiled heads, daughters bareheaded with flowing hair; and finally the general public, not without demonstration. On both sides, as the procession passest in the Roman populace, pressing to the line, and climbing up

To towers and windows, yes, to chimney tops,
to witness what must have been one of the greatest spectacles of all time.

Arrived at the forum, the great centre of civic life, the dead is carried to the Rostra, on which, surrounded by his ghostly ancestry, he lies while his nearest relative delivers over him the laudatio, a formal and often extravagant glorification of the deceased and his family, preserved among the family archives, and whose uncritical use will do so much to falsify or distort Roman history. The procession then forms again, resumes its way, and passes through the city-gate to the tomb, on the outskirts, the starting point at one of the great mausolea, such as that of Augustus, at the north end of the Campus Martius, or in one of the long lines of lots which border the high road. Here the dead, with ornaments, weapons, and other possessions dear in life, together with many memorials brought by friends and relatives, is placed upon an elaborately pyre, to which, with averted face, the nearest relative or friend, or some civic dignitary, applies the torch. As the flames rise to a height and begin to fall, they liberate from his lightly fastened censer an eagle, which soars aloft—the symbol of the spirit of the dead setting out for its home among the immortals. The embers are quenched with water or wine, the final farewell (another consuetudo) is uttered, and all return to the city except the immediate relatives, who collect the ashes of the departed in a napkin, bury the ossuaenum (see below) to preserve the form of earth-burial, perform a purification sacrifice, and partake of the funeral-meal in the family tomb-chapel.

There follow nine days of mourning, on one of which the now dry ashes are enclosed in an urn of marble or metal, and carried by a member of the family, barefooted and unshod, to their final resting-place in the tomb-chamber. At the end of this period, the sacrum novendiale, a feast to the dead, is celebrated at the tomb, and a funeral-banquet is held at the home. Mourning continues ten days from the disposal of the body, and thenceforward the sons and daughters, eight months for other adult relatives, and in the case of children for as many months as they have years. Memorial festivals, which partake of the nature of a communion, are celebrated on the anniversary of the P. Funeris, of All-Souls' Day; again on the birth or burial anniversary; and again at the end of March and May, the Violae and Rosarum, when violets and roses are profusely distributed, lamp lighted in the tomb-chambers, funeral-banquets held, and offerings made to the gods and to the manses, or spirits of the dead.

Such a funeral, though not unfamiliar to the Roman people, is perhaps rather than the rule. The imposing nature of the whole—splendour of its appointments, the dignity of the participants, the impressiveness of the stately train, with its hundreds of impersonated personages and consules, traveling the streets in chariots through offices and thence-far may be compared with the funerals of Italian royalty in modern times, though the latter probably fall short of the magnificence of the ancient ceremony.

The funerals of the Roman nobility were, on the whole, less ostentatious, and most of the upper class, were less ostentatious, and unaccompanied by the laudatio, the display of death-masks, and the paraphernalia of wealth. Children, citizens of the lowest class, and slaves were carried to their last rest without public procession, and with few formalities.

Unlike modern burial-places, the Roman cemeteries were not public communal enclosures set apart by themselves, but were situated along the great highways that led from the city-gates, and took the form of a very long and narrow series of private holdings, whose front, occupied by imposing monuments, bordered immediately on the road. All streets leading from Rome had their tombs, and the bosco sacro, sanctuary also, on the country also, on landed estates, was frequent. Most prominent among the highway cemeteries at Rome were the Via Flaminia and the Via Salaria on the north, the Tiburtina and the Praenestina on the east, the Capua on the south, and the Aurelia on the west. Most magnificent of all was the Appian Way, Regina Vieram, which still displays almost unbroken lines of tomb-runs from its issue at the old Servian Porta Capena to the cenotaph at the Tomb of M. Aemilius, fourteen miles away. Among its two hundred or more larger monuments, displaying great variety of architecture and ornamentation, are to be seen most of the types of the Roman tomb: the mausoleum, round, and probably once with conical summit, copied and named after the tomb of Mausolus, the king of Caria, who died about 351 B.C.; the tumulus, a conical mound heaped over the body or ashes of the dead, also reminiscent of Asia; the tomb above ground; the tomb excavated in rock, and the combination of both, with tomb below and chamber above; the columbarium, for the reception of the cremated dead of burial-associations; the chariots in series called catacombs (q.v.). Burial-lots were marked by boundary stones, inserted with measurements: e.g., 'in fronte p. xvi, in agro p. xxii.' ('frontage, 16 ft., depth, 22 ft.'). Threats and curses were frequently added to safeguard the area and monuments against violation or profanation. The more pretentious areas were great family burial-places, where were laid to rest all the members of a gens, or branch of a gens, including its freedmen and slaves, and sometimes even clients and friends. Such a burial-place might include a generative plot of ground, with an area before the tomb, a garden behind, an atrium, or commemorative, adicule, or shrines with statues of the dead, banquet-room for anniversaries, pavilion, well, and custodian's quarters. The epitaphs, inscribed upon slabs, at the feet of the monument, or on tombstones at the graves of individuals, or near the remains inside the vault, are characterized by great variety of content and expression. Name, parentage, public offices, and an accurate statement of lands and possessions, were given in most of them, without dates of death and birth. A type may be seen in that of Minucia, the daughter of Fundanus, whose death is the subject of Pliny's Ep. v. 10:

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DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Roman)

[To the Departed Spirit [Dis Manibus] of Minucia Marculla, the Daughter of Fundatus, who lived 12 years, 11 months and three days (CIL vii. 1663).]"

A portrait-bust sometimes accompanied the epitaph, and it was not infrequent for the inscription to be in the form of an address to the pass-by from the mouth of the departed, as the quaint archaistic one of Marcellus Collins, which lies by the Appian Way (CIL i. 1906):"

'Hoc est factum monumentum Marcelli Caelicio. Hospe, gratum est eum simulatem et poderalem semen. Bone rem gerante sese; dormine sine qua.'

(This monument is erected to Marcus Caelicilus. Stranger, it gives you hospitality if you have stopped for a resting place. Good fortune attend you, and fare you well; may you sleep without care.)"

Such appeals as this upon stones, the use of portrait-sculpture, and the custom of roadside burial illustrate the Roman yearning for continued participation in the affairs of the living, and an instinctive conviction as to future existence.

Among the lower classes, especially freedmen and the labouring part of the population, a most popular form of tomb was the columbarium, so named because of its resemblance to a dove-cot. Long narrow vaults were either built above ground or excavated in the face of the cliffs, and in these were formed numerous compact rows of niches, each of a size barely large enough to receive an urn containing the ashes of one person, whose identity was made known by a titulus upon a slab below the arch or on the urn itself, sometimes erected by a small portrait-bust. One of these columbaria on the Via Appia, from which three hundred tituli have been preserved, was for the use of the freedmen of Augustus and Livius. Such tombs were sometimes given as benevolences, and sometimes erected by speculators, but it was more usual for them to be constructed, or at least managed, by collegia funeraticia, co-operative funeral associations, which sold stock, assessed regular dues, and paid benefits, thus making their members proper disposition after death. They were administered by curatores, who divided and assigned the space by lot to the shareholders, who might in turn sell their holdings.

The lot of the ordinary slave and the very poorest class of citizens was less fortunate. Outside the line of the Servian Wall, where it crossed the plateau of the Esquiline, there existed, down to the time of Horace (when it was capped with chalk and placed in the Gardens of Macceneius), a great burial-ground which might be called the 'potter's field' of Rome. Here, as shown by excavations made from 1872 onwards, was an area of irregular dimensions extending a mile or more along the wall, from near the present railway-station on the north-east to the Lateran on the south-east, which had served as a necropolis from time immemorial, and was the burial-ground to which Horace made reference in Sat. i. viii. 8-16:

"Hinc prius auguris electa cadaver cellis
Conservus vix portanda locatam in area:
Hinc postrema plaes stabat communem sepulchrum,
Pantalochea severa Nemenosaeque repetit.
Hinc melius fuisset si favebat in agrum
Hic datat, heredes monumentum se superans.
Nunc lectum Esquiliar habebant subrubris, atque
Accres in apice saevi, quo modis tristes
Aliae informas spectabant ossibus agrum!"

('Ubi prius auguris electa cella communis, to carry in their cheap coffins the dead sent forth from their narrow dwellings; here lay the common sepulchre of the wretched palaes, for Pantalochea was a Nemenosae Severa and the walls of her city were but a mile and a half distant; the three hundred feet deep were the limits; the monument not to follow the hearse. To-day you may dwell on a healthy Esquiline, and take walks on the sunny slope, where but now your and gaze rested upon a field ugly with whitening tombs.

The reference in the above lines to the cheap coffins, the slave hireling, the contrast between the gloomy bone-strewed Esquiline of former days and the healthful gardens of the present, and the sarcophagus allusion to the cippus as the one monument of a whole city of wretched poor constitute an eloquent comment on the mortuary destiny of the lowest-class, though to interpret literally the poet's mention of whitening tombs is unnecessary. Excavations have revealed pit-graves 13 to 16 ft. square and of great depth, in which the bodies of the criminal and otherwise unfortunate were deposed one above the other, unbarred, and with little regard massed.

Cremation and inhumation existed side by side throughout the pagan period. The earliest cemeteries—the lowest stratum of that on the Esquiline, and the necropolis recently (1902) excavated on the Sacred Way near the Forum—contain both ordinary urns and sarcophagi, the latter being sometimes made of hollowed tree-trunks. The later strata on the Esquiline also contain both. The Cornelian gens led to earth-burial until Sulla chose cremation as a measure of safety. The tomb-chambers of the Scipios, a branch of the Cornelian gens, on the Appian Way inside the Wall of Aurelianus, were filled with sarcophagi containing unburned dead; and in many large tombs the heads of the families were laid away in sarcophagi, while the cremated remains of their freedmen and the humbler members of the household were deposited about them in the same chamber. Inhumation, as the cheaper and more natural method, seems to have been accompanied by cremation; even in Augustan times, when cremation was as nearly universal as it ever became, it was the custom to perform at least a symbolic burial of the body by the interment of a small part of it, the ossa resecta, usually a joint of the little finger.

The foregoing account of death and burial has to do principally with the 1st cent. A.D. and with the city of Rome. Naturally, there were variations in detail before and after this period; e.g. burial by night was the rule of earlier times, and was prescribed again by Julian, on the ground of inconvenience to urban business caused by diurnal rites; the cemeteries of the earliest times were less distant from the heart of the city, by reason of the lesser care of the primitive city, whose each successive fortification carrying the line of tombs farther out because of the law forbidding burial within the city limit; there was less of both display and poverty before the rise of the Empire; cenotaphs were the normal practice of governing the city from the first centuries of the city; the employment of chambers and galleries excavated in the bed of the Campagna, long known on a small scale, grew much more general and extensive after the rise of Christian Rome, developing into the great communal burying places called catacombs; cremation died out because of its expensiveness and the influence of belief in the resurrection. As to other cities, practice there was essentially the same as at Rome; and in small towns of the country a great deal of conservatism no doubt obtained, manifest in the retention of customs long after they had gone out in the capital.

All periods of Roman burial, however, are united by the belief in the continued existence of the dead, and in their ghostly participation in the life of the family and community, and by the consequent scrupulous care about proper burial, and the maintenance of relics and niches for the spirits of dead ancestors. The quick and the dead of ancient Rome were in a more than usually intimate communion.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Slavic).—The subject of death and the disposal of the dead, so far as the Slavic peoples are concerned, was discussed with considerable fulness in the art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 113 ff. It cannot be doubted that the primitive conditions in this particular phase of human life, though modified somewhat by the extent to which primitive thought and practice, have been maintained most faithfully among the peoples in question, and it was therefore quite natural that the writer of that article should begin his discussion from the east, in that, namely, that, by comparing these with the corresponding phenomena among the linguistically allied races, viz. the Indian, Iranian, Greek, Roman, Celtic, Teutonic, and Lithuanian, he might carry his investigation back to the so-called Aryan period. There is consequently no need to cover the same ground again, but it may not be out of place to record here such facts as have emerged, or have come to the writer's knowledge, since the appearance of that article referred to above, which was written in 1913. We shall arrange these fresh data under five heads.

1. Burial and burning of the corpse (cf. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 161.).—In the early historical period, as was shown in the passage cited, both of these methods were in use simultaneously—among the Slavs, and, as recent archaeological investigations show, they prevailed also in the pre-historic age. With reference to burial, there has recently come to light a most remarkable case, which was discovered over the chest, among the skeletons of the southern Russian in regard to the practice of constructing the tomb in the form of a hut. At Leubingen, a station on the railway from Erfurt (Thuringia) to Sangerhausen, and not far from Sommersdorf, there is a now celebrated square mounded mound, which has been excavated by Prof. Klopilewich, a long-recognized pioneer in the study of primitive history. Near Helmsdorf, again, a village at no great distance from Leubingen, in the so-called Mansfeld Seekreis, another mound, similar in many respects to that at Leubingen, was recently opened (cf. P. Hörner, in Jahnschr. f. d. Vorgesch. d. sachs.-thüring. Landes, v. [Halle, 1908]; and H. Grosser, ib. vi. [1907]). In each case the bodies lay upon a flooring of wood, and in that near Helmsdorf in a bed-shaped chest of hewn timber) had been placed over a natural wooden hut of excellent workmanship, with a steep roof, the posts fixed in roundish holes at the head and feet of the skeleton, but outside the box in which it lay. The post supported a beam, which had branches leaning against it on either side, so forming a kind of shelf or table. In each case again, were covered with reeds. Upon the roof-beam stood a number of pots upside down, and also a badly-weathered quartz of sandstone. Above these was a layer of ashes, containing a cow's head, four cow's legs, a large pot with a dimpled ornamentation at its neck and a perforated bottom, incinerated bones, and a whetstone. As bearing upon the primitive history of Russia, and even of Europe, however, these discoveries are not now unsuperseded in importance. A more surprising, almost identical creations are found in great profusion in the Russian kurgans, i.e., the sepulchral mounds which lend a picturesque variety to the monotonous picture of the Steppes in the districts to the north of the Black Sea. These creations are met with, moreover, not only in the kurgans con-
DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Tibetan).—In Tibet, death is regarded as the work of the death-demon, who has accordingly to be exorcised from the house and locality. The ceremonies at death and the methods of disposal of the body are almost entirely of a pre-Buddhist or Bon character, although now conducted for the most part by modern Buddhist priests. Besides the Tibetans believe that the soul lives after the death of the body, but the future life desired by the people is not the Buddhist one of a higher earthly re-birth or the arhat-ship of Nirvana or 'Buddhidelight' (Buddhistic salvation). They desire the new life to be in an everlasting paradise, which is now identified with the Western Paradise of Buddha Amitabha of the later Indian Buddhists. The object of the death-rival, therefore, is, firstly, to secure the due passage of the body into the paradise of the deceased and, secondly, to safeguard the earthly survivors against harm from the death-demon, as well as from the spirit of the deceased in the event of its failing to reach paradise and so becoming a malignant ghost.

Formerly, so late as the 8th cent. A.D., human sacrifices were made on the death of kings and nobles. Five or six chosen friends from amongst their officers were styled 'companions,' and killed themselves on the death of their master, so as to accompany him to paradise, and their bodies were buried alongside of his. The crests of the hills were crowned by such sepulchral mounds, as in China and amongst the Turkei tribes. Beside the body were buried the clothes and valuables of the deceased, his bow, sword, and other weapons, and his favourite horse; and a tumulus of earth was thrown up over all. Animal-sacrifice seems also to have been practised, as is shown by dough-efigies of animals which are offered as part of the sacrificial rites by the hands of Buddhist monks, who now perform the popular death-rites, and by their religion are prohibited from taking life (J. A. Waddell, The Legends of Tibet, p. 518).

r. Extraction of the soul.—On the physical death of a person, Tibetans believe that the spirit does not depart forthwith, but continues to linger within the corpse for a varying period, which may extend to four days, after the cessation of the heart and
breath. In order to secure the release of the spirit in that direction in which it has the greatest chance of reaching paradise, the services of an expert priest are necessary.

When death occurs, no layman is allowed to touch the body. A white cloth is thrown over the face of the corpse, and a priest is sent for to extract the soul in the orthodox manner. This priest is one of the higher monks, and bears the title of The Mover or Shifter (prâ-a-bo). On his arrival in the death-chamber, all relatives and others are excluded, and the priest, closing the doors and windows, sits near the head of the corpse and chants the directions for the soul to find its way to the Way and Paradise. As the thumb of the priest is pressed through the pores of the dead body, he pronounces it in scriptural language, as in deep meditation.

2. Handling the corpse.—All persons are tabooed from touching a corpse (ro), except those who belong to the father's family or those indicated by the astrologer-lama as proper persons to perform the rite. This document also prescribes the most auspicious date for the funeral and the mode and place of disposal of the body, as well as the worship to be performed for the soul of the deceased and for the welfare of the surviving relatives.

The persons who may ordinarily handle a corpse must be children by the same father as deceased (p'ra-spons), though in Lhasa and large towns with many strangers the professional scavengers may do this work. In rural communities, when a man has no paternal relatives of his own, he procures admission into the family of a friend for such funeral purposes as official mourner by giving a dinner to announce the fact. The persons so authorized then approach the newly-dead, who cast up into a crouching attitude, tie it in this posture, with the face between the knees and the hands under the legs. If rigor mortis be present, bones may be broken during the process. The attitude of the body resembles that found in some of the early sepultures, and is probably a survival of the prehistoric period. It ensures portability of the corpse.

When tied up in the proper attitude, the body is covered with some of the clothes of the deceased, put inside a sack made of hide, tent-cloth, or blanket, and removed from the room to the chapel of the house (where there is one) as a mortuary, and placed in a court yard. A sheet or curtain is stretched in front of the sack as a screen, and all laymen retire. Where the body has to be kept a long time for climatic or other reasons, it may be slung up to the rafters.

3. Pre-funeral rites.—Priests remain in relays during the night chanting services near the corpse until it is removed. The head priest sits near the screen, with his back to the corpse; the other priests face him, and all read extracts from the Buddhist scriptures, often from different books at the same time. Libations (from 5 to 108, according to the means of the deceased), are poured by the relatives in another room, and offerings of food and drink to the deceased. His bowl is kept filled with tea or beer, and he is offered a share of whatever food is going; and such drink and food as are offered are afterwards thrown away, as it is believed that their essence has been abstracted by the soul of the departed, during the chanting of the funeral rite and in the Indian Buddhist practice of evakramana, based upon the Brahmanical rite of śrāddha.

Before the funeral the guests, after libations, partake in solemn silence of cake and wine within the house in which the corpse is lying; but after the latter is removed, no one will eat or drink in that house for a month.

4. Funeral procession.—This occurs on the auspicious day and hour fixed for it by the astrologer. The relation of the soul to its body is now quitted and the body given up to its earthly property, the priest seizes with his forefinger and thumb a few hairs on the crown of the corpse, and, jerking these forcibly, is supposed thereby to make way for the soul of the deceased through the pores of the roots of these hairs, as though actual perforation of the skull had been effected. If, in the process, blood oozes from the nostrils, it is an auspicious sign. The soul is then directed to avoid the fact of death, and on its way, it is said, is hidden God-speed. This ceremony lasts about an hour. When, through accident or otherwise, the body is not forthcoming and the fourth day is expiring, this rite is performed in absentia by the priest blowing it up in spirit whilst seated in deep meditation.

5. Disposal of the body.—The particular mode in which the body is to be disposed of is prescribed by the astrologer-lama. Of the various modes, one only, namely cremation, presents Buddhist features. The methods may be said to be five in number:

1. Consumption of flesh by animals and burial of bones. This, the so-called 'terrestrial method,' is the commonest and obviously the most ancient. It was a custom of the ancient Scythians known to Herodotus; and its practice by the Persians at the present day may also be derived from such a source or from the Turkic tribes. There seems no reason to ascribe it, as has been conjectured, to the influence of those Jataka tales which relate that Sakyamuni in his former births offered his body to feed famished tigers and other animals. Such a practice of disposal of the dead is not recorded in Indian Buddhism, and its present-day practice in Siam and Korea, as well as in Tibet, is obviously a survival of the ancient Scythic and Mongolian custom.

At the cemetery the body is placed face downwards on the rock or slab of stone, divested of its clothes, and tied to a stake. The priest, chanting mantras, scores with a corpse-cutter's knife the flesh and throw it to the vultures and other animals of prey which frequent these cemeteries. In Lhasa dogs and even pigs assist in devouring the corpse. As, however, the cadavers are exposed to the most auspicious, the attendants for a small sum engage to keep off the other less desirable beasts of prey. The rapidity with which the body is devoured is considered of good
omen, and the skull of such a corpse is prized as an auspicious libation-bowl.

The bones of the stripped and dismembered body are then buried, and, if the person be wealthy, a mound or tower is erected over them.

3. Total consumption of flesh and bones by natural animals.—This, the so-called method of the Dead, is much less common, though not infrequent with the richer classes. The bones, stripped of their flesh as above, are not buried, but pounded and mixed with meal, and given to dogs and vultures to consume.

4. Throwing into rivers or without places.—This, the most ignoble method, is the fate of the poorest, as burying entails considerable expense. The body is dragged by a rope like a dead beast. In this way are also disposed the bodies of criminals, those killed by accident, lepers, and sometimes barren women. The skulls of enemies slain in battle are deemed auspicious for drinking goblets.

Cremação.—This mode of disposal of a quasi-Buddhist kind is reserved in Tibet for the bodies of the higher lamas, though, in those districts where wood fuel is more available, it is also used for the laity.

The body is placed on the pyre, seated erect in a devotional attitude, cross-armed like Buddha's image. The soles of the feet are turned upwards, the right hand with palm upwards resting on the flexed thigh, and the left hand is raised in front of the chest with a 'blessing' attitude. In the case of the laity, the face seems customarily to be placed downwards. When the wood is lighted, melted butter is poured over the body, and, when the first limb or bone drops from the body after a few hours, the fire is salted, though some of the relatives remain till the cremation is over. The body is seldom completely reduced to ashes. The ashes and unconsumed relics are removed by the priests to the house of the deceased, and there are divided and mixed with clay to form in a mound miniature votive chaitya medallions called tu's-ta, the dharma kuria relics of Indian Buddhists. These are placed in the niches of the funeral towers known as chatsam, or, if the deceased be rich, a special tower may be erected over them (see art. CHORTEN).

5. Preserving the entire body by embalming.—This mode seems to be restricted to the sovereign Grand Lamas of Lhasa and Tashilhunpo. The body is embalmed, and placed in the robes of the deceased and surrounded by his personal implements of worship, is placed, in the attitude of a seated Buddha, within a gilded copper sarcophagus in one of the rooms of the palace; it is then worshipped in one of the compartments of an altar, and food and water are offered, and lights are kept burning. Eventually it is enclosed in a great gilded chaten, surmounted by a gilt dome, and becomes one of the recognized objects of worship to pilgrims.

With the disposal of the body, the relatives and guests disperse, after a feast given in the open air.

6. Post-funeral obsequies.—The funeral does not end with the cremation. The soul of the deceased is not effectively disposed of until forty-nine days after the death, and the death-demon is also to be expelled from the locality. This latter exorcism is an indigenous Bon rite, and must be performed within a week after the funeral. It is termed the 'Turning away of the Spirit of the Devouring Devil (Za'dre). The demon is represented as of human form, riding upon a tiger; and, in laying the evil spirits, figures of animals moulded in dough are used in the sacrifice. For the final disposal of the soul of the deceased, further priestly services are required weekly until forty-nine days after death. During this period (i.e. 7 x 7 days)

the soul is believed to remain in a purgatory or intermediate stage (bar-do) between death and regeneration, and is assisted onwards by the prayers of the priests. For this a lay effigy of the deceased is made in the house, on the day on which the corpse was removed, by dressing up a bench or box with the clothes of the deceased, and for a face a paper mask is inserted bearing a print of a dead Tibetan. On the fortieth day this service is completed, the paper mask burned, and the clothes given away. The priests receive as presents some valuable articles from the property of the deceased, and a feast concludes the ceremonies.

Mourning is practised chiefly for young people; the old are less lamented. The full term of mourning is about a year, but three or four months is more usual. During this time no coloured clothes are worn, nor is the face of such persons combed; men may shave their heads, and women leave off their jewellery and rosaries. For Grand Lamas the general mourning of the people lasts from a week to a month.

All the places where the bodies are buried or otherwise disposed of are esteemed sacred.

DEATH OF THE GODS.—See Deicide.

DEBAUCHERY (French debauché, 'de, from'; and old Fr. bauche, 'a course', 'a row'), to lead from the straight course; hence 'seduction from duty, 'excessive intemperance, 'habitual lewdness'.—Although individuals who habitually indulge in reckless dissipation are justly regarded as defective in ordinary self-control, and although it might be shown on incontrovertible evidence that no inconceivable proportion of such persons are insane or mentally defective, it would still be preferable to approach this subject from the standpoint of normal psychology in order to trace the nature of the impulses which impel men in the direction of excessive intemperance and lewdness.

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to be carried off by his companions. This method of seeking artificial physical excitement bears a singular resemblance to the practices of the heathen races outside of Africa.

Not only are the reunions of savage peoples characterized by intoxication and induced physical and mental excitement, but their religious ceremonials of veneration largely depend upon the induced mental fervour of the minions and audiences. Partridge (A.I.P., Apr. 1900, p. 368) goes so far as to hold that intoxication is one of the most important parts of the religious and social life of primitive man. He says:

"The use of alcoholic beverages arose in connection with the religious social life in the effort to heighten the religious self-consciousness of the initiated as a preparation for the subsequent use of the hallucinogenic drug. The reunions of savage and barbarous peoples are characterized not only by intoxication, but also, frequently, by sexual orgies of a revolting character. Bancroft (Native Races, i. 531) says (quoting Kendall):

"Once a year the Keres have a great feast, prepared for three successive days, during which time is spent in eating, drinking, and dancing... To this case, after dark, repair grown persons of every age and sex, who pass the night in indulgences of the most gross and scandalous description."

The ravenously appetite of certain savages justifies the accusation of gluttny which has been ascribed to them by various authors. The enormous development of the jaw muscles, as well as the protuberance of the alimentary system, is a sufficient indication of their profound and insatiable craving for enormous quantities of food when opportunity offers. A Yakut child, according to Cochrane, devoured at a sitting three cakes, several pounds of sour frozen butter, and a large piece of yellow sheep fat, with the equivalent of twenty-five to forty pounds of meat in a day. Wrangle says each of the Yakuts ate in a day six times as many fish as he could. The Comanches, according to Schoolcraft, eat voraciously after long abstinence, and without any apparent inconvenience (quoted from Spencer's Sociology, i. 45). That debauches are restricted solely through the want of opportunities for prolonging and repeating them is only too apparent from the histories of those savage or barbarous races which entitles them to be included among the remnant of the more unscrupulous representatives of civilization.

Long as alcohol and pleasurable excitement were obtainable, no price was grudged for them until, as a consequence of reckless self-abandonment, the wretched hodonists stood stripped of their possessions, and incapable of resuming their previous methods of life. The wildness of savages, in the majority of instances, for regular or sustained employment of any other kind than that which satisfies their self-centered and selfish appetites, it might be objected that such a generalization is too sweeping, and, moreover, that war and the chase are the only careers open to primitive man. It may be admitted that many members of the so-called inferior races have shown exceptional aptitude for commerce, agriculture, and industry of various kinds; but the history of the emancipated Negroes and of the native Indians in the Reserve Territory of the United States is conclusive proof of the inadaptability of these races, as a whole, for the role of civilization in which sustained and regular labour is the active and most important element. In these races labour is lifeful and distasteful, and alternates with long spells of inactivity and unproductiveness.

From the foregoing statements it is evident that among the members of uncivilized communities certain anti-social defects, which are hostile to the progress of civilization, are extremely prevalent. These defects may be summed up as: (1) a craving for intense mental states, which is most easily gratified by induced excitement, by alcohol or other drugs, by sexual excitement, or by the appetite for food; (2) an inability or, at any rate, a strong disinclination for sustained mental or physical exertion. The representative anti-social elements in a modern civilized community may be regarded as the legitimate survivals of that of their ancestors. They all manifest the same strong craving for intense mental states, which can be fully gratified only by the greater forms of dissipation, while they also exhibit the natural disinclination for sustained mental and physical exertion. The prostitute, the gambler, the drunkard, the criminal, and the idle have this in common, that they desire the grosser forms of excitement, that they are prodigal of their means, and unproductive in their methods of supplying their wants.

The view which regards the pronounced anti-social members of a community as the survivals of a period when the race as a whole was comparatively primitive in its social development is the only scientific and rational one, and enables us to comprehend in the extent the older views of deliberate sinning and moral responsibility; for a little consideration will enable us to see that a person who is constitutionally anti-social cannot be also at the same time immoral. Such a statement must not be taken to imply a disbelief in individual moral responsibility, for it must be recognized that persistent immoral conduct may depend upon opportunity and the absence, for any reason, of public opinion. It follows that a person who is disposed to take part in immoral conduct under the influence of any ordinary deterrent must be, more or less, responsible for his conduct in the absence of these deterrents. In the development of society, as of the individual, there are two factors at work, the development of the environment is never constant but is always changing, while the development of a society depends upon the development of its units, subject to the influence of the environment. Physically as well as mentally, the individual must be in harmony with his surroundings or he cannot exist. In every established race of living beings the majority of the individuals present an average mean of certain qualities the products of which entitles them to be included among normal representatives of their race; but there is in every such race a large minority of individuals who vary to a greater or less extent from this mean of any given quality. Some of these differences in quality in excess of the mean, others in defect. The majority of the members of a civilized community subordinate their desires for the grosser pleasures to the duty of sustained effort and the dictates of morality. Through a long process of natural selection this standard of character has been attained; but, just as a race of men present marked divergencies in stature or mental ability, so do they manifest throughout their composing units the greatest differences in respect to social qualities, varying from the highest manifestations of altruism to an absence of the
there is more to show their high station. When
Moses brought the stones down from the mountain,
and saw Israel's apostasy, he dashed the stones
to the ground and spat upon them. The
mountain could not be lost; however, nor could Moses,
who may be presumed to have known them by heart,
be trusted to reproduce them. He was directed to
prepare two new tablets of stone, and take them
up to the mountain again, that the original text
might be restored by the same finger which en-
graved the first copy. Finally, that there might
be no further chance of breakage, Moses by com-
mand made an ark of acacia wood for their safe
keeping (De 31:16). Their social background and
what this document is, and to test the statements
accounting for its origin.

1. The two forms of the Decalogue.—The
Decalogue has come down to us in two versions
which differ to a considerable extent, one (in com-
mon use) being in Ex 20:1-17, the other (unfortu-
ately almost ignored) in Dt 5:1-21. Some of the
variations in the Decalogue may be due to acci-
dents in the transmission of the text, but the most
of them are clearly a result of the different
process of development did not stop with our
present Heb. text, as the LXX shows still further
modifications, few if any of which can be fairly
attributed to the editorial work of St Jerome.

In the case of the Fourth Commandment,
the important differences are indicated in the follow-
ing parallel renderings, italics showing variations:

Ex 20:8-11 (RSV)

Remember the sabbath day to sanctify it. Six days shalt
thou labour, and do all thy work; but the seventh day
is a sabbath to Jehovah thy God. Thou shalt not do any
work: thou and thy son and thy daughter, thy manservant
and thy maidservant, and thy ox and thy ass, and thy
cattle, and thy guest who is within thy gates. For in six
days Jehovah made the heavens and the earth, the sea
and all that is in them, and they rested on the seventh
day. Therefore Jehovah blessed the sabbath day and
sanctified it.

Dt 5:12 (RSV)

Guard the sabbath day to sanctify it, as Jehovah thy God
commanded thee, four days shalt thou labour, and do all
thy work; but the seventh day is a sabbath to Jehovah thy
God. Thou shalt not do any work: thou and thy son and
thy daughter, thy manservant and thy maidservant, and thy
ox and thy ass, and thy cattle, and thy guest who is within thy gates; in order that thy manservant and thy maid-
servant, and thy ox and thy ass, and all thy cattle, and thy
translated text.

1. There are many other instances of duplicates in Holy Scrip-
ture: Ps 18 has been incorporated in the history of David
(2 Sam 22), on the supposition that it is an account of an episode
in his life; but a more striking parallel for our purpose, because
of the importance of the material, is the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6:9-
13; Lk 11:2-4).

2. LXX adds 'a fold,' so in Dt 5:4a EXP, 'but on the seventh
day there is a sabbath (or rest).' LXX adds is wai, so in Dt 5:4a-
12, a necessary correction, followed by Lat, and Eng. versions.
This reading is found in the Papyrus Nash (see Peters, op. cit. infra).

3. LXX reads: 'thy ox and thy ass and all thy cattle,' in
agreement with Dt 5:4. The translator would scarcely have
inserted this phrase for the sake of harmony when he leaves so
much else divergent. But perhaps the early Hebrew must have
differed from each other in the same code.

4. LXX reads: 'they that dwell with thee,' so in Dt 5:4.
In spite of its more primitive appearance (cf. below), this read-
ing can hardly be original, for the Heb. phrase would not have
been changed at all. The Greek version is more likely to be
expression is more comprehensive, and may be a free render-
ing, though all else is intrinsically literal.

5. LXX has 'the sea'; perhaps it is a later addition.

6. LXX reads: 'in six days the Lord made the heaven and the
earth and all that is therein.' The verse is a manifest harmonising gloss, as is shown by the
impossible connection with the following clause: 'and do all thy
man-servant and thy maid-servant that may rest as well as you.'
In the case of the Fourth Commandment, the important dif-
finitions are indicated in the following parallel renderings, italics showing variations:

Ex 20:8-11 (RSV)

Remember the sabbath day to sanctify it. Six days shalt
thou labour, and do all thy work; but the seventh day
is a sabbath to Jehovah thy God. Thou shalt not do any
work: thou and thy son and thy daughter, thy manservant
and thy maidservant, and thy cattle, and thy guest who is
within thy gates. For in six days Jehovah made the heavens
and the earth, the sea and all that is in them, and they
rested on the seventh day. Therefore Jehovah blessed the
sabbath day and sanctified it.

Dt 5:12 (RSV)

Guard the sabbath day to sanctify it, as Jehovah thy God
commanded thee, four days shalt thou labour, and do all
thy work; but the seventh day is a sabbath to Jehovah thy
God. Thou shalt not do any work: thou and thy son and
thy daughter, thy manservant and thy maidservant, and thy
ox and thy ass, and thy cattle, and thy guest who is within thy gates; in order that thy manservant and thy maid-
servant, and thy ox and thy ass, and all thy cattle, and thy

The peculiar phrases in the Deuteronomic edition are characteristic of the author; they are unmistakable, for there is no other OT writer whose style is so readily detected (see Driver's Deut., in loc.). It will be noted that we have here a commandment, and the reasons for its observance. The two versions have no important divergence in the commandment, but separate absolutely on the reasons. Beyond question Deut. is the older. The sanction on humane grounds is original with him, for it accords with his spirit through and through. There seems to be a time when grounds of humanity were not strong enough. Another editor, perhaps the one who constructed the Creation story in Gn 1-2 for this purpose, put it on a basis which is to him distinctly higher—that man should follow that law. That much is quite possible in the midst of the land. The LXX, on the other hand, says it is due to the people by the story of Nahob's vineyard, and of other instances which gave occasion to Is 5. It was understood that the people should learn the law, and come to know what the law is about. It is unfortunate that this version, with its sanction on a ground which nobody believes now, is the one in general Christian use.

In the Fifth Commandment, Dt 5:16 has two clauses which do not appear in Ex 20:12. The former version runs: 'Honour thy father and thy mother, as Jehovah thy God commanded thee, that thy days may be long; and thou mayest be well with thee, upon the land which Jehovah thy God is giving thee.' These are common Deuteronomistic phrases, and are plainly editorial additions. The latter obviously overlooks the fact that Jehovah made it a commandment for His own mouth. The second is found in the best Greek texts of Exodus, but preceding the clause about long days. The words may have got into some of the Heb. editions, but not into those which have kept down false testimony, and the commandment of Deut. and Ex. agree verbatim et litteratim, showing a careful comparison, which ignores the difference in our present Heb. text. The proper rendering of the Hebrew is: 'Thou shalt not testify falsely against thy neighbour, nor shalt thou bear false witness against thy neighbour.' By a slight change of the text (vay for yar) we get 'testimony,' as LXX. But the Heb. seems to mean that a man shall not bring a false witness to testify against his neighbour, as Jezebel did against Naboth. This view makes the mandate much more clearly stated, laying the stress of the wrong on the procuer of false testimony rather than on the witness.

In the Tenth Commandment we have a considerable variation in Dt 5:21. Thou shalt not covet the house of thy neighbour; thou shalt not covet the wife of thy neighbour; nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox nor his ass, nor anything which is thy neighbour's. The use of 'desire' instead of repventing 'covet' sanctify this. This could scarcely be a rendering of the present text. In the text above, instead of 'make' we might render 'steal.'

1 The LXX order is 'wife,' 'house,' 'as' in Deuteronomy.
2 LXX adds: 'nor his field,' as in Deuteronomy.
3 LXX adds: 'his field,' as in Deuteronomy.
4 LXX adds: 'nor his field,' as in Deuteronomy.

is presumably for rhetorical elegance. The translation of 'wife' and 'house' is not so easily explained. It may be due to the greater importance of the wife in the time of Deut., taking the wife out of the property class (so E. 1.1049, s.v. 'Decalogue'); it may be a copyist's error; it may be an effort to secure a more logical sequence, the wife not belonging so strictly to the category of property as the other objects enumerated; or it may be due to the influence of such facts as David's marriage with Bathseba. The interpretation of 'field' seems to be the same. That 'mouth' is by common consent on the mouth, and of other instances which gave occasion to Is 5. "We unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no room, and ye be made to dwell alone. That the mouth of the land." Cf. Mic 2. In, there are a few other variations, but they practically consist of the addition of conjunctuons in Deut. to connect the clauses for greater rhetorical effect.

A few of the more important readings of the Greek text may be noted besides those already cited. In Ex 20:14 reads: 'And the Lord spake to Moses all these words, saying, 4a Here we have an explanation of the singularity which has been noted in the Decalogue. The words are in the first instance commands to Moses. This interpretation is scarcely possible in the text of Deut. But in the text of Moses, that they were first inscribed upon stone tablets by the finger of God. Deut. reconciles the two ideas by saying that Jehovah first put the words upon the stone and then repeated them in a great voice, and then wrote them upon the stone (2:17). In v. 19, instead of 'house of slaves,' LXX has 'house of a prophetess' (nay רודפס אב), is a reading which is followed by our versions. The Heb. is better, for the term 'house of slaves' is used to designate the land of Egypt. In Ex 4:31 the LXX has 'a change in the land' (nay רודפס אב), is a reading which is followed by our versions. The Heb. is better, for the term 'house of slaves' is used to designate the land of Egypt.

In v. 4 the LXX has 'any house which is in the heavens' (nay רודפס אב), is a reading which is followed by our versions. The Heb. is better, for the term 'house of slaves' is used to designate the land of Egypt. In Ex 4:31 the LXX has 'a change in the land' (nay רודפס אב), is a reading which is followed by our versions. The Heb. is better, for the term 'house of slaves' is used to designate the land of Egypt.

In v. 5 the LXX has 'a house which is in the heavens' (nay רודפס אב), is a reading which is followed by our versions. The Heb. is better, for the term 'house of slaves' is used to designate the land of Egypt.

In v. 6 the LXX has 'a house which is in the heavens' (nay רודפס אב), is a reading which is followed by our versions. The Heb. is better, for the term 'house of slaves' is used to designate the land of Egypt.

In v. 7 the LXX has 'a house which is in the heavens' (nay רודפס אב), is a reading which is followed by our versions. The Heb. is better, for the term 'house of slaves' is used to designate the land of Egypt.

In v. 8 the LXX has 'a house which is in the heavens' (nay רודפס אב), is a reading which is followed by our versions. The Heb. is better, for the term 'house of slaves' is used to designate the land of Egypt.

In v. 9 the LXX has 'a house which is in the heavens' (nay רודפס אב), is a reading which is followed by our versions. The Heb. is better, for the term 'house of slaves' is used to designate the land of Egypt.

In v. 10 the LXX has 'a house which is in the heavens' (nay רודפס אב), is a reading which is followed by our versions. The Heb. is better, for the term 'house of slaves' is used to designate the land of Egypt.

In v. 11 the LXX has 'a house which is in the heavens' (nay רודפס אב), is a reading which is followed by our versions. The Heb. is better, for the term 'house of slaves' is used to designate the land of Egypt.

In v. 12 the LXX has 'a house which is in the heavens' (nay רודפס אב), is a reading which is followed by our versions. The Heb. is better, for the term 'house of slaves' is used to designate the land of Egypt.
as appears at first sight. In the first part we have 'visiting the sins of the fathers'; in the second, 'showing the unbelief of God.' In the one case God brings the consequences of paternal sins upon the sons, in the other He displays His own mercy to thousands. It appears, therefore, that 'thousands' is contrasted with 'sons,' not with 'third and fourth generations,' as a thousand years or a thousand sand generations; it has two distinct meanings: a 'thousand' as a numeral, and a body of a thousand people, such as a regiment. In the latter connexion the word is used to indicate a subdivision of a tribe, and it is therefore used in almost every tribe. The word here must either be a numeral, 'thousand,' or it must = 'clans.' The extension of mercy is therefore outward not downward. The sin goes down to the sons, the mercy goes outward to the whole family or clan.

'There's a wideness in God's mercy
Like the wideness of the sea.'

The meaning is illustrated in Abraham's plea for Sodom, and it is contrasted with, if there had been ten righteous men in the city, the whole population might have been saved.

The Third Commandment is the vaguest of all; 'Thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy God in vain'; it is a phrase having no firm import in the word. The vagueness appears in the usual interpretation that is an injunction against profanity, Weiss (in loc.) says that 'not only false swearing, but also sensual sin, seems to be included, and every frivolous word is included.' And yet it is a little difficult to discover that sense in the original. We should expect the Ten Words to deal with vital matters. There is no evidence that profanity was specially an evil to the Hebrews. This is the view taken, and that they regarded it as a serious offence. From the concluding clause, 'Jahweh will not hold innocent,' the one who commits this wrong, it is clear that we are dealing with a serious evil; in fact, with the unpardonable sin of the OT. Indeed, we might well render 'Jahweh will not forgive,' etc. It is at least a step in clearing up the matter to note $\frac{\pi}{\varphi} \text{ means 'speak.'}$ First there was the full expression, 'he lifted up his voice and spoke,' then 'he lifted his voice,' finally, 'he lifted,' and with the meaning 'spoke.' $\frac{\pi}{\varphi} \text{ means 'in vain,' i.e. without result (cf. Jer 20:8).}$ We therefore have: 'Thou shalt not speak the name of Jehovah thy God without result,' i.e. without doing what was visibly connected with it. This shows the force of what is otherwise a pure redundancy, for Jehovah will not deem innocent him who speaks his name without result. Now, if there was a principle cherished by the Hebrews above any other, it was the obligation to carry out a vow made in the name of Jehovah. We may note the case of Jephthah, who felt bound by his vow to sacrifice his daughter (Jg 11). Other essences will occur to the reader, and we find the principle strongly urged in Ec 5:4. It may be remarked that, so far as internal indications go, this command may be early. At all events the obligation was recognized in the primitive ages. It was the misuse of the command as an excuse for our Lord sought to correct (cf. Mt 5:33; 23:14). The Jews held that only a vow in Jehovah's name was binding; Jesus teaches that a man's personal word should be as strong an obligation as any oath.

of the Original of the Decalogue—It is apparent from a comparison of the texts that the Decalogue has not come down to us in its original form. Many attempts have been made to determine what that original form was. For the most part it is a matter of pure conjecture. But it has been noted that there is a persistent tradition that there were 'Ten Words,' and that they were inscribed on two tables of stone. It has been assumed that there would be practically an even division of the commandments into the two tablets. The Decalogue divides into two parts, but Commandments 1–4 deal with man's relation to God, and 5–10 with his relations to men—not therefore an even division. In the Heb. text of Exodus, Comm. 3–5 contain 131 words, 6–10 contain 39 words. Taking the division by subject, 1–4 have 131 words, 6–10 have 41 words. Comm. 1–3 contain 56 words, 4–10 contain 96 words. This is the nearest approach to an even spatial division. Hence it is assumed that the commandments must be of sufficient even length. The growth is easily explained. The images were hard to get rid of, as all religious usages are hard to change. To reinforce the law and to prevent its falsification, it was necessary that the dire consequences of disobedience must be added. Down to the time of Nehemiah the rule for cessation of labour on the Sabbath day was disregarded (cf. Neh 13:22). Reasons were appended to the law to secure a stricter conformity.

While all this is very probable, the reason urged on the ground of an even division on the two tables is not convincing; for we have many ancient inscriptions on stone and clay, and there is no evidence of an attempt to make the contents to the size of the material used for the inscription. The size of the characters and of the tablet is determined by the amount to be written. The commandments must have taken shape originally according to their substance, and could hardly have been framed with reference to two tables of stone. The only reason for using two stones was that there was not room enough on one, just as a correspondent takes up a second sheet when one does not suffice.

4. How far Mosaic. A still more baffling problem is found in the origin of the Decalogue. In both codes it is attributed to Moses, i.e., Moses is the mouthpiece of Jehovah. In Dt 9:10 there is an unusual passage describing the first writing, the breaking of the stones, the second writing, and the care for the preservation of the final record. The Covenant and the Decalogue are certainly identified in the story, but then, of course, due to the author of Deut., who lived long after Moses' day. His identification may be correct, but is not necessarily so.

We are obliged to face the question as to the value of this evidence. Now, we know that in the OT all Hebrew law is attributed to Moses, as practically all Hebrew psalmody was ascribed to David, and all wisdom to Solomon. There is, therefore, a presumption against this testimony; for it would be extraordinary if the whole body of a nation's laws were enacted by a single individual,
and that before there was any nation at all. The
evidence, therefore, that Moses produced the
Decalogue is no greater than that he produced the
governing the fringe on the priest's cloak.
The persistent tradition proves, in the opinion of
the present writer, that Moses was a truly great
lawgiver, to some extent, by suggesting to the
public, but, full light upon us the necessity of determining as best we can
his connexion with any particular law. We are compelled, therefore, to consider whether the
Decalogue could have come from so early a date as
that of Moses.

Some of the prohibitions are of such a general
class that they might belong to any period;
such is the case with Comm. 3, 5–9. Others seem
to have a closer relation to the development of
religion, and thus to be formulated accordingly.
Comm. 1 is monothestic, though perhaps not so sharply so as has generally been
assumed; for the meaning may certainly be that
no other god is to be set above Jehovah, and this
possibility must have full weight (see above).
So far as we know, the victory of monothelism was
won by the prophets, one of the great battles being
fought by Elijah. But it is certainly true that
theism swept down from the earliest days,
such as Deborah, Gideon, and even the freethinker
Jephthah. This law may have been as early as
Moses for anything we know to the contrary.
The law against images does not belong to the
same category. Image-worship was certainly
drafted down to the Exile, and as late as
Hezekiah's time (2 K 18), without rebuke. The
war against it appears to have had as its main-
stream the effort to centralize the worship at the
temple in Jerusalem. As a means of destroying the
cult at the local shrines, where images abounded,
they were forbidden, for there appear to have been
no sacred images in Solomon's temple. It is true
that disobedience to a law does not prove its
non-existence. The teaching of Jesus of the
peril of wealth has not made a very profound impression on the
world even yet. But there was no strong
motive for images, and it is difficult to think that
David would have defied so fundamental a law
(1 S 26) that is interpreted as images
(195). This command, therefore, appears
not to have been formulated long before the time of Deuteronomy.

In its present form, Comm. 4 cannot be Moses. The
sabbath day of rest is not of urgent necessity for him.
Moreover, such work as he does is necessary on every
day of the week. Further, in the time of Moses
there were no guests (gerim, 'protected strangers')
within the gates. Sufficient emphasis does not
appear to have been laid upon the term 'gates,'
disclosing as it does urban life, and therefore
belonging at the earliest to the period after the
conquest. It is true that so acute a scholar as
Wellhausen holds that 'gates' may mean the gates of the
Frontier as well as of the city, and he thinks, there-
fore, that this term does not presuppose the settlement
in Palestine. But the only instance of this meaning that occurs to the present writer is Ex 3258,
where the word is a natural figure for 'entrance,' easily used by a writer familiar with gates.
Moreover, the expression 'within thy gates' is a characteristic Deuteronomistic expression,
occurring some twenty times in Deut., and
not found elsewhere in the Pent. save in Ex 2010. The
solicitude for the stranger or guest is also Deuteronomistic.
The silence about the sabbath day in the records
of the early days is truly remarkable from any
point of view. In Jos 614, 23 we read of the
army's marching around Jericho on seven successive
days, one of which must have been the sabbath.
That looks very like 'any kind of work,' and was
certainly unnecessary. There are, however, two
references to the sabbath, but it is hardly
light on the situation. In 2 K 42 the Shumannite
asks his wife why she is going to the prophet
Elisha, and gives as the reason for his question
'the sabbath is not new moon and it is not sabbath.'
It would be easy to draw too large a conclusion
from this statement, but one thing is certain, viz. that
there is no objection to a journey from Shunem to
Carmel (30–40 kilometres, 20–30 miles; see Kittel,
Bücher der Könige, 1906, in loc.) on the sabbath
day; further, there is no reason to suppose that the sabbath was a day for religious rites, but that
cessation of labour was not a part of its observance.
Something like half a century later Amos makes
the people say: 'When will the new moon be over
that we may set up dry bones in the sabbath that we
may open up corn.' (85). It is clear that we have
an advance from Elisha's time, in that trade is not
permitted on the sabbath—precisely the conditions
which Nehemiah so earnestly desired. The new
moon is not mentioned in the Decalogue, but it is
here, as in Elisha's time, on the same plane as the
sabbath. There is hardly evidence, therefore, to
support the existence of the Fourth Commandment.

The passage may seem to imply that the sabbath
had already come to be a mere form (Marti,
Dodekakpropheton, 1905, in loc.). But it is more
likely that the prevention of trade was a new feature,
not approved by the merchants; hence their
impatience at the loss of trading days. It appears
that under the prophetic influence a movement
was making for a stricter regulation of both these
festivals. The effort finally centred on the sabbath,
and by Joshua's time all labour as well as trade
was forbidden, but the period of wealth had not made a
very profound impression on the world even yet. But there was no strong
motive for images, and it is difficult to think that
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The silence about the sabbath day in the records

1. Wellhausen holds that the early Hebrews would object to a
70'7, 'image' (the word used in the Decalogue), but not to a 70'27, 'piller' (Gen 2, 16, 1.2R, pp. 104, 111). It is difficult to see
sufficient ground for this distinction.
2. See the Hebrew lexicons.
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of the time. Among a rude people it is always possible for one to rise head and shoulders above the rest, not only in stature, like Saul, but in moral insight, as Moses certainly did.

In a word, if we strip the Decalogue of the known later accretions, and the probable additions to meet new conditions, the Commandments may all be traced back to the Middle Ages, and almost certainly the Second. This is contesently very far from affirning that they did come from the hand of the great lawgiver. Indeed, it is not unlikely that the Decalogue itself may be a growth covering a period of several centuries before the last addition was made. Various men may have tried their hand at putting the great principles of the Law into a terse and comprehensive form. All that we can say positively is that the Decalogue was produced, as far as we know, by the addition of Ps. 18; 4 and no one was permitted to bolster up a bad case against his neighbour by the introduction of false witnesses. Kilgour and stealing are fairly common vices among undeveloped races, and are far too prevalent even among the most advanced peoples. But the clear terse laws on the two tables, without any qualifications whatever, doubtless saved many a life in Israel, and helped to maintain personal property inviolate. The forbidding of coveting reaches the evangelical note (cf. Mt. 5:28). It is hardly necessary to assume that coveting is as great a vice as stealing, or that a lustful desire of another’s goods before the last addition was made. Even in the early ages it must have been apparent that coveting heads to vicious action.

Abimelech coveted the throne, and the murder of his seventy brothers resulted (Jg 9). Abish coveted the land of Nauh and was attacked by the confiscation of his land was the consequence (1 K 21). David’s passions were aroused by the sight of a beautiful woman, and there followed the criminal death of Uriah and the unholy marriage with his widow Bathsheba (2 S 11).

The ethical standards of the world are still far too low, but it is certain that they would be even lower but for the great influence of the Ten Commandments. It is very desirable that they be stripped of later accretions; they are no more original form continue to be read to the people in the churches and taught to the children in the Sunday schools.

LITERATURE.—The student will naturally consult the various commentaries and handbooks, and the larger systems, and the historical and geographical works. The most important are:

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DECISION.—The term ‘decision’ may be used (1) concretely, of the judgment which is affirmed at the conclusion of a period of deliberation (q.v.); or (2) abstractly, of the ability to ‘come to a decision,’ i.e. to bring deliberation to a conclusion.

1. There are three main reasons why a judgment is rendered: (1) the%majORITY of the people in the world is influenced by certain religious conceptions or beliefs, and acts accordingly in the world; (2) a development in the world takes place, arising from the influence of the religious conceptions or beliefs on the people; and (3) a development in the world takes place, arising from the influence of the religious conceptions or beliefs on the people. There are three main reasons why a judgment is rendered: (1) the%majORITY of the people in the world is influenced by certain religious conceptions or beliefs, and acts accordingly in the world; (2) a development in the world takes place, arising from the influence of the religious conceptions or beliefs on the people; and (3) a development in the world takes place, arising from the influence of the religious conceptions or beliefs on the people. There are three main reasons why a judgment is rendered: (1) the%majORITY of the people in the world is influenced by certain religious conceptions or beliefs, and acts accordingly in the world; (2) a development in the world takes place, arising from the influence of the religious conceptions or beliefs on the people; and (3) a development in the world takes place, arising from the influence of the religious conceptions or beliefs on the people. There are three main reasons why a judgment is rendered: (1) the%majORITY of the people in the world is influenced by certain religious conceptions or beliefs, and acts accordingly in the world; (2) a development in the world takes place, arising from the influence of the religious conceptions or beliefs on the people; and (3) a development in the world takes place, arising from the influence of the religious conceptions or beliefs on the people.
DECOLLATI.—The full expression is le anime dei corpi decollati, the souls of executed criminals. These souls are the object of a popular cult in Sicily. It is spread throughout the island; but its most famous shrine is the Church of the Decollati, near the Porta Palermo. It seems to have arisen out of the sympathetic naturally felt in an oppressed community for sufferers at the hands of a ruling caste. For many centuries Sicily was subject to rulers who were either foreigners, or at any rate divided by a sharp and impassable line from the mass of the people. The latter were ignorant, and more or less passively hostile to the governing class. They regarded all who were put to death under the forms of law as heroes; nor did they distinguish between the moral or political crimes—between acts directed against the rulers and acts directed against society at large.—If, in deed, these two categories were always distinguishable. The priests were for the most part drawn from the 'folk' and naturally showed to a great extent their ignorance, their superstitions, and their feeling towards the government. The executions were public. The condemned man (called l'affitto, the afflicted), having been reconciled to the Church and having received his consolations, was regarded as a martyr; and his death-scene was a species of triumph. He passed, it was true, into purgatory; but his prayers on behalf of others, even from purgatory, were deemed to have great intercessional value by virtue of his sufferings.

Formerly at Palermo several of the priests witnessed the cult of the Decollati. During recent centuries, however, it has become the custom to bury the Oreti in the little church beside the Oreti such bodies of criminals as were not given to their friends, or reserved to adorn the galleries in chains. Accordingly, the cult has been transferred to the grave-yard of the side-chapel of the Orto dei Decollati. According to custom, every year on Ascension Day, the Oreti are brought by the priests to the grave-yard of the church, and there performed the invocations and other prayers that the cult requires. The pilgrims are frequent; and the pilgrim having performed his devotions at the altar of St. John the Baptist, adjourns to the chapel and prays at the Decollati, listening for an answer to the prayer. The invocations are taken up by the assembly; and Invocations, however, may be addressed to them elsewhere by suppliants who cannot undertake the pilgrimage.

The objects for which intercession is sought are primarily protection from violence or accidents, and the cure of sufferers from either. For the Decollati, however much they may in their lifetime have been guilty of violence, now having suffered and been reconciled to the Church, hate violence and punish it, or at least protect those who have been victims. By an extension of the idea, they are invoked against diseases, especially hemoptysis, of which bleeding is the manifestation. Two long cases of nude water-colour drawings on the churchyard walls record with ghastly detail many examples of vows made and benefits received, where violence, accident, or disease of the kinds indicated was concerned. But, in fact, the good offices of the Decollati are not limited to these. They are employed for the benefit of the sick, throughout Sicily on all sorts of occasions, and for all sorts of purposes. They have their prayer-formulae, which are extensively used; and many stories of miracles performed by them in person are current. The ordinary vehicles of the cult are the churches, and the beautiful paintings with scenes from the history and traditions of the island. Many of these are adorned with paintings of the Decollati.

DEGENERATION.—1. Application of the term. ‘Mental degeneracy’ is a term which is applied to a group of conditions representing the speech, behaviour, or productive activity of individuals, and generally held to be symptomatic of defect in the central nervous system. The nervous defect in question may be either congenital or acquired through accident or disease; in either case, it may be organic or functional. Savill (Neuroasthenia, 17) defines a functional nervous disease negatively, as one in which ‘no anatomical changes can be found after death, either with the naked eye or with the microscope, which can account for the symptoms during life’. It may really be due to some structural change, which available means cannot determine, to the presence of toxic materials in the blood (of either organic or exogenous origin), or to deficient quantity or quality of blood, or to exhaustion of the nerve tissues from excessive use, etc.

The term also implies that the individual falls markedly below the mental level attained by the average or normal member of the race, sex, age, and period of civilization; but, since the number of degrees of defect is potentially infinite, and the defect may be either general or special (in the former case involving all the mental capacities, in the latter such special functions as sensation, memory, emotion, etc.), the actual usage of the term is extremely indefinite. Thus it is employed to denote (1) actual insanity, including amnesia, imbecility, dementia, mania, and melancholia; (2) persistent criminality; (3) mental instability, excitability, excessive irritability, or mere eccentricity; and (4) the neuroses of hysteria, psychasthenia, and others: to the last two groups belong those who I am inclined to term the 'denizens of the borderland' (Edin. Med. Journ. 1901). It would seem that strictly the word should apply only to those who have some congenital defect in mental capacity, excluding those in whom the defect has been due either to accidental injury, or to lesions of the brain arising from toxic influences, subsequent to the birth of the individual (for example, alcoholic insanity, or insanity sequent upon typhus fever). It is impossible, however, to draw a hard and fast line between the congenital and the acquired, as many cases of insanity would not have occurred had not the individual been already predisposed to the disease by physiological or mental weakness. On the other hand, the term is also frequently applied to an acquired defect, especially when it is of the progressive type.

In popular usage the word ‘degenerate’ means one whose tastes are lower than those of the society in which he has been educated, e.g. a clergyman’s son who associates with gaming-houses, light-carts, or other denizens of the island. Many of these are painted with scenes from the history and traditions of the island. Many of these are adorned with paintings of the Decollati.
mind will avoid these things as topics of thought or imagination, except with the object of removing them or lessening their effect. But not only the diseased mind will seek to dwell upon disease, or take a pleasure in its contemplation.

To the biologist, the degenerate appears as a reversion to an older type of the race, as one who has been born with a physical nature in which some primitive human or even pre-human stage of cerebral development is reproduced. He is a primitive being set in a civilized environment, unable to adapt himself to it, and hence coming into conflict with its conditions.

The only common feature underlying these three different applications of the term is a marked 'deviation from type' either in quantity (energy, rate, etc.), or in quality, of thought and action.

2. Physical and mental conditions of degeneration may be grouped in three classes: (1) an originally defective physical and mental capacity, or defective development; (2) physical accident or injury, disease, privation, etc., by which the central nervous system is weakened locally or generally; and (3) social conditions, such as family life, educational disadvantages, poverty, occupation, etc. (Ferri, Criminal Sociology, Eng. tr., London, 1895, ch. 2.)

The brain may be said to be the central organ of man, because it is the seat of memory, thought, and volition; because it depends for its energy upon the brain, and because its function is to regulate the muscular movements of the body. The physical stigma of the 'congenital criminal'—deformity of skull, sloping forehead, prominent cheekbones and projecting jaws, small eyes, unstable eyes, scarring, deviation, cleft palate, stammering, etc.—are not now so seriously taken, and, according to Lago (p. 17), the anthropological theory, whether applied to insanity or to crime, is 'a thing of the past.' It is true that both the criminal and the idiot are more liable to diseases, such as phthisis, etc., than the normal individual, and have many other physiological deficiencies; while statistics have been frequently compiled to show the apparent transmission from parent to child of the 'criminal temperament,' and its hereditary relationship with imbecility and insanity. From such data, however, even if we exclude the immeasurable influence of environment, physical and social, it can be argued only that some nervous deficiency is transmitted, which disposes, under 'favourable' conditions, to insanity, crime, or mental instability.

Against the physical theory of degeneracy (as an all-sufficient account), there is the general fact that the frequency with which mental causes produce, or at least initiate, a change of intellectual or moral character, e.g. emotional shock, disappointment, loss of occupation or of means, death of husband, widowhood, social degeneracy, school strain, privation, prolonged worry, etc. It is by no means necessary that a hereditary or congenital physical predisposition should exist in all cases; thus, a shock coming closely upon an infant or during an illness or exhaustion, or a period of insomnia, may give all the conditions necessary for the outbreak of insanity. The influence of the mind upon the production of insanity was fully recognized by Finkel in 1891, and by others after him. The evolutionary theory gave, however, a stronger hold to the organic theory of mental disease, and its connexion with heredity, so that this view is now practically universal. It is clear that such disease is always a product of two factors—a predisposition in the one hand, physical or mental; and, on the other, a shock or a stress leading to the actual appearance of the insanity or mental defect. Thus the physiological critical periods of life are those at which outbreaks of insanity are most frequent: infancy and childhood, adolescence, the climacteric, etc. Of course, if we assume from the first that mind is never an agent of bodily changes, but always their mere concomitant or their effect, then mental degeneracy cannot but be the sign or symptom of physical degeneration, which is the
proved also that, while the subject is unaware of the existence of such anaesthesias, and therefore does not, of course, notice the impressions which are made on the insensitive organs, these are nevertheless recorded, and may be later brought to bear on the patient's consciousness, either by modifying the temporary disposition which arises in connexion with bodily states—fatigue, exhaustion, illness, etc. A shock or stress will disturb the mind more or less, according to its fundamental and temporary disposition at the period when the strain comes. Without prejudice to any theory of the relation of body to mind, it may be admitted that actions are the outcome of the dominant feeling or emotion, which in its turn is mainly a product of perceptions and reproductions or memories; hence in human conduct the mental life predominates over the physiological: and this is especially the case after the child has become able to appreciate moral ideas. It is not denied that the physical nature was an immense influence in the causation of insanity.¹ But it is claimed (1) that this physical nature may be largely modified by education and by suggestion; (2) that it may itself be of a mental origin either in the ancestors or in the individual himself; (3) that it is only one of these pathohistic ideas that insanity is almost invariably caused by mental factors, including, for example, emotional shock or mental contagion (as in imitative insanity); and (4) that the insanity may be cured by suggestion and the use of hypnotic and anaesthetic hygiene (Dubois, in Archives de psychologie, x. [1910] 1: 'Psychological Conception of the Origin of Psychopathies').

1. Insensibility.

The mental degeneracy in which mental degeneracy expresses itself may be illustrated from the two most important 'functional' diseases—hysteria and psychasthenia.

(1) Hysteria has been defined as a 'morbid mental condition in which ideas control the body and produce morbid changes in its functions' (Dunn, Journal of Abnormal Psychol., Feb. 1907). Its most prominent features are anesthesia, amnesia, loss of control over the attention, paralysis of certain muscles. (1) The anesthesia may be partial, even local, without any injurious effect either to the sense-organ or to the conducting nerve-fibres; or it may be partial (monocular blindness; narrowing of the field of vision; temporary loss of smell; colour-blindness, or systemic (loss of power to perceive certain persons or classes of objects, while the insensibility is otherwise intact). A historical illustration is the 'devil's marks' on the skin, by the insensibility of which a woman's guilt in trials for witchcraft was often determined. The insensibility differs from that which is due to nerve-injury, in that it is not permanent, but varies; it is, for example, sometimes removed during sleep, or under the influence of chloroform, or in the hypnotic trance, while mental excitement of any kind is said to intensify it. Also the insensibility does not correspond to the distribution of a particular nerve or group of nerves; many of the reflexes are preserved in connexion with the sense-organ, while the insensible limb is not liable to accident or to injury, as is the case with insensibility arising from a severed nerve. It has been

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¹ Cf. Lugares, p. 22: 'The functional insufficiency of a shock consists in the inability of the brain to maintain a state of cranium. Slight but chronic lesions of the kidneys can determine conditions of stupidity, temporary loss of speech, and violent attacks of convulsion and asphyxia.' A febrile malady occurring in infancy, though transient, attracting little notice, and passing away almost unnoticed, can ruin the brain later on and repair. The effects of this may either manifest themselves as moral and intellectual defects of every degree, or as epileptic convulsions. They appear after many years, and by their repetition progressively destroy the mind.
sensations or simple associative images rather than by systematized tendencies built upon experience; or unity and autonomy are replaced by lamynathy or by automatism.

(4) On the motor side, there is frequently paralysis, or *paraesia*, inability or weakness in the use of the limbs on one side of the body, or of a particular group of muscles, or of a particular muscle; and (5) usually also disturbances of 'nervous' origin, in the circulatory and other functions of the body—asthma, vertigo, palpitation, fainting, congestion, etc. Sometimes a feeling of weakness or exhaustion over these functions, in the normal individual appears impossible: e.g., control of the heart, or of the digestive processes, ability to hasten or retard them at will. Both the muscular and the organic defects or abnormalities are, like the anesthesias, of purely central origin; i.e., they spring directly from some temporary and local change in the cerebral system—a change which, however, has probably a mental origin.

The different phenomena in a particular case may usually be traced to a single system of ideas, which has obtained an undue control over the personality—for example, the memory, conscious or suppressed, of some emotionally exciting event or experience. Careful scrutiny usually discloses the, link which strengthens the power of the personality over the ideas, sometimes by a shock or accident calling up the dormant energies of the individual: thus in one case (Donaldson, *Growth of Brain*, London, 1857, p. 304) a lady recovered from a hysterical paralysis on the sudden death of her husband; in another, a cure resulted from the elopement of a daughter. For the most part, however, almost any stimulus strong enough to excite the dominent idea, and to determine thought and action according to it. Thus a man who had been lost in the Australian Bush, and in whose case thirst had frequently plunged into imaginary pools of water, used, long after his return, under the slightest dose of alcohol, to go automatically through the actions of divining, regardless of the surroundings or of the position in which he was. There is, for the most part, some such absorption by, or fixation of the mind upon, the dominent idea, with entire failure to corelate it with the immediately given sensations and impressions, or to criticize it by them.

Epidemics of hysteria or insanity are common among peoples or races at a low level of development who exhibit continuous fixation (J. M. Clarke, 'On Hysteria,' *Brain*, xx. [1892] 526).

A well-known case is that of Haute-Savole, 1857, in which a young girl saw a companion taken out of a stream half-drowned; the girl fell down in unconsciousness, and a few days later a friend who was with her became similarly affected. Other hysterical phenomena followed. Within four years there were 125 persons in the same neighbourhood affected in the same way, and this is in spite of the fact that public exorcisms were held by the priest. The epidemic was stopped by the Government sending a force of gens d'armes to the district, removing the priest, isolating the patients, and sending the word to cases to distant hospitals' (Clarke, loc. cit.). Here it is the force of suggestion acting on an unstable nervous organism, and securing an influence over the internal organs of the body even as is not possessed, or is possessed only to a very slight degree, by healthy and normal. See also art. Exorcism.

(ii.) A different complex of symptoms is presented by that which is now called *psychasthenia*, or 'obsessive insanity' (Janet), although at some points it is closely related to hysteria. Whereas in the latter the morbid ideas are specific or particular, in obsessive insanity they are vague and general ideas, entering into relation with every possible action or thought of the subject, for example, the idea that one is a criminal, or has committed some unpardonable sin. The idea is involuntarily, continuously, and painfully present to the mind, if not in the centre, at least on the verge, of consciousness, so that to escape from it is impossible.

The morbid ideas most commonly met with are those of (a) crime, including homicide, suicide, dipomania, sacrilege, etc., and there are two forms—the obsession of committing the crime, and the obsession of remorse for a crime already committed, the latter much more frequently exaggerated in the mind (what was really a mere thought or passing idea being transformed into an actual deed); (b) *physical or mental defect*, again in two forms—obsession of being, and obsession of becoming, thus, a lady who is distressed at her actual stoutness may refuse food, or take insufficient rest in consequence, while a lady at present of moderate dimensions may adopt the same tactics from fear of becoming unduly stout. Other instances are the fear of approaching old age, of approaching madness, of approaching death.

The common qualities, as regards the content of the obsessive ideas, are: (1) they regard acts or states of the subject himself, not primarily of any external object; (2) the acts or states are socially disreputable, wicked, or ridiculous, or in general undesirable; (3) and in this is the fundamental difference from hysteria they are endogenous, self-suggested, whereas in hysteria the morbid idea is artificial, or is suggested by or is excited from without. Accordingly, we find that in the early stages there is full consciousness of the absurdity or folly of the obsession; and also that, except in rare cases, the morbid action is not completely realized. Thus, a kleptomaniac was in no way preoccupied with his when he went shopping, to watch and afterwards return the stolen articles; in another case, a youth, after taking poison, telephoned to his mother to inform her of the fact, with the (expected) result of a surgeon's arrival. Again, the hallucinations have not the same definiteness or 'body' as those of hysteria; they lack details, and hence the slightest effort of the attention destroys them, as is the case in dreams; they are seldom completely externalized, or defined, and in this they are contrary to the idee fixe.

On the volitional side, there are almost invariably automatisms, that is, actions which occur independently of thought, and are not under the control of the subject. These Janet classifies into three groups, in each of which the disturbance is either systematic or diffuse. (1) Mental agitations, including the systematic forms—manias of irritation, of worry; and the diffuse form—the mania of rumination or reverie. The essential character of all is a movement of the mind which is incapable of arresting itself upon any one fact or thought, but is compelled to pass beyond it, to add something to it, and then something more, and something more, without end—'idees either revolving in a circle, or branching out endlessly, but in any case never reaching an end, a definite conclusion' ('Les Obsessions', 1897). Familiar cases are those in which a patient deliberates for hours about carrying out some simple and, normally, habitual action: e.g., that of putting on a sock, choosing a necklace, stepping over an object in the roadway. (2) On the motor side, what are called 'tics,' that is, automatic actions, twitchings, movements of the lips, etc., these being in nearly all cases symbols or traces of complete actions as suggested by the ideas—'psychic short-cuts.' (3) The emotional side there are the autonomic or governamental ideas, entering into relation with every possible action or thought of the subject, for example, the idea that one is a criminal, or has committed some unpardonable sin. The idea is involuntarily, continuously, and painfully present to the mind, if not in the centre, at least on the verge, of consciousness, so that to escape from it is impossible.
a generalized expectation or dread of some untoward event happening.

4. Explanation of the symptoms.—The explanation of these phenomena is found first in a weakening of the psychic processes, and thence of the finer mechanism, alike of association and of voluntary movement, is relaxed and ultimately destroyed. The contrast with the normal individual is the same as that which occurs, within an individual life, between bodily health and sickness or fatigue—"in the former case the greater activity, co-ordinate power, effectiveness of movement, ability to recollect at will, and to direct the thoughts; in the latter state the weakening or failure of these powers. Obsessional insanity is an exaggeration of this relatively healthy state, having its centre or point of support in some actual psychical experience of the subject. In hysteria, the general symptoms may most simply be referred to a dis- aggregation of the personality: some group or groups of memories, or of habits, or of other acquired activities, separate off from the controlling consciousness with which the normal individual identifies his self or ego. Thus, in the automatic writing and other extraneous movements of hysterics or neurasthenic patients (Binet, Janet, etc.), the subject is entirely unaware of the actions done, although they would normally imply consciousness both to initiate and to carry out. So, the hypnotized subject or the conscious or unconscious states apparently involved deliberate consciousness, and, on awakening, show complete ignorance of them; and there are familiar cases in which a patient leads, for a short or longer period of time, a different life from that of his normal condition, in which he is unconscious, or at least has no memory, of his previous state, while afterwards, on recovery, he has forgotten the temporary abnormal state (Ansel Bourne, etc.). Morton Prince gives a remarkable instance of such a case of double or multiple personality in his Dissociation of a Personality. Normally all our experiences, or at least those which are important to us, are synthesized, unified in the single dominant consciousness or personality; abnormally, some handles of experience, more or less large, are detached from this unifying consciousness, and form secondary personalities, which may make use of the general fund of memories, habits, etc., organized in our experience, and representing in the latter case structures in the fabric of the brain. It is not necessary here to discuss how far these self-realizing ideas deserve the name of 'separate consciousnesses' or 'separate personalities.' There are all degrees of disaggregation between the simple hearing and answering of a question by an absorbed reader, without subsequent awareness on his part of the action, and the extreme form found in Ansel Bourne, Janet's 'Leonid,' or Prince's 'Miss Bouzagl.' There is a close parallelism between such cases and insanity—for example, the insanity of fixed ideas, or of delusions, etc. Freud argues that many of these secondary personalities, as is the case in insanity, represent the realizations of certain wishes, desires, ambitions, which the subject has been prevented from successfully carrying out, or which he has voluntarily repressed (Neurosenetche, ed. E. Hitzelmann, Leipzig, 1911, p. 54). On the one hand, according to Janet's view, of tension or tonus in the central nervous system or some part of it, and on the other a 'psychic misery,' a disorganization of the mental life, in which images and ideas tend to realize themselves as a whole, the control usually exercised by the self on the basis of past experience being replaced according to the claims of the social environment. (On mental dissociation, see also J. Macpherson, Mental Afections, London, 1899.)

Corresponding to this disorganization of the mind is the existence of what may be called a floating mass of emotion, dread, or anxiety, ready to attach itself to any idea that may arise, and leading to actions that may be out of all proportion to the motive-ideas, taken by itself. This emotion is really the mass of feeling that springs from the altered bodily constitution, and the altered organic and other sensations which form the basis of the feeling of self. Since the alterations consist largely in an increase of bodily and especially of painful sensations, the emotion as a whole is of the depressive type. Such an emotion necessarily alters the whole mental tone; and especially the real character: the subject becomes timid, secretive, cunning, superstitious, selfish, and cruel. In originally higher types there is a tendency to pessimism; the patient is unable to carry out the ideas, frequently extravagant, which he sets before himself; hence doubt and distrust of himself and others; his life is suffused with pain; slight motives cause him distress and anxiety; this 'psychois' he projects into others, and believes life to be predominantly painted. Obsessions and fixed ideas are for the most part the result of a logical attempt to account for the emotion of which,—although not of its cause—the subject is conscious. In other cases the system of ideas may be developed first from the unconscious— and the dread or anxiety is built upon it or attached to it afterwards (see Williams, in Journ. Abn. Psychol. v. [1910] 2).

The same features—disaggregation, depressive emotional-tone, or both—may occur in mental degeneration at all its levels. Thus in the imbecile, there is failure to co-ordinate experiences, to take more than the first few steps in the synthesis of personality: the result is an incapacity to concentrate the attention, motivation only by the simplest ideas, and these only in isolation from one another, no coherent or sustained activity either of thought or of action. Where depression itself is also present, the imbecile may become the criminal, with homicidal or other socially dangerous tendencies. In the paranoiac, there is failure to form, or the lapse of, the highest mental synthesis—the recognition of the 'social self'—on which the possibility of the social life depends: hence the primary self-consciousness has the field to itself; there is an unrestrained assertion of individual wishes and desires, and a total disregard for the convenience, wishes, or claims of others. The encephaloma leads to delusions of unlimited power, wealth, or high rank (megalomania), or, where depression is present, to mania of persecution, etc. The nearest parallel that we have in normal life is to be found in dreams (p. 4), the analogy of which with insanity has been frequently pointed out (Moreau-de-Tours, Maury, Sir Arthur Mitchell, etc.). The higher systems are out of function, for the time being; the will is at rest; each idea, suggested by present sensory impressions, or by recent experiences, has the field of consciousness to itself: hence it takes on an illusory objectivity, and appears as a real experience or perception, while it tends to call up associate ideas which, however, are bound to it only by the lowest, purely mechanical, bonds (habit-associations, associations of sensory similarity). Thus, Maury (Le Sommeil et les rêves, Paris, 1865, ch. vi.) describes a dream in which the main incidents were connected together through the words 'Kilbusta,' 'Eloa,' 'Lobelia,' 'Lopez,' 'Loty.' Simultaneous dissociation of personality is also a common feature of the dream; we appear to be debating with another person, who questions us and answers us; both dis-
putants, however, are ourselves. Jauray (loc. cit.) mentions that the apparent revelations of dreams may sometimes be traced to forgotten memories of our own, and that the dream may be the dream of another person, in our dream. In general, however, the thoughts of the dream are trivial, absurd, meaningless, as any one may prove for himself by writing down, immediately on waking, the words he has just been uttering in his dream. The same defect, and the same lack of power to criticize what passes through the subject's own mind, we have found to be common in mental degeneracy. The hallucinations of the insane, and their emotional or anxious symptoms, have also an analogy in dream-life. All these phenomena of degeneracy appear also in normal life during fatigue, exhaustion, illness, senility, and in the temporary insanity of intoxication by alcohol or other drugs (nicotine, opium, hashish, etc.; see, for example, R. Menneic, Le Herich, Paris, 1909).

5. Progressive mental degeneration.—When degeneration attacks a well-developed mind, the symptoms are more obvious and more evident. According to Ribot's Law of Regression or Inversion (see his Discours de la Mémoire), the more unstable forms of experience or acquirement are the first to lapse, i.e., (1) the most recently acquired; (2) the largest, frequently repeated, the least habitual or automatic powers. Thus, in senile insanity, or in the beginnings of alcoholic insanity, it is the power to meet new situations, to face difficulties, to create, invent, or to fail at that fails first; habit situations are met, adequately perhaps, in habitual ways, but the bloom of individuality is gone. There follows the delicate appreciation of moral values—there is an increase of selflessness, and of conscience, along with a failure of higher ambitions; then the more complex intellectual acquisitions, professional skill, scientific interests; then the memory for recent events, the recollection of the less familiar complexes of experience. With the narrowing of intellectual life, the emotional life occupies a larger space; the patient becomes irritable, and irritating, discontented, malicious, neglectful of the ordinary conventions of life; his thoughts and his speech become less coherent, more vulgar, less petty, until, finally, dementia leaves no powers in function except the primitive instincts and reflexes, with at the most a few of the more ingrained habits of mind and body. In a general way also, although all these stages have their parallels in the different concrete forms of degeneracy found in different individuals—from the morally deficient 'intellectual' down to the congenital imbecile or idiot.


DEGRADATION.—See Discipline.

DEHRA.—A town, the capital of Dehra Dan, a valley projecting from the Plains of Northern India like a triangle towards the source of the Jamna river and the main range of the Himalaya, lat. 29° 19' 50" N.; long. 78° 2' 57" E. From a religious point of view, the place was considered as the seat of a strong body of Udasis, a Sikh order of Hindu ascetics, who are said to owe their establishment to the son of Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism. Their gurdwāra, or temple, the work of their leader dying Bay, was erected in A.D. 1889. The central block, in which the bed of the gurā is preserved, was built on the model of the Emperor Jahangir's tomb at Lahore. At the corners are smaller monuments in honour of the gurā's four wives. The building has a large well, and a sanitarium and, the gurā, who has the revenues at his disposal, is the richest man in the Dan valley. Formerly the appointment of each new gurā, who was selected from among the disciples of the deceased, was in the hands of the Sikh chiefs of the Punjab, who, at each new installation, made a gift to the British Government and received in return the complimentary present of a pair of shawls. This practice is now discontinued. The Tukah, of which the seat is a cup of red cloth shaped like a sugar loaf, worked over with coloured thread, and adorned with a black silk fringe round the edge. The mabhānt, or gurā, enjoys life in this isolation in style, and large numbers of devotees, drawn from all classes of Hindus, attend the shrine. But the most enthusiastic worshippers naturally come from the Gāz-Sutlej Sikh States. The annual ceremonies, which last ten days, are performed at the Hindu feast of the Holi in spring.


DEICIDE.—This term, though not new, has been used in the past with such restricted meaning, and so seldom, that there is an imperative need to enlarge its definition before it can be of service in that branch of scientific research in which it is increasingly used. The following definition, taken from Ogilvie's Imperial Dict. of the Eng. Lang., will show this: Diecide= (1) The act of putting to death Jesus Christ our Saviour. "Earth, protoned, yet blessed with diecide" (Price). (2) One concerned in putting Christ to death (Craig). (Rare in both senses.)

Another quite recent dictionary defines the word thus: 'The killing of God; especially the crucifixion of Christ.' Though there is here a definition more in accord with modern requirements, the student of religions, acquainted with facts which seem to show how denizens and objects of a certain custom of putting to death both men and animals thought to be gods incarnate, must set aside everything that so narrows the word as to make it unfit for his purpose. Doing this, one is left with what is, after all, a mere translation of the Latin term, viz., 'the killing of a god,' or, more briefly, 'god-slaughter.' It is in this last sense that the word is to be here used. For obvious reasons, there will be few, if any, references to what was at one time known as the sole instance of diecide—the Crucifixion.

None of the phenomena which the scientific study of religions has made known has aroused more interest than those obscure rites and ceremonies, those strange customs, which seem best explained by the theory that diecide, once supposed to find its only example in the Crucifixion, has been, in fact, a wide-spread custom, which has left a deep impress on the religious thought of the race. Before giving the few instances of diecide, which space limits allow, it will be well to make some kind of classification, which will enable the student to understand more fully their nature and extent. It is suggested that instances of god-slaughter may be placed in one or other of two
main classes, as being (1) real, (2) mimetic or symbolic. A noticeable variety of the former is, on one theory at least, traceable in certain solemn expiatory sacrifices, and may therefore be termed 'expiatory' or 'piacular.' Again, in many of these instances for which the name 'mimetic' or 'symbolic' has been suggested, the effort 'to keep in remembrance' seems so prominent that they may well be termed 'commemorative.' The following is therefore suggested as a working classification for these instances of god-slaughter which seem to have been enacted.

1. Real (with sub-class 'piacular' or 'expiatory').—Cases of real god-slaughter may be seen in the strange custom, at one time wide-spread though now well-nigh extinct, of putting to death kings and chief men at set times, or when they showed some sign of approaching decay and death. There is evidence to show that originally these high-placed victims were looked upon as Divine in a very real sense—gods incarnate. Such Divine honours are still ascribed by savage people to their king or ruler. The existence of these Divine beings in full vigour was deemed necessary to the welfare of all their people. It was a proof that their god could still safeguard their interests. The reason for these gods coming to death was believed to have been the dread lest, through disease or decay of strength, they might be unable any longer to help and keep in safety those who looked to them for these blessings. It was necessary, therefore, that a fresh and vigorous incarnation should be sought for, to take the place of that which was ready to vanish away.

Africa and India furnish the best attested examples of such decide, though traces of it are supposed to have been discovered in the accounts of old-world rites handed down by classical writers. Three centuries ago it was the practice to put to death the king of Sotho, an African State, when even slight doubt of his ascendancy became manifest; whilst the King of Eyo, also in Africa, was expected to commit suicide should his headmen think it demanded by the needs of the State.

Again, in one of the kingdoms of Southern India the king was put to death or compelled to self-immolation in the event of its becoming necessary. Many of these customs seem to have obtained in others of the Indian States. It is not surprising to find that, in course of time, means of evading this disagreeable necessity were discovered; one method, that of providing a substitute, human or animal, having a special interest as being the possible beginning of vicarious sacrifice.

An interesting variety of these customs may be seen in cases where an original totem has developed into a deity worshipped by the members of the totem clan. It has been observed that at certain times, when the deity seems to be estranged from his worshippers, or for some other reason the clan-bond needs renewing or cementing, recourse has been had to sacrifices of species highly sympathetic in efficacy. In these the victim has been an animal of the same species as the original totem. In other words, the very deity constitutes the sacrifice which is to heal their estrangement with himself and his worshippers. It is not difficult to see in these solemn renewals of covenants the beginning of expiatory or piacular sacrifice. There seems to be a sufficient reason for thinking them to be cases of piaced on the answer, and to the other hand, the solemn putting to death, by his own price, of the sacred Apis bull of Egypt, after the lapse of a certain number of years, seems rather to be an instance of the endeavour to secure a renewal of the Divine life of an broken vote in cases where the evidence for and against a certain view seems evenly balanced. Yet, not-
withstanding all this, no part of the great study of religions is fuller of suggestion than this, more especially in the strange parallels noticeable between pagan and Christian thought and ritual. It is only natural to regard 'the Constantinian,' 'Crucifixion,' 'Sacrifice,' 'Bucharist,' etc., to show this. What influence the recognition of such analogies may have, in the future, on Christian speculation it is impossible to say.

T. STENNER MACEY.

DEIFICATION (Greek and Roman).—I. The Greeks.—The deification of actual men and women among the Greeks is a natural development of that view of the gods which their early literary documents show already prevalent. The Greek was not satisfied with the presence he divined in the operations of Nature, and whose legends he learnt as a child, in a mystical haze, as vast powers of shadowy and uncertain outlines; his mind loved the light of day; he could know the real in these bent, what definite things they had done, in what relations of kinship they stood to each other and himself. Hence it was that the gods of the Greek came to be anthropomorphized in a peculiar sense. Homer knew the gods, and the Athenians, who actually trod the hills and fields familiar to himself; the Athenian could look at the very mark which the trident of Poseidon had left upon the rocks of the Acropolis; the Spartan knew from a child the thrax of Hyacinthus, whose Apollo had slain with the darts.

From one origin are begetted gods and mortal men," says a line attributed to Herod (Works and Days, 163); and Phidias echoes it in the opening of Ness. v.: 'There is one self-same race of man and gods; and from one single Mother have we both the breath of life; only families altogether diverse distinguish us; since man is a thing of nought, and those have been born in a sure abiding home. And yet we have some likenesses, either by greatness of soul or by fashion of body, to the Deathless Ones.'

Yet more, the gods had begotten human children in intercourse with men; the families of the legendary chieftains, and such families of a later day as could make out a descent from the heroes of legend, were literally and physically their issue. The ancient heroes, as Homer tells us, by a number of real or traditional mothers, were very much like gods to look at. And not only could the Divine thus come to earth, but the legends knew of men becoming gods (Ev. Andr. 1255, etc.).

The god-like line between the worship of the dead and that of the gods hard to draw, for the rites offered generally to the dead implied the belief that the deceased had some power of action in the living world; only the scope of such power was greater in the case of those worshipped as heroes, whilst the distinction, again, between the rites proper to heroes and to gods respectively tended in practice to become blurred (Daneke, col. 2256, note). A difference was, indeed, recognized in the first instance being paid to the dead, 'heroic' honours, and divine honours (see Arr. iv. 11. 3); but, when we try to draw a hard-and-fast line, the difference appears rather one of degree.

Of these the heroes worshipped by the Greeks were mythical figures imagined in a remote past, especially the legendary founders of cities, the eponymous ancestors of clans, or the patrons of local and particular professions. How some cases occurred in which actual men were assimilated after their death to these heroes of the imagination we cannot say, but it seems to have happened early in certain parts of the Greek world (esp. Thrace and Sicily) that the founders of cities receiving sacrifices which the cities as such offered to the legendary heroes (Tuesius in the 7th c. B.C. (Hdt. i. 163; Mal. 4. 8); Thrasymedes, Thassus, Thracus (passim); Dion, Theron, Thracos in the 5th c. (Diod. l. xi. 38, 65); Hagenos and Brundisius in the same century (Thuc. v. 11)); or that the spirits of those who had been violently slain under circumstances which made some community dread their vengeance were placated with 'heroic' honours (on the impulse of Creon in the case of Polyneices, king of Thebes, in the 5th c. (Hdt. v. 114)).

It was thus natural that, when the emotions of reverence for the divine or enthusiasm with regard to some actual man were raised to a high degree, they should be felt as almost identical with those which had the gods for their object (εἰς ἃν γὰρ σὲ ἐπὶ πάντων 'Αχιλλος [Hom. Il. xi. 603]; θὰ φάν τοίς τε δίκαιοι [ib. vii. 78, etc.]). The case is not unlike that of which it even seem proper to express such feelings in the same ritual performances as those used for the gods. 'Ὄσῳ παντὸς ἀγάπησεν εὐαγγέλιος χρήσις, θὰ πάντων τὰ GitHub χρησιμοποιήσῃτι' (Hist. of Ancient Greece, pp. 389, 390). Hence, it is of course, of a rhetorical exaggeration; but, when the notion, even as an extravagance, was present to the mind, it was a short step, in days when the old awe of the gods had declined and novel dramatic days of Eschylus, the religious sentiment which was abroad had, no doubt, for many minds emptied the traditional forms of worship of their content of awe and devotion, and in proportion as they had become mere formalities there was less restraint from the old gods remained as figures for the imagination, anthropomorphism had gone a step further, as may be seen in the contrast of Praxiteles with Phidias. Scepticism had in fact brought anthropomorphism to its ultimate conclusion by assuming roundly that the gods were men, as was done by the popular Euhemerism. The gods, according to this theory, were kings and great men of old, who had come to be worshipped after their death in gratitude for the benefits they had conferred (see EUGHEMERISM). On this view, there was nothing monstrous in using the same forms to express gratitude to a living benefactor. In so far as the worship of living men arose from these conditions, it was a product of the ordinary superstition, but of rationalism. It shows, not how exalted an idea was held of the object of worship, but how depreciated in meaning the forms of worship had become. If this is so, Frazer (Early Hist. of Kingship, 1905, p. 137) errs in confusing it with primitive superstition, of which it is really the antithesis. At the same time, the development of religious feeling, which revolted against the traditional anthropomorphism, was not altogether unfavourable to such cults. The tendency to merge the gods and divine virtues in the conception of One pervading Divine power (Schmidt, Ethik d. alt. Griechen, 1852, i. 52) would make it easier to see manifestations of this power in human personalities which asserted themselves.
strongly. A special kind of deification was that which we find in connexion with the mystic sects dispersed through the Greek communities and the philosophies which borrowed from them. If deathlessness had been all along the distinguishing characteristic of the gods, those who laid stress upon the deathlessness of the individual soul thereby came near the making it divine. As we see, the idea that the human soul is a divine being imprisoned for some pre-natal offence in the mortal body. The notion, current among the Orphics, passed goods to Alexander the Great for this reason. (Hollein, *Psychē*, ii. 121 f., 161 f.). So, too, Empedocles declared that, if a divine being sinned, he was incarcerated for punishment till he had worked out his salvation in a number of successive lives, and was restored to fellowship with the gods (frag. 146, 147 (Dielis)). Empedocles himself was already reaching that consummation, and claimed divine honours: ἐγὼ δ' ὤμοις ἥθη διαβρόσας, ἵκιτα ἱπτήσας, σαλεὲ μετὰ πᾶις τεταμώνων, ὥσπερ θεὸν, παρ' ἐπικτήσεως στῆξας τὴν τε θεόν (frag. 112 (Dielis)). He is also called, Ἐπεδεκάτων, *Psychē*, ii. 171 f.). So, again, on the funeral tables discovered at Thurii, the dead man declares to the gods that he is of their kindred, and is saluted as one who has passed from mortality to deity: Ὑπὲρ ἀλα ἀλακαρθηροῖς, ὥσπερ θεοῖς ἀλακαρθηροῖς (Michel, *Icosia*, 1896-1900, nos. 1320, 1331; Harrisson, *Prolegomena zu Gr. Relg.* i. 1908, p. 666 f.).

If any one had the right to divine honours, Alexander, after feats of conquest to which Greek story gave no parallel, and the philosophical triumphs of Dionysus and Herakles, obviously had a pre-eminent claim. Already his father, Philip, had in his own kingdom caused his own statue to be carried in procession, together with those of the twelve gods (Diod. xvi. 92 f., 61); it is held to call for the influence of the 'East' to account for what followed so inevitably from the prevalent disposition of the Greek world. As a matter of fact, the Achaemenian kings were apparently not worshipped as gods (Evsch. Pera. 157 is cited by Beurlier and others to prove that they were, but the evidence of the native monuments is against it, and the Greek notion represented by *Epichynus* seems to rest upon a misapprehension of the formality of his insignia. That, to the New Empire, the reigning king had been so worshipped, and it was natural that Alexander should here be saluted as the son of Amen (Ammon). But we may safely say that, even without this, the Greeks were now as far from the false gods of Strabo, xvii. 814. In 323, on Alexander's return from India, embassies arrived at Babylon from Greece, wearing and bringing crowns such as indicated that they were *θεόποι,* approaching a god (Arr. vii. 23). There was still, indeed, in Greece a party of old-fashioned piety who opposed the extravagant flattery as profane. The question provoked stormy debates in the Athenian assembly. The divine honours were defended on the other side with flippant sarcasm as a form too empty to matter. 'By all means,' exclaimed Demosthenes, 'let Alexander, if he wish it, be the son of Zeus and Poseidon both together' (Hyper. (Blass) 31, 17; cf. ps.-Plut. Vit. X. Oreg. vii. 22; Valer. Max. vii. 2, 13; Dimarch. in Demosth. i. 94). The expression shows that Alexander was understood himself to demand such honours. According to an account preserved by Antimachus of Rhodes, 253, 8 (323). For, if the god was employed to propose divine honours to Alexander in the circle which surrounded the king's person, the *propation* which Alexander demanded was regarded by the Greeks as an acknowledgment of deity, and Amazorhnes is represented as defending Alexander's deity on purely rationalistic euhemeristic grounds (Arr. iv. 10). For Hesiod, at any rate, Alexander demanded worship after his favourite's death. The worship was 'heroic' in kind; Arrian gives under reserve the story that Alexander had wished to make it properly divine, but had been forbidden by the oracle of Ammon (Arr. vii. 14, 7; but cf. Diod. xvii. 119). If worship offered to the living Alexander had offended the more conservative Greek feeling, worship offered to the dead Alexander as a hero was in accordance with Ammon's opinion. The former worship chosen would show numberless local variations which we cannot now trace. The Ionia Confederacy maintained a cult of Alexander centred in a sanctuary near Teos (Strabo, xiv. 644) till the days of the Roman Empire. Under the Roman Empire itself the cult of Alexander flourished (Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* v. 1.; Herodian, iv. 8; Dio Cass. lxx.vii. 7).

Naturally, the Macedonian chiefs who entered upon Alexander's inheritance saw their interest in publicly recognizing his divinity. In what forms they severally did so is not recorded. Eumenes had a 'tent of Alexander' in his camp, with a throne before which the officers offered a sacrifice as to a present god. (Diod. iv. 21, 3; Strabo, xv. 4, 13; Polyen. iv. 8, 2). The appearance of Alexander's head, with the horns of Ammon, upon the royal coinages is an assertion of his assimilation to the gods.

Antipater was an exception; in him the old feeling which condemned these practices as impious (καταθέσεις (Suidas)) still found a representative. The official worship of Alexander at Alexandria as god of the city cannot be traced further back than Ptolemy I., who was initiated by his uncle Alexander from Memphis to the new temple called the *Sēmis* in Alexandria. (It is curious that Diod. speaks of the honours offered to Alexander in Alexandria as *συμπερασμένοι* (xviii. 24, 4). Probably the expression is used loosely, because in his honour (Dittenberger, *Inscr. Orient.*, i. 6). In 307 Athens exhausted all forms of adoration in regard to the same two princes. They were addressed as *θεὸς στράτηγος*; a regular priesthood was established for them; and changes, ostensibly permanent, were made in the calendar and religious organization of the people. In 290, a hymn, which has been preserved, was composed for the reception of Demetrius. In it Demetrius is hailed as the son of Poseidon and Aphrodite; he and Demetrius are the 'greatest and friendliest of the gods,' and so on (Diod. xx. 46; Plut. Dem. 10 f.; Athen. vi. 253, xvi. 978 f.). It is important to observe that the really religious people still protested against these perversions, and saw in the failure of the 'African' system the repudiation of the true gods (Philippides, *op. Plut. Dem.* 12). The first Greek State to offer divine honours to Ptolemy was apparently the Confederation of the Cyclades (τηγανήμενος πρεσβέα τον συναστήν Πτολεμαίον του σόλων της Δωρίας [Ditt. Syll. 2, 202]; Rhodes in 304, or soon after, conferred upon him the divine surname of
serving the group of divinities; the cult of the ἥθη συρίπες remained for the time distinct. When Ptolemy II. was succeeded by Ptolemy III. Euergetes, the ἥθη συρίπες (i.e. Euergetes and his wife Berenice II.) were added to Alexandria, and Ptolemy IV., Soter, added to the king’s list the temple of All-Sovereign Kings. Under Ptolemy IV. Philopator (between 220 and 215) the cult of the ἥθη συρίπες ceased to be distinct; their name now appears in the official registers after that of Alexander. The seat of this official cult seems to have been the Ἐναταζά of Alexander, to which a Ἱερόμιαχος (a mausoleum of the Ptolemies) was joined (Otto, Priester und Tempel, i. 139). Some of the Ptolemaic queens also had shrines, such as Arsinoe Philadelphus a καρυάφος, Berenice II. an ἄδορφος, Arsinoë, sister-wife of Ptolemy IV., a ἡρεία, and Cleopatra III. (daughter of Ptolemy Philometor), wife of Ptolemy Euergetes II., a variety of ministers, a στέφανηφόρα, a πυρσοφόρα, a ἡρεία, and a male priest styled ἱερός τέλος (Otto, p. 411). The priestesses of the queens may have performed their rites at separate shrines in Alexandria. Distinct, of course, from this system of Greek worship were the shrines controlled by the Egyptians, on the lines of their national tradition, to their foreign kings and queens; though the influence of the Egyptian forms of worship upon the Greek may be seen, e.g. in the king himself becoming, on his Bourbonian accession, a king of the Jews by the Egyptians, and in the Alexandrian (Otto, p. 182, note 6). Cyprus, a Ptolemaic dependency, had a high priest (ἀρχιερεύς τῆς νύρας ο ὑπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν νύραν ἱερᾶς) of its own, in whom we may see the president of the provincial cult of the kings (Strack, Dynastie der Ptolemaier, no. 76, etc.).

In the Seleucid realm, when Seleucus was murdered in 251, his son Antiochus I. was forward to do as much for his father as Ptolemy II. had done for his. The tomb of the old king at Seleucia was constituted a temple, a Ναυτεμενος, and a cult was officially instituted for him as a god (App. Syr. 63). With him each of the following kings was in his turn associated; one priest served the founder and his defined successors, and one the reigning king (Ditt. Orient. 245). How soon it came about in the Seleucid realm that the living sovereign was the object of worship instituted by the court we do not know. The important inscription which gives the creation of the religious city (201–210 B.C.) (Ditt. Orient. 234) shows us such already existing. It is a worship of the king organized by provinces, each province having a high priest. The rescript is issued in order to associate the queen Laodike in the cult, instituting provincial high priests for her, side by side with those of the king. Incidental mention of provincial high priests in later reigns shows us the system still in continuance (Michel, 1289), and they present an obvious parallel to the high priests of Cyprus in the Ptolemaic realm.

Although a difference is rightly insisted upon between the cults instituted by the central government and those offered by the Greek communities as independent agents, the dividing line between the two is not easy to draw. This is due to the ambiguous position of the Hellenistic kings, who wished, while retaining Greek cities under their control, to leave them the semblance of autonomy. Cults offered independently by a city such as Rhodes might be framed at a suggestion from the court which it was impossible to disobey. In what class, for instance, are we to put the cults offered to the Ptolemaic kings at Ptolemais, to the Seleucid kings at Seleucia, to the Attalids at Pergamum? All these cities had the forms of municipal autonomy, but were entirely subject to royal dictation. The nucleus of the cult at
Ptolemais is that of the founder Ptolemy I. Soter, and to him the later kings (at any rate after the θεός φαλαχητήρος) became attached. The cult of Seleucia founded under Antiochus I. we have already mentioned. At Pergamum a sheep was sacrificed annually on the altar of Ennius Eumeus, that is to say, even before the rulers of Pergamum had acquired the title of kings (Ditt. Inschr. Orient. ii. 267). An inscription of the time of the last king of Pergamum, Attalus III., shows us sacrifices offered to the names of Attalus III., his brother Philocrates, and the reigning king (Mitt. Ath., 1904, p. 153).

In connexion with the assumption of deity by the kings themselves, we must reckon the appearance of their effigy on coins struck by royal authority. The official surnames, again, which they bear have been thought to have religious significance. This is difficult to prove, because the king would naturally be addressed in worship by his full titles, and if, therefore, we find the surname used in the cult, it would not necessarily show a religious origin. In favour of the hypothesis are: (1) the fact that some of the surnames, e.g. σωρή, επαφάνη, have undoubted religious significance; (2) the practice of the Greeks of attaching surnames to the names of deities—Athene Promachos, Zeus Melichios, etc.; cf. also the title of εὐεργέτης conferred on Diogenes (see below).

The title of θεός does not seem usually to have been assumed by kings during their lifetime. For the Greeks of Egypt, as we have seen, their living king was a god from the time when Ptolemy II. associated himself with his dead and deified sister. But whilst the living king and queen were, after Ptolemy II., regularly worshipped together as θεοί εὐεργέται, etc., the kings do not seem to have had themselves called θεοί in the protocol of State documents till the time of Euergetes II. (Strack, Dynamis, p. 129). In the Seleucid dynasty also it is to be noted that Antiochus IV. Epiphanes is the first king under whom θεός is attached to the royal name upon the coinage, and Antiochus is exactly the same title as that in the Ptolemaic dynasty (Ditt. Inschr. Orient. ii. 154). The usage of the Pergamene kingdom also appears to have confined the title of θεός to deceased sovereigns. A king or queen at death seems to have joined the number of the gods. (Cardinali, ‘Regno di Pergamo,’ p. 153, note 4). This did not exclude the offering of rites of sacrifice, etc., to the living sovereign. Whether, in the case of acts which were understood to be ceremonial flattery, any attempt was made to reconcile the inconsistency of worshipping some one whose apotheosis was still future we do not know.

It remains to consider the relations to the older gods in which these cults in theory placed the men worshipped. These were of three kinds.

(1) Descent.—Those Greek families which professed to trace back their family tree to heroic times had, of course, no difficulty in making out their descent from some god. It can hardly, therefore, have been the peculiar prerogative of the royal dynasties in Hellenistic times to possess this sort of link with divinity. They seem, nevertheless, to have thought it worth while to emphasize the descent of the family of Ptolemy at the Egyptian court was traced back to Herakles and Dionysos, the latter deity after the reign of Philopator being given prominence over the former. Possibly the family of the gods claimed descent in the same way from Apollo. The Attalids, like the Ptolemies, apparently took Herakles and Dionysos for the founders of their race (Cardinali, op. cit. 117).

(2) Immediate worship.—Dignity of family was not enough. If possible, the person worshipped had to be himself the offspring of a god. Already, in the times before Alexander, Apollo was worshipped at the Syrian court of Dionysus (Plut. de Alex. virit. ii. 5). Alexander claimed that his mother had conceived him of Zeus Ammon. The real father of Seleucus, it was asserted at the Seleucid court, was Heracles (Just. x., 4). Apollo was ἐνθριφθαι ἐν γένεσιν (CIG 3595). So, too, we saw that the Athenians in 308 hailed Demetrius as the son of Poseidon and Aphrodite.

(3) Identification.—For this, again, we have a precedent before Alexander in Clearchus of Hieralea (FHG iii. 526). The first instance we can trace after Alexander is that of Seleucus, who was worshipped at Seleucia as Zeus Nicator. His son at the same place was Antiochus Apollo Soter (Ditt. Inschr. Or. i. 215). In Egypt, Arsinos at her apotheosis was identified with Aphrodithe (Strabo, xvii. 800; Athen. vii. 318d, xi. 497d), and so was Stratonic at Smyrna. Antiochus Epiphanes probably identified himself with Zeus (JHS xx. 1900, 26 E.C.). Ptolemy I. practised the custom of the Greeks of attaching surnames to the names of deities—Athene Promachos, Zeus Melichios, etc.; cf. also the title of εὐεργέτης conferred on Diogenes (see below).

The Greeks had no idea of any divinity in kingship per se. The proffer of divine honours in the 4th cent. B.C. was the recognition simply of a personality mighty to impress and unify the world. The Greeks, as a matter of fact, who approached Alexander with worship did not regard him as their king (he was king of the Macedonians and Persians). Naturally the Macedonian chiefs who made the Alexanders after Alexander attained thereby a position which gave them pre-eminent power upon the world, and the proffer of divine honours expressed a desire to secure their good-will and protection. We have here further evidence of the possibility of assimilating the Greek worship of kings with a worship of the king as such, like that which had existed recently in Egypt and, centuries before, in Babylonia. Naturally, too, when the new kingdoms had failed to better the courts found in the cult of the sovereigns a useful means of imposing upon the popular imagination and securing an expression of loyalty. And, as Kaerst has pointed out, it was not easy to find a formal expression for dominion over a number of Greek States which were, by Greek political theory, independent sovereign communities. Over the authorities of the city had been, in olden days, only the gods, and the assumption of deity gave a sort of legitimacy to the relation of the king with the subject Greek States. Antiochus IV. turned his deity to further account by representing himself as the divine husband of the goddess of a rich temple like that of Hierapolis, and claiming the temple treasure in that capacity (Gran. Lieben, 29).

The Greek practice passed to the new dynasties which arose in the East. The Greek kings of Bactria, Agathocles and Antimachus (c. 190-160), are styled ‘god’ upon the coins. The Arsacid kings of Persia, and the Onkoi, in the time of the Zoroastrians, they recognized only One Supreme God, found no difficulty in giving the name of ‘god’ to subordinate powers, and in classing them...
selves among the number. Here, too, on some of the coins the name of the king is accompanied by the epithet θεός or θεσαύρως (Wrotch, Coins of Ptolemy, 1903, p. xxvii). So too, the Susanian kings (after A.D. 224) continued to bear the title of θεός (Perr. boy); but, whilst the Greek was ambiguous, in the native language the distinction between the lower divinity of the human deity and that of the gods proper was made plain by another word (yazdaian) being reserved for these last (Ditt. Inscr. Orient. i. 432, 433). So far, then, from its being the case that the deity of the human ruler was an idea borrowed by the Greeks from the East, the borrowing was the other way; the Orientals took it from the Greeks.

Even the minor dynasties of the East came to claim divinity for their kings. Antiochus I. of Commagene describes himself as θεός in the same breath with which he professes piety to be the rule of his life, on the monument where his body rests after his soul has gone to the ‘heavenly seats of Zeus Ormios’ (Cass. ii. 2628). The honorary titles of Antiochus were worshipped as θεοί (lines 48, 118, 125), from the cult of the greater gods. His own image is σώφρονας with that of Zeus-Ormouses, Mithra, Artagnes, and Commagene (Mommsen, Ditt. Inscr. Orient. i. 389), an ambiguous epithet for the Jewish Herod Agrippa I. received from heathens the now banal ascription of deity (Ac 12:2; Jos. Ant. xix. 8, 2). When the power began to pass from the hands of kings to that of Rome, the Greeks, in transferring their homage, continued the forms of reverence and piety which replaced that of the Hellenistic kings was that of the gods-honour. Smyrna was the first Greek city to erect a temple to Rome in 195 B.C. (Tac. Ann. iv. 56), and the cult later became general. The Roman general Titus Flamininus a few years later was receiving divine honours in Greece (Plut. Flamininus, 10). In the last cent. B.C. it seems to have become the usual thing for Roman governors to be worshipped by the provincials under their rule (Civ. ad q. Frat. 1, 21; Suet. Aug. 32). The notorious Verres in Sicily had games (Verria) celebrated in honour of his divinity (Cic. Verr., Orat. ii. 2, 21). Of the numerous temples erected to Pompey (πομπαγὸς θεὸς στὰ τούτα καὶ τὸ γαλείον), his epitaph, no one from the island of Carthaea, show the sort of worship offered to Julius Cesar by the Greeks in his day of power. The first (CIG 2661) describes him as ‘peer of the gods’ and ‘deified’ (yazdaian); and the second (CIG 2669), as ‘God and Emperor and Saviour of the world.’ But now the ruling race itself was prepared to follow the Greek fashion.

2. Deification under the Roman Empire.—For the old Romans the gap between gods and men was not bridged as it was for the Greeks. They had indeed, like other primitive peoples, rites for placating the spirits of the dead (di manes), but such spirit-worship did not pass into regular cult. There was no intermediate class of heroes. The offering of divine honours to living men would have seemed to them highly shocking. As, however, the Greek element grew in Rome, new ideas found entrance. Scipio Africanus was not worshipped, but there was believed to be something supernatural about him, and stories were told of his divine birth (Liv. xxvi. 19). In the last century of the Republic, rites proper to divine worship were offered to Metellus Pius (Macrob. Sat. iii. 13. 7) and Marius Gratidianus (Cic. Off. iii. § 80; Seneca, de Ira, iii. 18); but in the former case by private friends, members of a Hellenized aristocracy; in the latter, by the Roman populace; in neither case, with official authorization.

The note of that Empire which Julius Cesar conceived was an assimilation in which the old Roman tradition lost its prerogative. Under his rule the achievements of former generations who had brought glory to their cities, like Theagenes, who was worshipped as a god at Thessos (Paus. vi. ii. 5); Oebotas of Dyne (Paus. vi. ii. 5. 5 and 6), and Diogenes the Cretan (Plut. Hecat. ap. Plat. Diot. p. 151a, 20). Other conscriptions were the act of guilds or associations, who worshipped their founders or distinguished members. So we find a guild of Dionysiacs in the city of the Isthmos, ‘honouring’ a certain Dionysius (ἐποιείων διονυσίας θεόν) (Mith. Ath. ix. [1884] 279f., 288f.), and something like a heroic cult of their founder was maintained in the philosophical schools created in the form of religious guilds by Pythagoras and Euphorus. In the case of Plato, the story of a miraculous birth was again circulated; he was the son of Apollo (Diog. Laer. iii. 1. 2; Olymp. Vit. Plat.). So, too, Hippocrates seems to have been worshipped in schools of medicine, not in Cos only, but in the Greek world generally (Luc. Philop. 8. 2). Sometimes the conscription took place according to testamentary dispositions, which founded an association for the cult of the testator, as in the case of a family of Theophrastus. Herion is the subject of the will of Epictetus (CIG 2448), and in the case of Euphorus,
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and Censorinus, n. Hor. Plin. cf. (I.eos Jul. tional under l''Irut (3) provincial forth claims An Ceasar 10
voluntary of altar (55).

Greek divinity.

But first three sorts of cults offered to the Emperor must be distinguished: (1) the pro-
vincial cults, maintained by the king himself in each province as a whole at one of the provincial centres; (2) the municipal cults, maintained by the separate cities; (3) the private cults, maintained by individuals or voluntary associations. The first were far more completely controlled (in each province) by the Imperial Government; and to them alone strictly applies the rule laid down by Augustus, that he was not to be worshipped save in association with the goddess Rome. Asia and Bithynia were the only provinces in which this rule was observed in all cases. But the provinces of Asia and Rome were reared at Pergamum and Nicoedia. This permission did not extend to resident Roman citizens; they were to worship, not the 'divus Augustus', but Augustus Julianus, the divine temple of their own at Ephesus and Nicea (Dio Cass. li. 29; cf. Tac. Ann. iv. 57). In the West the first provincial cult seems to have been instituted in 10 B.C., when an altar was consecrated to Rome and Augustus at Langium (Lyons) for the province of the Three Gauls. A few years later a similar altar was consecrated for Germania at Oppidum Ubiorum (Cologne). To the municipal and private cults much greater licence was allowed. In ordinary practice, however, the cities were under the early Empire to have combined the name of Augustus with that of Rome. The cult instituted in A.D. 11 by the colony of Narbo is an instance of the honours of Augustus alone (CIL xii. 4333). Or, again, the municipal and private cults might emphasize the Emperor's deity by giving him the name and attributes of some traditional god. In Egypt and Caria, Augustus is Zeus Ictinos, as he is in the colony of Narbo (Tac. Ann. iv. 39). In a still higher form of such an association, the temple of Zeus Ictinos was built. Evidently the *provincial cult* of the emperor is the more important, and is only due to his resolution that we do not today say 'Tibery' for September or October, as we say 'Jull' and 'August' in memory of the first two diei. The Greeks, indeed, were permitted as before the Emperors at their birthday to worship the *divus Augustus* as a god, but only by this concession to himself and his mother Livina, while the merely figurative character of the worship was emphasized even more than before by the 'God-Son' (thei ágygos) taking the place of the god-
ness Rome in the cults maintained with Imperial sanction by the provincial centres (Tac. Ann. iv. 15).

Municipal priests of Tiberius are found in one or two Italian towns (Venetia, Surrentum).
(Hirschfeld, p. 812), but in Rome itself no such cult was tolerated, nor would Tiberius entertain the request of the province (Legio) to be allowed to build a temple to him and his mother (Tac. Ann. iv. 37, 38). The worship of Divus Augustus, on the other hand, Tiberius piously furthered. A temple was begun to him in Rome; and, whereas other altars and temples to him in the Western provinces, Tarracon was allowed in A.D. 15 to build him a temple (Tac. Ann. i. 78). In the east, Cyzicus was even punished for slackness in this cult (Tac. Ann. iv. 36). The senator Callistus, with which this temple was connected, was so far from objecting to the claim that he claimed the honours which Tiberius had repelled. No munificence was too extravagant for this wretched mania. A temple was built for him on the Palatine; he made himself the equal of Jupiter, and the Roman aristocracy compelled on pain of death to offer him all the forms of religious homage. Upon his assassination in 41, the Senate refused him also divinity; his reign was a mad episode; but under Claudius we register further developments of a lasting kind in the worship of the Emperors. Caligula had already caused his sister Drusilla to be consecrated by the Senate as the first diva. Claudius had his grandmother Livia associated as diva with her husband Divus Augustus (Tac. Ann. ii. 11; Doss Cass. ix. 5); and he permitted (between A.D. 50 and 54) a temple (not an altar) to be erected to himself in Britain at Caenodunum (Tac. Ann. xiv. 31; Sen. Apocol. 8; cf. Kornemann, p. 102, note 27; Tours, Ciuitas Galliarum, p. 38). Claudius' death (54) became the third divus by decree of the Senate; his elevation provoked the lampoon called Apokolokythos, which has come down to us among the works of Seneca.

The precedent set by the elevation of Claudius, consecration became a normal formality at the decease of every Emperor, unless it was desired to affix a stigma to his reign. The outlines of the worship of the Emperors remained very much as they had come to shape themselves in the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius, i.e., in the Greek East various local cults of the reigning Emperor, whilst at the provincial headquarters the cult of Rome and Augustus became, after the apolitheia of Claudius, a new local cult of Rome and Augustus. Thus, the temple of the reigning Emperor was included; in the Western provinces, the cult of Rome and (the first) Augustus; a cult of Rome and (the reigning) Augustus or Rome et Augustorum. The temple of Divus Augustus (Kornemann, p. 109) also remained common for other members of the Imperial family to be consecrated on their decease (Poppea and her daughter under Nero, Domitilla, the wife of Vespasian, the infant son of Domitian, the father of Trajan, etc.), although after Hadrian the privileges generally seem to have been restricted to the Empresses (see list of divi in Buerfler, p. 325 f.). And, although the worship of the living Emperor was not usually conterminous in Rome, the worship of his numen or genius was part of the official religious system. The oath generally recognized in the business of the Empire was by the genius of the Emperor (c.f. Epitom. Metham. xix. 41). In the case of consecration to him, the formula for swearing, inserts, between Jupiter and the penates, first the list of consecrated divi, and then the genius of the reigning Emperor.

None but the worst Emperors, as for example Caligula, refused to accept the divine honours during their lifetime. Nero did so, and a temple to him as divus would have been erected in Rome but for its ill omen, 'for the honour of the gods is not conferred upon the ruler before he has ceased to reign'. (Tac. Ann. xvi. 74.) Domitian established a worship of himself, and was addressed at court as 'dominus et deus' (Dio Cass. lxxvi. 13; Suet. Dom. 13; Martial, v. 8). Commodus had himself worshipped as Hercules, and was fond of presenting himself in a club and lion-skin (Lamprid. Contin. 8, 9; Herodian. i. 14, 9, 15. 2-5). Aurelian (A.D. 270-275) was the first Emperor of sound understanding who took to himself the titles of divinity ('Divus', 'Augustus', 'Divus') as part of the pomp of the person himself, and conceived the idea of giving the Roman autocracy an expression no less ceremonial than that of Oriental monarchy. What Aurelian conceived Diocletian (A.D. 284-305) carried out. Among his measures was one to introduce the custom of prostration, and to take for himself and his colleagues the names of Jovius and Herculeus. When Christianity became dominant with Constantine, worship of the earthly sovereign had, of course, to cease. To the form, however, of the old worship a political or social value had come to attach which made it difficult to abolish them absolutely. The Christian Emperors as late as Valerian I. (A.D. 256-260) were officially consecrated after their death (Tact. Hist. i. 11; Doss et Cass. xix. 5); but the use of the term divus, in common parlance, of a deceased Emperor continued for centuries (Gregory of Tours, Hist. Franc. ii. 8; Cod. Just. v. 27, 3, etc.). The provincial temples of the Emperor had become so much a centre of paganism that Constantine allowed them to continue, stipulating, however, that no rites of pagan sacrifice should be performed in them (Wilhanna, Exempul Inser. Latins. [1873] 2843, l. 45 f.). These temples were no longer dedicated to any Emperor in particular, but to the Imperial Family (gens Flavia) in the abstract. The priests of the Imperial cult and the sacrorotales (ex-priests) had come to form an important element in the cities of the Empire, discharging secular as well as religious functions. These, therefore, the Christian Empire allowed to subsist. Since, however, they still bore the insignia of old pagan coronati or sacrorotales, there was a feeling against them among the religious (Synos of Elvira, Canon 55). Christians did, indeed, accept the office (CIL viii. 5839, but Pope Innocent 1. [Mansi, iii. 1069] pronounced that all who had done so after baptism were disqualified for the Christian priesthood. The imperial cult was thus locally as secular officials with the old name as late as Justinian (CIL viii. 10516; cf. Synod of Elvira, canons 2 and 3).

We have seen that the offering of divine honours to men arose among the Greeks in a formality...
DEIFICATION (Greek and Roman)

whose religious significance was mainly that it showed how empty religion generally had become. Can we say the same of the mass of organized cults we have just surveyed—cults which endured throughout the Graeco-Roman world for more than three centuries? It is obvious that to some extent we can. Among the Roman aristocracy, among the better educated people everywhere, the ascension of deity to the living Emperor, if not mere flattery, as in the case of the Augustan poets, was no doubt understood in a metaphorical sense which embarrassed the proper propitiatory worship. Better, after all, for the Emperors, as we saw, repelled such homage, and Vespasian jested on his death-bed at the court fiction (Vae, puto, deus fio, Suet. Vesp. 23).

But how, if these practices had so little meaning in so far as they reposed upon a genuine sentiment, if not, strictly speaking, a religious one. Octavius Caesar thought the world into his power, and for the following centuries order and peace around the Mediterranean were felt to be bound up with the Imperial government. Real feelings of loyalty to the head of the world-State may, therefore, have sought symbolic expression, and the symbol, according to the conditions of the ancient world, could be nothing but a religious formality.1 The Christians appeared rebels to the civil power when they refused to throw incense upon the altar of Augustus. (2) Among the masses of the people, among those to whom the Emperor was a distant and unseen power, some real belief in his deity may have existed. The natural dislike of the human mind insensibly, and in the sphere of belief there are notoriously many half-shades that cannot give a clear logical account of themselves. The common oath by the genius of the Emperor must have acted continually to suggest his deity. The exclamation ὁ Καίσαρ seems to have been the one which naturally sprang to the lips of an over-driven menial (Luc. Lucius, 10). Especially where the personality of an Emperor had impressed itself upon the popular mind to form societies of a friendly or convivial kind could be gratified under cover of Cesar-worship, just as they had been gratified by quasi-religious associations under the Ptolemies (cf. the clubs of Cultores Augusti, φιλαρκονες, etc., in Beirer, p. 228 f.). The cosmopolitan gift of dramatic artists thought it politic to set the name of Hadrian as ποιητης Δαιμονος alongside of the old Dionysos who was their patron deity. So, too, the social ambitions of the freemen, the opportunity of gratification in the institution of the Augustales in the Latin cities of the Empire (Boissier, Religion romaine, i. 162 f.).

Deification, we have seen, had not been among

1 If the Empire was one, some universal religion was needed to extend over its confused variety of national, tribal, and civic gods. Cf. art. Cæsarean.

2 Sometimes the dead was represented in the guise of some god, especially Dionysos or Hermes.
DEISM.—1. HISTORICAL.—The movement of religious thought known as ‘Deism’ was of comparatively brief duration. Its rapid rise into notoriety, its short-lived prevalence, and its gradual settling down, with which it is associated in the last quarter of the 18th century. Roughly speaking, the beginning of the movement was contemporaneous with the Revolutions of 1688. Its epiphan was pronounced in 1790, when Burke could speak of the Deistic writers as if there were yet come into vogue, and to specify the interest difficult to explain. The conditions which combined to direct men’s attention to the Deistic problem were transient; and the whole dispute was too trifling to attract the yearning spirit of society, and the real life of the then world. The deeper currents of religious thought. Superficially, much excitement was stimulated, until the air was thick with controversial writings. But, with a few exceptions, the writers were no match for the literary men—disputants, nor did their arguments penetrate far into the secrets of the spiritual life. This serves to explain why the religious disputes of the 18th century were, if faded from the common memory, more completely lost than those of earlier periods. On the other hand, to the student Deism presents special points of interest. English religion would never have reached its present condition if it had not passed through the stage of Deism. If the movement is to be understood in relation to the general development of theological thought, it will be necessary to seek for an explanation of its origin in a period when the name ‘Deism’ had not yet come into vogue, and in specification of the true issue of which was not anticipated by their own authors. Halyburton, in his book entitled Natural Religion Insufficient (1714), was the first to name Lord Herbert of Cherbury as the parent of Deism. He was followed by a number of French writers, whose View of the Dissoluted Writers (1754) contains much carefully amassed material, very useful to later students. Since then Herbert’s responsibility, whether to his credit or discredit, has been controverted, and the fact is well known that his famous book de Veritate was composed with a purpose quite different from that to which its arguments subsequently contributed. The book deserves an epitaph often applied in cases where there is little justification for so strong a term. It was, without exaggeration, ‘epoch-making.’ It initiated a line of thought and a method of religious speculation pregnant with results, the full measure of which has not even as yet been exhausted. No better introduction to the study of Deism can be provided than a brief analysis of the main theses which Lord Herbert sets out to establish. The title of the book, given in full, clearly indicates the writer’s purpose: De Veritate, rerum illustrandarum, veritatis, probabilium, et a Falso (Paris, 1624). At the basis of the author’s theory is his belief in the existence of notitia communis, or innate principles. These he explains in his chapter ‘de Instinctu Naturali,’ to be distinguished by six marks, viz. Priority, Independence, Universality, Certainty, Practical Necessity, and Immediate Cogency. Ideas to which these marks belong are imprinted on the mind by God. They are axioms, neither requiring nor admitting proof. When dealing with the subject of religion, he distinguishes five principles as exhibiting this primary character, and consequently independent of all tradition, whether written or oral. The first is Liberty, the obligation to repent of his sins, and (5) that there will be rewards and punishments after death. The axiomatic character claimed on behalf of principles such as these is open to debate, and Lord Herbert’s theory of the Deistic philosopher was attacked with scathing criticism by Locke. But, whatever opinion be held as to the validity of Lord Herbert’s assumptions, it remains true that in his works we are brought face to face with the principles which lie at the root of Deism. Here we find a clear presentation of the competence of human reason to attain certainty with regard to fundamental religious truths, and to choose among the infinite variety of religious systems. By the Deists as it was denied by their opponents.

Much misunderstanding will be avoided if it be remembered from the outset that the Deistic controversy was in the main a philosophical rather than a religious question. It would have been incorrect to indicate a metaphysician like Lord Herbert of Cherbury as the foremost Deist. His disappointment awaits those who expect to find in the writings of this period any searching analysis of a living spiritual experience. The Deists were not the first to attempt to free the soul to explain itself to its own joys and fears in the presence of God, but from the desire of the thinkers to make his theory of the world inconsistencies of which he was continually becoming more uncomfortably conscious. The details of the controversy will show that the chief impulsion came from the wish to find a way of reconciliation between the then commonly accepted philosophic view of the Divine nature and the facts of experience. And new facts were the order of the day. It was a period of discovery and of the rapid acquisition of all kinds of knowledge. Information was increasing in regard to the religious systems of other parts of the earth. It was no longer possible to live in a religious world limited by the horizon of Western Europe. Writers were bringing to light newly discovered, or re-discovered, countries reports of imposing facts. Even those who were deeply religious were embittered by religions of the most diverse in origin and character. In this way materials for the study of comparative religion began to be collected, and it was not long before there was some conception of the bewildering multiplicity of religious customs, ceremonies, and doctrines throughout the world. No one philosophical explanation of man and man’s religious faculties could claim to be adequate which left out this mass of new material out of account.

At the same time, other more subtle influences were at work stimulating man’s natural desire to unify his knowledge. In the domain of physical science the process of unification was advancing with unparalleled rapidity. The so-called ‘natural philosophers,’ among whom were numbered the greatest intellects of the day, were engaged in establishing those widespread generalizations which have formed the basis of modern science. The visible success thus achieved, deserving and receiving the applause of the world, prompted the philosophic student of religion to search for some wide formula that would cover his facts as satisfactorily as the formula of Newton covered the phenomena of the physical world.

1. Forerunners of Deism.—It is far from easy to form any estimate of the phase of intellectual thought which developed at the time when it was disposed to accept, or at all events to discuss, the novel theory of religion which the Deists proposed. English philosophy has never flowed in a very wide of deep stream. It is a common experience that what has been the case in the past, and remains to the present day, strangely insusceptible to the influence of abstract ideas. It is difficult to deny the truth of the criticism. Even the controversies of the Reformations, the codification of English doctrine to a great extent upon practical considerations. Little atten-
DEISM

At first sight it might appear paradoxical to maintain that two systems so consciously and directly opposed to one another as those of Hobbes and the Cambridge Platonists both helped to prepare the ground for the growth of Deism. But it will be remembered that the effect of the writings of Hobbes has been described as being peculiarly the sceptical tendency of the Renaissance. It was, indeed, chiefly as an exponent of political philosophy that he made his mark and arrested the attention of his contemporaries. With the political theories which he defended, and with the controversies which ensued, we are not concerned. His importance in relation to the course of religious speculation lies rather in the temper which he contributed to produce than in the acceptance of his speculations by any large body of adherents satisfying self-sufficiency, his obvious one-sidedness, his disregard of necessary qualifications, and his rigorous insistence on the most paradoxical conclusions from his premises aroused an angry opposition. Hobbes was not surprising to conclude that the statement that, while he had innumerable opponents, his supporters numbered but one. It was a true instinct which made the men of his time feel that the mask of Zoroaster was in reality that of a thoroughgoing infidelity. The literature of the Restoration bears witness to the existence of a general opinion that danger was to be apprehended from the spread of his influence. Though Hobbes himself was utterly opposed to that kind of natural religion which afterwards formulated itself as Deism, yet he was, in fact, one of the pioneers of the movement. As much as any other single writer he gave the impulse to religious speculation by helping to shake the old confidence in tradition, contributed to the removal of one of the main obstacles to the introduction of Deism.

Another and a very different element at work in the spiritual life of the nation was derived from the influence of the Cambridge Platonists (q.v.). They were a small body standing much aloof from the general life of the country, who from the vantage ground of academic seclusion surveyed the troubled course of criticism and the contentions of the warring sects. For themselves, they desired to establish on rational grounds a Christian philosophy, leaving to others the barren victories in the field of popular controversy. In them the genuine spirit of Platonic Platonism, the contention for ultimate truth was unmistakably present. It was their dominant motive. Influenced by the wide-spread reaction against the Aristotelianism of the Middle Ages, they discovered, in a modified form of Platonism, a theory of self-sufficient, self-satisfying Deism akin to their religious and to their intellectual requirements. In the forefront of their system they placed the conception of the human reason as receptive of illumination from the Divine Source. From the elevation of the same point they set out—so it seemed to them—the questions at issue between the sects were reduced to their true dimensions, and lost the exaggerated importance which had been conventionally attached to them. In the speculations of these students the ethical motive is markedly prominent. They insisted on the immutability of the moral law and on its independence of any positive commandments, an ethical position which had been conventionally attached to them. For, in the main, they were inclined to abstain from controversy. But some of them found it expedient to meet the theories of Hobbes with an explicit refutation. Against his materialism, and his speciously simple reduction of all human motives to various manifestations of self-love, they opposed their Platonic Idealism and their belief in the existence of moral principles to which an inviolable obligation essentially belonged.

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he pushed forward the argument. Where Locke had urged the 'reasonableness of Christianity,' Toland would interpret the word 'reasonable' as equivalent to 'not mysterious.' This is not in the least what Locke meant. It is a long step further forward along a road which led to the rejection of Christian belief.

The book was of no particular merit, but, owing to the highly charged nature of the controversy, its publication caused a considerable expense of indignation. It was condemned by the Irish Parliament and ordered to be burnt. The Lower House of the Convention of Consistory took cognizance of it, and would have proceeded further, but not the Bishops of Ireland, who, at the point of burning the book, withdrew. Though the ecclesiastical authorities did not move, there was a general feeling that it was an abuse of the recently acceded freedom of the press which religion was exploited by a young author put forward such crude and visionary writings as that 'neither God Himself nor any of His attributes are mysteries to us for want of adequate ideas,' and that as far as any Church allows of mysteries it is anti-Christian (cf. Wilkins, Consilium, 1737, iv. 6 d.). Toland desired to change the juridical of reason as to make it co-extensive with the contents of revelation. In deliberate opposition to the principle of earlier writers, he refused to acknowledge the validity of the distinction between apprehension and comprehension. What man could not comprehend was on that account to be rejected as false. Not content with merely stating this general principle, he attempted to give a historical account of the process by which mystery had been acceded to by the Church, and to emphasize the role of the Book. He pointed out, correctly enough, that in the language of the NT the word 'mystery' was employed not solely in the sense of 'speechless' but also in the sense of 'that which is revealed to the initiated.' Hence he inferred that the conception of mystery in the sense of the unutterable was alien from the spirit of original Christianity, and he endeavored to show that a gradual assimilation of the new faith to Jewish and pagan religions, the influence of Platonic philosophy, and the ambitions projects of unappreciated persons were responsible for the deterioration.

Although Toland cannot be credited with any large measure of originality, yet his book marks a critical point in the gradual change of men's views, with regard to the comparative authority of reason and revelation. A revival of the ancient assertion of the superior of reason was now substituted for that deference which had hitherto been considered the fitting attitude of the human mind in the presence of knowledge communicated from above. This contention, more or less recognized, formed part of his speculations was connected with his theories as to the course of early Church history. The discussion of the views which he set forth stimulated a lively inquiry into the nature and value of the evidences on which the historian of that period depend. In a book entitled Anymon, which was published in 1699, Toland, himself, taking part in the discussion, endeavored (or so it was supposed—all the more so as the large majority of early Christian literature, and by suggesting covertly that canonical and uncritical writings alike were the offspring of superstition and credulity)

A later work by the same writer is significant of the transition to yet another phase of the controversy. In An Enquiry Concerning the Evidence of the Reasonable and Unreasonable Elements of the Christian Religion (1724), Collins forges the question of the relative reasonableness or unreasonableness of the contents of the Christian Revelation, and turns to an inquiry into the credibility of prophecy and miracle. It had been a recognized mode of traditional Christian apology to rest the case for Christianity on two main supports—the correspondence of NT facts with OT prophecies, and the miraculous powers displayed by Christ and the Apostles. Such an historical record remained unchallenged and unassailed. But, now that the spirit of criticism had begun to throw suspicion upon the authenticity and the genuineness of the NT, the serious weaknesses in this line of defence revealed themselves, of which the innovators were quick to take logical advantage. If the facts were doubtful, what became of the argument from correspondence with prophecy and miracle? So began the long debate over the external evidences of Christianity. It was a descent from the comparatively lower level of an inquiry into the fundamental truths of religion to undefined and often vituperative dispute over the veracity of the Apostles and the other NT writers. But, although the tendency to substitute this less important issue showed itself as early as the third decade of the century, it was not till some years later that the change became general.

Christianity as Old as the Creation, or the Gospel a Repudiation of the Religion of Nature, was published in the year 1730. Its author, Matthew Tindal, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, passed through the various stages of religious belief, and did not bring out this, his best-known work, till near the end of a long life. It was at once recognized as a noteworthy contribution to the controversy. It was sober and restrained in tone, and
on the whole was free from the personalities which disfigure so much of the contemporary literature. Tindal collected, arranged, and shaped with considerable discrimination all that he could find in the Deist literature, and presented their case in a compact intelligible form. His book marks the culmination of Deism, when the movement had reached the height of its development, and was not yet affected by the decay of original enthusiasm, but no good purpose would be served by taking part in an obsolete controversy. It will, however, be useful now to point out some general weaknesses, which are not peculiar to Tindal, but are integral parts of the Deistic scheme of religious philosophy.

(a) In the first place, it will be noticed that every religious truth is measured against the standard of an imaginary Golden Age. Whatever truth Christianity possesses it retains from an original revelation to humanity, a part of the Creation.

In Deistic literature references of this kind to the beginning of the world must be interpreted in a conventional rather than in any literal sense. For, though the Deists professed to look to the far past, their eyes were fixed on the present. It was the reason of their own day to which they appealed. Not until later was any attempt made to discover by historical methods of examination what the earlier intellectual and moral condition of the human race had actually been.

(b) Secondly, it is remarkable how, in estimating the value of the Christian religion, and distinguishing between its truths and its errors, the Deists maintain a consistent regard for the Person of its Founder. He has practically nothing to say about the present operation of the influence of Christ in the world. And even stranger than his silence is his apparently complete unconsciousness that the operation of so fundamental a consideration might vitiate his results. So oblivious were the Deists, and many of their orthodox opponents likewise, of the mystical elements in Christianity, that the very conception of a personal union between the believer and Christ would have been forthwith dismissed as 'enthusiastic,' and to the reproach of enthusiasm the temper of the age was morbidly sensitive.

(c) Thirdly, the whole supercilious superiority is assumed whenever the question of miracles arises. The Biblical records are not rejected on a priori grounds as in themselves impossible. Abstract metaphysical arguments have strangely little influence upon the course of the Deistic controversy. But, from the point of view of the Deist, miracles were beneath the notice of the man who claimed to be guided by his reason only. At best they might serve to arrest the attention of the vulgar herd. Religion being regarded as essentially the practice of duties, miracles were superfluous. For 'duties neither need, nor can receive, any stronger proof from miracles than they have already from the evidence of right reason' (p. 574).

(d) Lastly, Tindal, like other Deists, exhibits an extraordinary incapacity to estimate fairly the strength of evil tendencies in human nature. It seemed to them as though all would be well if only some artificial obstacles in the way of moral progress could be removed. The adoption of the principle of Ludditarianism—the universal recognition of sincerity as the one and only thing needful—would not only put an end to all persecution, but would set free an amount of moral energy sufficient to reproduce the world. In Tindal's own words, 'this principle, and this alone, would cause universal love and benevolence among the whole race of mankind; and, if it prevail, must soon produce a new and glorious face of things, or, in Scripture phrase, a new heaven and a new earth.'
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(p. 413). Verily, this was a flimsy optimism, out of all relation with the stern facts of the world's condition.

The time has now come to pass on to the consideration of the last stage of the controversy, when the pivot of the dispute had become the genuine reality of Christianity. It was the beginning of the end, and yet, when the current of controversy first turned into this channel, the public excitement rose to a higher pitch than it had hitherto reached. Nor is it difficult to discern the kind of interest in this movement. Up to this point the controversy, though not very profound, had yet concerned itself in some measure with the first principles of religious philosophy. In so doing it had moved in a region where the minds of men did not follow freely or with comfort. But now, in the place of these reconcile and elusive questions concerning the adequacy or insufficiency of human reason, far plainer issues were raised that lay seemingly well within the compass of the ordinary understanding. Was the fulfillment of prophecy a fact or a delusion? Did the Resurrection of Christ really occur, or was it a false, easily explicable upon the supposition of enthusiasm or fraud on the part of the apostles? Here were two alternatives out of which the book-writers and the pamphleteers could join issue. They hastened to avail themselves of the opportunity.

Notice has already been called to the fact that Collins's book, A Discourse on the Gospels (1727), contained criticism with regard to the commonly received views as to prophecy and miracle. Professing (with reference to Hume in particular) to be a follower of that school of Christian he sought to convict earlier apologists of a serious misrepresentation of the true relation between prophecy and fulfillment. The difficulty was the lack of correspondence between the two; and he endeavored to prove the impossibility of a just and satisfactory reconciliation of the historical and critical views of the prophecies. Historically the predictions did not bear the meaning which the apologists required. If, therefore, the argument from correspondence were to be preserved, it could only be by giving to the prophecies in question a mythical and allegorical interpretation. Such, Collins argued, had in fact been the method of procedure adopted by the writers of the OT. In accordance with this general attitude towards the OT, he defined Christianity as a mystical Judaism. It was a plausible phrase, but not likely to command Christianity to an age which regarded mysticism with a mixture of contempt and horror. This novel representation of the relation between Judaism and Christianity, couched in an argument for a genuine historical development, was at first received with enthusiasm. For the most part it was reverently rebuked by the defenders of orthodoxy. But, weak as Collins's arguments may have been, and somewhat inconclusive as the interpretation of historical Judaism is, it must be admitted that his attack on the traditional and mechanical conception of prophecy gave an impetus to a fruitful investigation of the historical and critical conditions out of which the writings of the OT took their rise. It was, in fact, an antecedent, however poorly equipped with linguistic and archaeological knowledge, of the Biblical criticism which has been so rich in results during the last half century.

Naturally enough, the attempt to apply the allegorical method of interpretation was extended from prophecy to miracle. The best known name in connexion with this further development of the controversy is that of Woolston. It is strange that writings which should properly have been disregarded as the ravings of a disorderly mind should have received the serious attention which was actually accorded them. If the author could have accounted responsible, then there would be no possible defense for his opinions. As it is, in the case of the Miracles of our Saviour (1727-29). He has recourse to suggestions such as are made for the narrative of the resurrection and he finds in the Gospels nothing but an emblematic representation of the mystical life of Christ in the souls of men. That Woolston was not honest, it is evident from his manner of disposing of the question, and he is guilty of a gross, obvious, and incurable insincerity is obvious. With the manifest purpose of underlining the common belief in God, he attributes his prevalence among the nations to one cause, and to the operation of a contrivance by which he either set his readers or he is inclined to think that it has own its success to the prevalent force of those invincible reasons which have favored the question of the existence of a supreme Deity, the author of nature, is very ancient, has spread itself over great and populous nations, and among them has been embraced with excessive reverence by the emperors and kings of the East; and one thinks that he has made its way to the present age by the agency of one of the Apostles, which is a subject, therefore, the public opinion of the world, as is the case with the propositions of God, as the social sentiments on the stage of the world. This, as far as it goes, is an absence from the ideas of the age, and Hume advocates a escape from the contamination of discordant superstitions into the calm regions of philosophy. In this way Hume makes short work of the whole controversy. Deists set each store. Not only had he the best of the argument.
in contending for the probability of progress from crude to refined types of religion, but, in the face of the evidence which it has procured by these views, we may conclude with regard to
this kind of religion in earlier times and among the uncivilized nations of the
world, it was impossible for the fiction of a religion as old as

In passing it should be noticed that the strength and the weakness of Hume's
thesis that a 'Miracle' can be properly supported
only when it is remembered that, throughout the Deistic
controversy, miracle was treated as the chief evidence of the
Deist antithesis to the claims of revelation. From that point of view, the
more startling the event the greater will be the stupor which
it produces, and the higher its value as a credential. Uncon-
scious of the fallacies involved in their procedure, many of the
apologists degraded miracle to the level of portent. It was a
blot on the Deist system, Karaman was quick to take advantage of. If this
was to make the apologists a willing to treat miracle as a naked sign of arbitrary power, it was not for the common enemy of
Deism and Christianity, but for the Deists themselves. He was only taking
up the ordinary position of the time when he defined miracle as a
violation of nature; and, when it is so defined, with every
adequate cause for its occurrence discarded from consideration, it is
undeniably plain to contend that no amount of external evidence can
outweigh the inherent improbability.

3. Writers with relations to Deism, but not proper Deists.—Some writers, commonly reckoned among the Deists, have been intentionally
passed over in silence. It will be well, therefore, to deal with a few of the
men and their ideas of this curious period, before closing the
subject. One is no doubt
true, that there are certain points which he and
the Deists have in common, but the superficial
resemblances are more than counterbalanced by
fundamental differences. He displays the same
antipathy to priest, and employs the same kind of
argument as the poisonous influence of superstition; but, while he thus
directs his attack upon the same objective, the principles on which he
bases his criticisms are very far from being those of the
Deists. Their characteristic conception of a
law of nature imposed upon His creatures
by the Creator, and enforced by means of rewards and
punishments, is absolutely alien from his
system of thought. For him, the ethical standard
is determined by the dictates of his own
moral faculty, forming part of the essential endow-
ment of human nature. Of this moral faculty
the effectiveness would indeed be reinforced by
theistic belief, but is not dependent on it, whereas
in the Deist system, in the sense of the
Deists, it is derived from the recognition by man of
his
relation to his Maker.

Since the existence of God was of comparatively little moment
in Lord Shaftesbury's system, he cannot properly be styled a
Deist; and in some ways he exhibited a positive antagonism to
their mode of thought. For example, he raised a much needed
protest against the undue prominence given to religious con-
siderations by both parties in the controversy. He found an
appropriate object for his wit in exposing the shallowness
of the conception by which ethics was degraded into an elaborate
calculus of pains and pleasures. The pointed weapon of
relicide is effectively used in his hands. Unquestionably, in his
references to religion his satire frequently degenerates into a
smug and dogmatic reiteration of religious views under his
sacrifice, and retailed by calling him a Deist. But there was little
justification for the charge. The word 'Deism' would cease to
have any definite meaning or application if it were to
serve merely as a cloak to serve variously
so radically divergent as those of Shaftesbury and Tindal.

If there is little justification for ranking
Shaftesbury among the Deists, there is even less for
placing Mandeville to their number.
The Deist may not have been remarkable for any particular moral excellence, but at least he was eminently respectable. There is no reason
to question the sincerity of his desire to further the
cause of mankind, and he was in raising a
barrier against the encroaching tide of moral laxity. Such was not the purpose of Mandeville.
He is cynical enough to set out on the title-page
of the Fable of the Bees (1714) the thesis that
private vices are public benefits, and in his opening
inquiry into the nature of moral virtue adopts the
conclusion that it is the political offspring which
Clartley has laid upon Pridham. Intrinsically the
book is as worthless as it is paradoxical, but it
raised a laugh, and its sophisticated arguments in
favor of self-indulgence ensured its popularity in
circles where every moral restraint was regarded with contemptuous indifference.

Leland, the contemporary historian and critic of Deism, devotes as much as a third of his work on the
Deistical writers to a consideration of the works of Lord Bolingbroke. It is a clear indication
of the high importance of the transition to the new
kind of attraction that the ideas to which the English
Deists had first given expression were taken up by French
writers, new elements were introduced which gave to the resultant product a very different
quality. The Deism that had been so sharply
condemned in France became another movement, with a
character and history of its own, which cannot
properly be handled in this article. At the same
time the history of Deism is not complete unless
account be taken of the fact that it was the parent
stock from which sprang the French movement of
reaction against traditional belief.

It is significant that both Voltaire (1717) and
Rousseau were largely indebted to English sources
for their inspiration. During the years which the
former passed in England (1726-1729), he gathered
impressions which he afterwards systematized and
elaborated into a philosophy of religion. As a
friend of Lord Bolingbroke he naturally came into
close contact with men who were openly sympathized with the
Deists. The ideas which he derived from this intercourse were
in keeping with the bent of his mind. Moreover, his peculiar abilities enabled him to give
them a keener edge and a wider range than they had
in the hands of the English writers. In
France the conceptions characteristic of Deism
found a soil more favourable to their rapid
development than England had ever afforded them. The logical force of his mind, impelled
by a species of undying natural piety and
qualifications, insisted rigidly on the necessary
consequences of abstract principles, where English
conclusions had been influenced by numberless practical considerations. And, further, the con-
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itions of social, political, and ecclesiastical life in France were such as to accentuate the criticism of those who were opposed to it. The prevalent order. The view, that Deism became almost at once identifies itself with an anti-critical and the transformation of the old theology into another pattern, as had been the object of the earlier English Deists, the French representatives of the movement advocated a general repudiation of theism and the substitution of an undogmatic religion in place of Roman Catholicism. To this end Voltaire applied the weapons of his caustic satire, and the Encyclopedists added the weight of their accumulated knowledge. Indeed, Diderot to (1748) and the book represent a further stage in the downward transition from Deism to Materialism. With him even that residue of natural religion which Voltaire would have retained became a mere superfluous, resting on no secure foundation. The new rationalism, and the effect which he produced must not be overestimated. Whatever may have been the result of his political speculations in hastening the crisis of the Revolution, his influence upon religious thought was not more than evanescent. Though his genius galvanized for a time into fresh activity some of those ideas which had been the stock-in-trade of the Deistic writers, he could not restore to English theological thought. It is almost a matter of surprise to find on examination how comparatively scanty is the residuum which has stood the test of time. But something no doubt has survived. To some extent the Deists were successful in establishing the appeal of the Deist against the ordinary man, and, as witness, the trained skill of the expert. Obviously, the critical questions which were raised could not be settled without thorough investigation by men who had devoted years of study to the data of these problems. A new class of Bible students arose who professed to approach their tasks with minds entirely unbiased by any dogmatic considerations. Whether they were as free from prejudice as they themselves supposed, is open to question. At any rate the Deists gave an impulse to Biblical criticism, the benefit of which still makes itself felt. It has not been forgotten that the same methods of scientific inquiry must be applied to sacred as to profane history. What he now believed a commonplace literature is insisted upon by the Deists. That they should have led the way in this direction is so much to their credit.

Again, the appeal to the common sense of those who make no profession of religious orthodoxy of theology has remained a characteristic of English religion. The religious public, as it is called, is disinclined to divest itself of responsibility by seeking shelter behind the pronouncements of authority. Conscious of inability itself to undertake in detail the processes of criticism, it insists on seeing the results openly displayed. The debate between the champions of tradition and of innovation is not carried on behind closed doors, but in open court. The public desire to follow the argument and form for themselves an intelligent estimate of the issue. This feature also of our religious life is in great measure the outcome of the Deistic movement.

The Deists have left no more important legacy behind it than the apologetic method of Bp. Butler († 1752). The Analogy (1736) may always be read with profit, but its true greatness cannot be rightly appreciated unless the argument be viewed in its connection and its corresponding Deist attack on Christianity. What calls for remark is Butler's careful and guarded exposition of the principles of religious evidence in opposition to the exaggerated insistence by the Deists on certain aspects of the Deist movement's argument and form for themselves an intelligent estimate of the issue. This feature also of our religious life is in great measure the outcome of the Deistic movement.

To see the Deists as they were, we must go back to the 18th century. There, in the midst of a great intellectual awakening, the Deists were a notable force. They were the critics of the established churches, the advocates of toleration, the champions of freedom of thought and expression. Their ideas were reflected in the works of many of the great philosophers of the time, such as Voltaire, Diderot, and D'Alembert. The Deists were not a single group, but a movement that included a wide range of thinkers, from the radical to the moderate. They were not all men of science, but they were all men who believed in the power of reason to improve the world. Their ideas were influential in the development of the Enlightenment, and they left a lasting legacy in the areas of science, philosophy, and politics.
criticism against the half-developed Materialism, which was the orthodox metaphysic of the day. His rejection of Locke's conception of the real existence of extended matter was accounted paradoxical, and on that account chiefly attracted attention. Paradoxical, too, is the fact that it is sometimes forgotten that this Immaterialism of Berkeley was only part of his system. It was the foundation on which he built. It led on to his conception of the world as the perpetual manifestation of the spiritual presence of God. Thus he delivered a powerful protest against the view that the evidence for the existence of God can be disclosed only through a long and intricate process of inference. In opposition to the commonly accepted cold mechanical outlook on the universe, he preached the doctrine of a continuous communication between the Divine and the human spirit through the medium of sensible experience. To him the material world was the language of God addressed to the spiritual ear, and charged with an infinite significance for those who would address themselves to the task of its interpretation. It was too high a conception to commend itself to the temper of the 18th century. Nevertheless, the influence of Berkeley on the Deists initiated has not been altogether without effect. His teaching, which originated in opposition to Deism, has remained to this day part of our theological heritage. See, further, Art. Berkeley.

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In the Case of Reason (1724), Law appealed without scruple to the logic of intellect; moreover, he possessed the power of marshalling his arguments with skill and clothing them in apt language. Before him, the inscrutable mystery of the infinite was prostrated himself in silent submission, and with a feeling of profound reverence yielded a willing obedience to the message of revelation. It was a strange fate for Law at this point to refer to miracles as the proof of revelation. A little later he discovered a method of statement more congenial to his natural temperamental bent. In the process of various assertions of controversial argument he substituted the positive affirmations of the mystic's experience. In opposition to Tindal he takes a low view of the doctrine of revealed reason, and this position he consistently maintained, but in the writings of the mystics he found it stated that man possessed a faculty of spiritual intuition incomparably more efficacious than reason in the attainment of Divine wisdom. In Christian mysticism, Law discovered a system which afforded satisfaction to his religious instincts; and he strove to influence others in the same direction, by means of writings which are a strange compound of deep spiritual insight and fanciful imaginations. But in the 18th century, the message of the mystics was received with distrust, and the distinction now made between the Deists and Theism has remained. Law founded no school of English mysticism. Though there were many who, like himself, receded from the rigourousness of Deism, there were few ready to follow him in the way. He was before his time, and has perhaps more disciples at the present day than he had in his own lifetime.

The same recoil from Deism, but under yet another aspect, is illustrated by the life and work of John Wesley. In this age it is necessary to consider the Law's example and ethical teaching, he differed widely from him in temperament, and was alike ignorant and impatient of the mystical tendencies to which the older man resigned himself. Emotionally a man of action, he gave way to the protest of the practical religious consciousness against the religious impotence of Rationalism. It mattered little whether the Rationalism was of the type preached by Tillotson or of that preached by Tindal. In either case it had proved miserably ineffective in stemming the tide of infidelity and immoralit.

Thus the rise of Wesleyanism coincided with the extinction of Deism. Not that Deism disappeared because the problems which it had raised had received final and conclusive answers. On the contrary, many of these problems involve mysteries which it is probably difficult to render capable of the finite mind. It is no discredit to the apologists of the 18th cent. that in such cases they had no solution to offer. They had done all that could be expected of them. They had shown the alternative course by which the Deist was to be weighed with difficulties as great as those which he hoped to escape by his rejection of Christianity. They had pointed to a way of reconciliation between the rights of reason and the claims of faith. It was not until this work had been accomplished that the Evangelical Revival could exhibit the undiminished spiritual energy latent in authoritative and traditional religion. Then began another stage of religious history, a period even more distracted with disputes over the recovery of truths which have been passing in review. But the struggle was over new issues. Deism was forgotten.

II. PHILOSOPHICAL. — I. View of God's relation to the material and the moral world.— The word 'Deism,' besides serving as the designation of an historical religious movement, has been commonly used to describe a particular view of God's nature and of the dependence of the world upon Him. Between the two uses of the word a connexion exists, of which some notice will presently be taken, but it would be a mistake to suppose that philosophic Deism was necessarily the accepted creed of the Deists of the 18th century. Indeed, some who bore the name would at the present day be called Theists. The distinction now made between Deism and Theism did not then exist. The two expressions were used indiscriminately. It is only in later times, since the study of the philosophy of religion has been prosecuted with greater attention, that the word 'Deism' has been attached a more defined and exact connotation. We proceed to ask, What is the meaning conveyed by the word in this later and more abstract sense? The great question concerning the relation of God to the world presupposes different answers. To classify into distinct groups the various solutions proposed is no easy matter. It is difficult to draw lines of division, when the
gradations are almost imperceptible, though at the two extremities members of the same series may stand in conspicuous opposition to one another. But, since some form of classification is necessary, it has been found convenient to separate views as to the being of God into two, as they approximate to Pantheism on the one hand, or to Deism on the other. With the second only are we here concerned. Let it be born in mind that our subject of study is not a definite school of thought shared by intelligent historical and philosophical systems. It is rather a vague inclination or bent of mind, in which varying degrees is continuously present in human thought, and occasionally, coming prominently to the front, becomes the dominant factor in religious and philosophical systems.

Deism approaches the ultimate problem of the universe with a self-satisfied confidence painfully out of proportion to the difficulty of the task of finding a solution. With little sense of reverence for the mystery that lies behind all outward appearances, it accepts an answer suggested by anthropomorphic analogies, and framed in accordance with unarticulated prepossessions. Common sense does not then refuse the hypothesis of an independent existence of the external world, nor does it care to inquire too curiously what may be the real character of human freedom. It rests content with the common assumptions of daily life. To make the Deist's theory an adequate starting-point, finds comparatively little difficulty in constructing his theory of God and the world, He is ready to acknowledge a Creator. In order to account for the existence of the material world, it is necessary to assume the existence of a First Cause, at whose command creation took effect and the cosmos entered on its life. But the Deist's conception of creation is essentially restricted. The fabric of the universe is supposed to stand to God in the relation which the instrument bears to its maker. The heavens are the work of His hands, just as the watch is the work of the watchmaker. As the craftsman determines the characteristic properties of his machine, so the correlation of its parts, their positions and their functions, so is God conceived to have dealt with the world. He brought it into being and ordained its laws. He imparted to it once for all the energy which serves as the driving force of the universe's mechanism. The Deist recognizes in God the ultimate source of matter and motion, and, consistently with this conception, admits the possibility of occasional interferences on the part of the Deity. But, though the probability of such interference is granted, the question is called in question. It seems more in accordance with the principles of Deism that Nature should be left to work itself out in obedience to laws originally given. Any suggestion of a deviation from the established order is resisted, as though to admit it were to be wanting in due respect for the inviolable majesty of God's unchangeableness and the original perfection of His work. A perfect machine, it is supposed, would move without any obstacle from its maker; nor would the Unchangeable introduce any later corrections into a creation which from the first reflected His omniscience and omnipotence.

Similarly based on anthropomorphic analogies, and in contrast to the Deistic conception of the relation of God to the moral world, He is the supreme Governor, the author of moral as of physical law, but as remote in the one region as in the other from the particular cases exhibiting the working of His laws. He is thought of as filling the part of legislator and judge to the universe of moral beings; and these analogies, derived from the organization of human society, are treated as though they were entirely adequate not only to illustrate, but even to explain, His supreme authority. The moral law is assumed to be sufficiently well known by all for the practical purposes of life. Fains and pleasures which are opposed to it are held to be abhorrent to its infringement and its observance. Men are automatically punished and rewarded, in strict accordance with their deserts. In the moral as in the physical world there is neither need nor room for the special interposition of the Supreme Governor. Whatever shortcomings such a view of the nature of God may have,—and they are both obvious and important,—yet in some respects it tallies with the promptings of the religious instincts of men. It is opposed to Materialism, avoiding the desperate necessity of ascribing to matter an independent eternal existence of its own. Nor is God reduced, as in Pantheism, to a mere abstraction, an impersonal rule his teaching, matter is not a real person, standing over against the world and man. Human personality also is preserved. Man retains his freedom, and justice is done to his responsibility. As he sows so shall he reap, according to laws that admit of no exceptions as to time and place. Upon the Deist, therefore, there is much that is true, and the truth is of that positive kind to which appeal must be made in practical exhortation and the enforcement of ethical teaching. But with the truth is mingled much error. The Deists who hold the correctness of Deism are both theoretical and practical.

2. Defects in conceptions of Creation and Finite Existence.—Deism labours under the disadvantage of being a dualistic explanation of the world. Not only because that is the essence of a First Cause, at whose command creation took effect and the cosmos entered on its life, but the Deist's conception of creation is essentially restricted. The fabric of the universe is supposed to stand to God in the relation which the instrument bears to its maker. The heavens are the work of His hands, just as the watch is the work of the watchmaker. As the craftsman determines the characteristic properties of his machine, so the correlation of its parts, their positions and their functions, so is God conceived to have dealt with the world. He brought it into being and ordained its laws. He imparted to it once for all the energy which serves as the driving force of the universe's mechanism. The Deist recognizes in God the ultimate source of matter and motion, and, consistently with this conception, admits the possibility of occasional interferences on the part of the Deity. But, though the probability of such interference is granted, the question is called in question. It seems more in accordance with the principles of Deism that Nature should be left to work itself out in obedience to laws originally given. Any suggestion of a deviation from the established order is resisted, as though to admit it were to be wanting in due respect for the inviolable majesty of God's unchangeableness and the original perfection of His work. A perfect machine, it is supposed, would move without any obstacle from its maker; nor would the Unchangeable introduce any later corrections into a creation which from the first reflected His omniscience and omnipotence.

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will and pleasure. Its necessity or inevitableness, seemingly disappears. On the other hand, if the judicial function of the Supreme Governor be put in the forefront, and the moral law be regarded as an essential and required one, it only to be enforced by the Divine power, then it would seem as though the freedom of God's action were limited by a rule superior to Himself. From this dilemma the principles of Deism offer no way of escape, if the externality of God in relation to the world, physical or moral, be assumed, then in some way or other limitations and restrictions are placed upon the Divine nature. In the one case, God is left confronted by an independent material world; in the other case, by an insuppressible law of right and wrong. And the very essence of Deism lies in its assumption of God's externality.

Theologic unsoundess is attended with practical deficiencies. Deism has not been without injurious effect on those who have adopted it as their creed. If it be admitted that man's highest spiritual life is attained in proportion as he rises to communion with God, then it must be confessed that Deism can never carry the soul up into this region. The appeal to a world of religious design and prodigal of beauty, convey to the heart no message significant of the indwelling presence of God. The most that the Deist may legitimately do is to follow back a many-linked chain of inference or evidence, to a point of religious origin or creation, to the heart; no moment of creation, was in contact with His world. In a universe so conceived, man feels himself left to his own resources. A cold tribute of perfunctory worship is all that he is likely to offer to a God who has withdrawn. His prayer, whose ear is never open to the supplication of the penitent. Man learns to think that his welfare depends entirely upon the accuracy of his knowledge of those general laws by which the course of the world is determined, and upon his skill in adapting himself to them. There is stimulated in him a spirit of self-sufficiency and self-assertion as towards God, and a certain hardness and lack of sympathy towards his fellow-men.

Deistic premisses do not positively exclude the possibility of revelation, but create a strong prejudice against it. For revelation is a species of miracle, and open to all the objections which, in the mind of the Deist, bear against the miraculous. If there be a gulf between the world, and God, it is a gulf of an infinite distance. In some forms of Deism the idea of a Divine interposition is accepted without hesitation or sense of incongruity. But further consideration is likely to suggest the thought that the need for interference with the world is due to its original weakness of construction; and the Deist, in his anxiety to uphold the credit of the First Cause, is led to deny first the need for, and then the fact of, revelation.

Deism is a curiously unstable system of belief. It could hardly be otherwise, considering that the premisses from which it sets out are wanting in consistency and in definiteness. Beginning by assuming an unqualified correctness of a few of the truths which appeal to any religious instinct, it reaches at length a position in flagrant contradiction to fundamental religious beliefs. The utility of prayer and the possibility of communication with the Deity, are the central ideas which have always found a home in the unregulated religious consciousness; yet these are the ideas which Deism finally discovers to be incompatible with its teaching about the Divine nature. And, when these ideas have been rejected, there follows the gradual encroachment of an irreligious temper, and the elimination from life of the effective power of religion. Though nominally belief in God be retained, it becomes wholly inoperative—the furniture of the mind rather than the inspiration of the heart.

3. Examples of Deistic systems.—Deism in the sense which we are now investigating we have continued to be an irreligious and unorganized system; there is a tendency which for the most part has been counteracted by stronger forces. But occasional examples in the history of religion and philosophy prove that it is capable of gaining the ascendency. Apart from the influence of revelation, the drift of all religions has been in the direction of Polytheism and Pantheism rather than towards the opposite extreme of Deism. For men are swayed more easily by their emotions than by their reason, and to the feelings the Deist system of belief is far more attractive than these other forms of error. The most conspicuous example of a religion in which Deistic forms of thought are paramount is Conspicuous, which exhibits a characteristic combination of qualities and defects. In particular, there is a decorous recognition of heaven as the source from which man derives his nature, although, for the attainment of virtue, little importance is attached to the communication between God and man. Its treatment of the moral code, other than the one Deist, is the working of the same tendency. The insistence on the law of nature, and on the universal order extending through the world, is a thoroughly "Deistic" idea. So also, in several respects, are the ethical notions on which the Deist answers the question of the power of the will, and their doctrine of man's self-sufficiency. These are facts on points which they set precedents followed in later times. For the 18th cent. Deists, familiarized through a classical education with the writings of the ancient Stoics, drew much of their inspiration from this source. On the other hand, Stoicism contained ideas irreconcilable with pure Deism. Its Pantheism, though far from being consistently developed to its logical issues, is sufficient to differentiate it from any system in which God is assumed to be personally distinct from the world. In ethics, its rejection of all utilitarian considerations is opposed to the characteristic temper of Deism. Thus, though there is a close contact between Stoicism and English Deism, the offspring differed in some essential features from the parent.

Its marked preference for the Deistic explanation of the universe accounts in large measure alike for the strength and the weakness of Muhammadanism. No one will deny that the effect of the teaching of Islam is to produce in its adherents a very real and deep reverence for God, the all-powerful Creator and Ruler of the world. At the same time the suppressive sense of a great and unbridged gulf between God and man checks and thwarts the natural action of man's religious instincts. Great is as the regularity with which the prescribed forms of devotion are observed, this is the supercilious attitude towards, rather than to God. The degradation of prayer is remarkable evidence of the obstacle which Deism opposes to the exercise of man's highest spiritual function, communion with his Maker.

After all, the classical example of the Deistic tendency is to be found in the 18th cent. Deists; and herein lies the justification for attaching to the same word an historical and an abstract sense.
In the writings of Toland, Collins, Tindal, and other historical Deists is contained the exposition of a plan which was much injured by an unfortunate combination to make up Deism in the abstract. Not, indeed, that in any single one of these writers is Deism logically rounded off and cleared from all inconsistencies. Men seldom press their principles to the uttermost, nor were the Deists, with their lack of philosophical acumen, likely to be exceptions to the rule. Side by side with arguments which in effect exclude God's direct action on the world, they placed statements of belief which the most excelling theorems of modern philosophy are incapable of gradually disclosing the true implications of their principles, with the result that Deism was either repudiated in favour of a return to historic Christianity, or exchanged for avowed infidelity. Secularism.

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DELI.—The name applied specially to the modern city of Shahjahānābād on the right bank of the Jumna (lat. 28° 35' 55" N.; long. 77° 16' 30" E.), and generally to a collection of ruined cities, covering an area of about 45 square miles, in the neighbourhood. Classifying these cities from N. to S., we have (1) Firozābad of Firoz Šah Tughhrall (c. A.D. 1339), adjoining modern Delhi on the south; (2) Indrapāt or Indrāprastha, associated with the earliest legends of the Aryan occupation of the Jumna valley, the foundation of which by Yudhisthira and his brothers, the five Pandavas, is recorded in the Mahābhārata; the site was reoccupied by Humayūn and Šer Šah (c. 1540); (3) Jahanānūnā, the space between old Delhi and Sīri, which was gradually occupied and ultimately connected with the cities N. and S. of it (c. 1530); (4) Old Delhi, or the Port of Rīk Pulhora, the original Delhi of the Pathan invaders in the 12th century; (5) Tughlaqābād, built by Muhammad bin Tughhrall (c. 1290). 'Modern Delhi, or Shahjahānābād, named after the Emperor Šahjahān (1628-58), may be said to date from about 1650, the famous palace being first erected in 1638-48, and forming the nucleus of the new city. The cities thus enumerated contain a vast variety of architectural remains, some of the greatest interest and beauty. Here it is possible to name only a few of those most closely connected with the religious beliefs of the successive occupants of this historic site.

In the first place, Delhi contains two of the famous inscribed pillars of the Emperor Aśoka (p. 85), erected about 250 B.C. The inscriptions contain the code of moral and religious precepts pronounced by this great ruler. These pillars, one of which stands on the historic ridge, the other in the ruined city of Firozābad, were removed to Delhi in A.D. 1534 by Firoz Šah Tughhrall, the founder from Meervat in the United Provinces, the other from Toprés in the Umbīla district of the Panjab. The pillar on the ridge was much injured by an explosion early in the 18th cent.; that at Firozābad is in an excellent state of preservation, and is the most interesting of all the Ašoka pillars, inasmuch as it is the only one on which the invaluable Seventh Edict is inscribed. Another interesting relic connected with the beach of the Hindu metallurgists of the time. Close by, the mosque of Qutb-ud-din was rebuilt out of the materials of one or more Jain temples. One cloister, with rows of finely carved pillars, remains in good preservation. The innermost court of this mosque, with its corridors and west end, was built in A.D. 1191, and the screen of arches, the glory of the building, was erected six years later. The splendid tower, the Qutb or Kutab Minār, named after its founder, was completed by Šams-ud-din Altānsh (1211-30), who also extended the great mosque. Much controversy has arisen regarding the purpose for which this tower was erected. Ferguson (p. 506) denies that it has any connexion with the mamluk tower by the same government (c. 1233-35), and he cites several examples of early mosques which have but one minār each. The inscriptions also prove that this was the purpose of its erection.

The lovely Alai Darwāza, or gate of Ali, was built by Ali-ud-din Khiilī (1235-1315). Close by is the beautiful tomb of Šams-ud-din.

'Though small,' writes Ferguson, 'it is one of the richest examples of Indo-Arabic art applied to Maḥammadan purposes that Old Delhi affords, and is extremely beautiful, though the builders still display a certain incapacity in fitting the details to their new purposes. . . . In addition to the beauty of its details, it is interesting as being the oldest tomb known to exist in India. He [Šams-ud-din] died a.m. 522."

Among the other interesting and beautiful mosques, of which Delhi possesses such a large number, the following may be mentioned: the Kāla or Kaleshwar (c. 1330); that of Šer Šah, built in A.D. 1380, is interesting as an example of the early so-called Patishen style. The façade of the mosque of Šer Šah in the Purana Qila is, says Fanshawe (p. 228), 'quite the most striking blot of coloured decoration at Delhi, and has been satisfactorily restored. . . . The interior is extremely fine, the pattern in the pendentives below the dome being very effective.' The Jami Masjid, or cathedral mosque of Šabīhān, built in 1648–50, is, says Ferguson (p. 600), 'not unlike, in plan, the Moti Masjid of Agra (q.v.), though built on a much larger scale, and adorned with two noble minarets, which are wanting in the Agra example; while, from the somewhat capricious admixture of red sandstone with white marble, it is far from possessing the same elegance and purity of effect. It is, however, one of the few mosques, either in India or elsewhere, that are designed to produce a pleasing effect externally.' This great mosque, built close to the valued park of the palace, could be walled in and enclosed, so as to erect a private court chapel within its walls. When a Moti Masjid was added by Auranzhīb, the building was small, and, though pretty, quite unworthy of the place, and illustrates the rapid decadence of the Muhummadan ecclesiastical architecture after the time of Šabīhān.
Delhi is equally rich in the number and variety of its sepulchres. Hunayun, the second Moghul Emperor, lies in a stately tomb. 'In mere beauty,' says Fantham (p. 290), 'it cannot, of course, compare with the Taj at Agra, but there is a force of effect about it which becomes the last resting-place of a Moghul warrior whose life was marked by many struggles and vicissitudes; and most people will probably prefer its greater simplicity to either the son's [Akbar's] tomb at Sikandara, near Agra, or the grandson's [Jahangir's] tomb at Shadara, near Lahore.' The dargah, or shrine, of Shahid Nizam-ud-din Aniyya and the other Chishti shrines of the Raj is in the Khat, and the places most revered in all India by Musalmans. His story is fully given by Fantham (p. 230), who believes that there is no ground for the popular legend which attributes the origin of Thuggee to him. He died at Delhi in A.D. 1324, and the buildings—the gate of which bears the date 1378—are mostly due to the Emperor Firuz Shah Tughlaq. Round the resting-place of the saint a beautiful and interesting monument. That of Jahangir, the third daughter of the Emperor Shahjahan, bears the touching epitaph: 'Let green grass only conceal my grave; grass is the best covering of the grave of those who think well of the unfortunate Emperor Muhammad Shah, who died in 1748, in whose time Delhi was captured and sacked by the ruthless Persian, Nadir Shah. If not a triumph of design, its beautiful pierced marble minaret is at least a fine timepiece. These are the earlier tombs of the poet Amir Khusrau, who died in 1324, and of the historian Khondamir—the latter not being now identifiable.

In his Mental Development, Baldwin, in his mental stage, until one alternative dominates attention and is selected, though throughout life conscious deliberation is only rarely necessary. Organized, i.e., of its greater simplicity to either the son's [Akbar's] tomb at Sikandara, near Agra, or the grandson's [Jahangir's] tomb at Shadara, near Lahore. The dargah, or shrine, of Shahid Nizam-ud-din Aniyya and the other Chishti shrines of the Raj is in the Khat, and the places most revered in all India by Musalmans. His story is fully given by Fantham (p. 230), who believes that there is no ground for the popular legend which attributes the origin of Thuggee to him. He died at Delhi in A.D. 1324, and the buildings—the gate of which bears the date 1378—are mostly due to the Emperor Firuz Shah Tughlaq. Round the resting-place of the saint a beautiful and interesting monument. That of Jahangir, the third daughter of the Emperor Shahjahan, bears the touching epitaph: 'Let green grass only conceal my grave; grass is the best covering of the grave of those who think well of the unfortunate Emperor Muhammad Shah, who died in 1748, in whose time Delhi was captured and sacked by the ruthless Persian, Nadir Shah. If not a triumph of design, its beautiful pierced marble minaret is at least a fine timepiece. These are the earlier tombs of the poet Amir Khusrau, who died in 1324, and of the historian Khondamir—the latter not being now identifiable.

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classification. Usage, due to historical accident and variety of jurisdiction, has excluded from the English term cases which in principle fall under it. The definition of 'delict' in General Jurisprudence ought to give the person the principle underlying the technicalities of particular legal systems. Moyle (Justitiae Institutiones, lib. iv. pt. 1, note) says: 'A delict is usually defined as a violation of a jus in eos which generates an obligation incapable of the private individual who is wronged.' He finds fault with this definition, as admitting cases where the party injured is only entitled to recover damages. According to Moyle (ibid.), true delicts possess three peculiaries: they give rise to independent distinguishing characteristics, which are always involved delitos or culpa; and the remedies by which they are redressed are penal. Solln (Institutes, Eng. tr., 1901, p. 432), on the other hand, includes such non-penal actions under actions arising from delicts.

The term 'delict' has been used as generating an obligation remissible by the private individual, from 'crime.' This is to adopt Austin's distinction between civil and criminal injuries; for he holds that the distinction consists merely in a mere difference of process, viz., whether the injury is pursued at the discretion of the injured party or at that of the State (Lectures on Jurisprudence, p. 405). Blackstone (iv. 5), followed by Holland (Elements of Jurisprudence, p. 320), regards the distinction as lying between the wrong done against individuals as individuals, or affects the whole community as a community. Again, some have regarded the very circumstance whether mere re-dress is given for loss suffered, or whether, on the other hand, a penalty is inflicted for wrong done, as the distinguishing feature between civil and criminal injuries. If the latter line of distinction be adopted, what Moyle considers an essential of all delicts would render the distinguishing characteristic of crimes as contrasted with delicts.

In English law, wrongs to property to which no ethical censure attaches are included among 'torts.' Pollock (Law of Torts, p. 18), in order to maintain intact the features of dolus ('wrongful intention') or culpa ('negligence'), and consequent penal culpability, as essential ingredients in those torts that are delicts, regards the torts from which these features are absent as obligations arising, not ex delito, but quasi delicto. This distinction leads to the distinction between delicts and quasi-delicts. By some there is said to be no distinction in principle, delicts being those wrongs which were made actionable by the old civil law of Rome, quasi-delicts those which are rendered actionable by the legislation of the praetor. If, however, we take the instances given in the Institutes of Justinian,—a judge who, corruptly or through ignorance of law, has made a suit his own, and an innkeeper who is responsible for the loss of property of his guests,—we see a distinction perfectly analogous to that between contracts and quasi-contracts. As in some cases the law establishes a tie or obligation between the parties, the same as though one of the parties had attended to another, so, in other cases, it establishes an obligation similar to that which would have arisen, had a delict been committed. The point of difference between a contract and a quasi-contract is that one is formed voluntarily by the person bound, the other is formed involuntarily. In like manner, in the case of a delict, there is voluntary action—action from which it is possible to abstain; in the case of a quasi-delict, the obligation arises from an act or position in regard to which the party has no alternative. The judge must decide the suit. The innkeeper is bound by the act of the thief. There may or may not be dolus or culpa. It is true that, in the case of the corruptly decided suit, a voluntary element is present. The involuntary element arises from the law which forces on the judge the position of having to decide the suit. Yet this case shows that dolus or culpa may be present in quasi-delicts. If this is the true point of distinction between delict and quasi-delict, it justifies the profound comment of Austin (styled by Pollock [op. cit. p. 18] 'perverse and unintelligent criticism'), which implies that there is no essential distinction between delict and quasi-delict. Austin, op. cit. p. 914). The only possible distinction must be that stated by Austin: that, in the one, the obligation arises from services rendered; in the other, from setting down theories as part of the natural law, while the other delicts are aimed at some certain personal injury. This is the decision of the American Law Institute on the point of view of legal classification between quasi-contract and quasi-delict (Austin, op. cit. p. 914).

DELOS.—See Amphictyony.

DEPHI.—See Amphictyony, Oracles (Gr.).

DELUCE.—I. Meaning of the term.—The word 'Deluge' (Lat. deluvium, Fr. deluge, 'a great flood') has been very generally used to denote the Biblical Flood (Heb. 'deluge') recorded in Gen 6-9. It is commonly held to be identical with the Noachian Flood, as the narrative naturally suggests, covered the surface of the whole world, and that all men and all terrestrial animals perished, except those providentially saved in the Ark (see esp. Gen 6:13-23, Gen 7).

II. Supposed confirmation of the Biblical Deluge.—So considered, the Deluge formed, it was once believed, a very important epoch in the world's history.

1. Attention was called to the marked difference between the extinct species of animals which lived before the Deluge, and whose fossil remains are found in various geological strata, and those in existence at the present day; nor does it seem always to have been realized that this difference is in itself an argument against the literal truth of the Biblical narrative, according to which all species of animals should have survived, or God's purpose must have failed.

2. A more recent and more evident proof of the general truth of the Bible story seemed to lie in the fact that Deluge stories, or stories in which a great Flood forms a more or less prominent part, are remarkably frequent in the folklore of the ancient literatures of peoples otherwise unconnected with each other, save that all are connected with the world. It has been confidently argued that these all originated in the great universal Deluge, of which they were more or less obscure traditions handed down from their ancestors—Shem, Ham, and Japheth. Moreover, the belief that the Flood was a universal event was very widely spread among the ancients, and there is even record of a Flood of similar extent having happened in America.
impossible, unless we may postulate a period in which the surface of the earth was so even that all the water possible at any given time could have covered it as one thin film. But even if this were so, a Deluge would find its analogue, not in the Bible Flood, but in the 'deep' (tethem) of Gn 1:7.

(31) Zoologists and comparative Zoologists have generally proved that there is no definitely marked division between extinct species and animals of those of the present day which could be accounted for by a break in the history of the animal world. In fact, the extinct species, as, e.g., the trilobite, ammonite, and lethoceras, are those that are best accounted for by human appearance on the earth, and by the operation of natural laws which still prevail.

(32) The same also is true of plant life and its history. And in this connexion it may be observed that the Bible story, in contradiction to the Akkadian (see below, V. 4. 3. 6), is evidently not based on the formation of vegetation. The greater part of which must have perished had the Flood lasted a year.

3. To the unscientific mind, however, the most striking difficulties are those which arise from the obvious improbabilities, or rather impossibilities, of the story of Genesis itself.

Most of us have from childhood, through the influence of pictures and toys, been accustomed to imagine Noah's Ark as a great vessel with a huge raised hold in the middle. But there is nothing in the Hebrew 725 or in the Bible narrative to suggest anything of the kind. The Ark was rather a huge box with a closed door and dark windows, which had to be opened for its inmates to look out. There were no tails or ears, no ordinary mode of locomotion. Noah was entirely unprepared for the box which we wished to know. The box, nevertheless, floated safely across the world and has never been found since, and no one has ever suspected a Noah or been able to describe him.

This is obviously the case with all clean animals, and pairs of unclean animals, as we now know them. But this is what the story requires, unless we are to consider the Flood as an improbable invention, and even opposed to geological records—that there has been a very large evolution of species since that, geologically speaking, recent period. These animals, thus huddled together, are tender and preserved for a whole year with necessarily huge supplies of food of various kinds and with a boat, four stalls and four women were able to do, under such conditions, without, it is evident, manner or skill and ingenuity of zoologists with such space and under such conditions as are possible in our Zoological Gardens. Imagine, for example, the Tropics, or the Tropics, the whole year without food, or the polar bear cooped up for a single year in the vitiated atmosphere of a 'room' in the Ark! But even these difficulties are hardly so bewildering to the imagination as those connected with collecting the animals and getting them into the Ark. If we attempt to real the journey necessary to the Tropics and the Arctic regions, to islands and continents, to marshes and mountains and seas, the difficulty of capturing all these animals alive, bringing them back and getting them into the Ark, we are forced to the conclusion that it was absolutely impossible, except by a series of miracles, of which the story in the Bible gives no name, and much less a narrative, in a simple and straightforward way by those, who evidently did not see the difficulties, and obviously could not have foreseen them, as we see them.

4. A further ground for not accepting as literally true the Bible Deluge story will be found by comparing it with parallel stories of similar origin which will presently be discussed. It will be sufficient to observe here that diverging accounts of any supposed event tend of themselves to cast suspicion on any one of them, unless that is obviously the source of the rest, which certainly cannot be proved of the Bible story.

5. To these difficulties may be added, in conclusion, the general difficulties in accepting as historically and literally the early chapters of Genesis, of which the Deluge story forms a part. One who on scientific grounds rejects the literal or on mythical grounds that of Gn 2, 3., would very naturally feel some hesitation in accepting the Deluge story, even if it presented no serious difficulties of its own.

IV. Explanations of Deluge stories discussed. — But if the Deluge story is impossible, at least without a series of improbable miracles, how else explain the prevalence of that belief among so many and so far-separated peoples? An attempt to answer this question will form the subject of this article. This article involves a complicated inquiry. The Deluge, or Flood, stories in question vary so greatly that a really adequate discussion would carry us beyond the necessary limits. The reader will grasp the full force of the arguments given only if he studies for himself the stories as given by Andree and in other sources here referred to. The course now proposed is first to give the answers which have already been suggested, with such illustrations and comments as may help to set the problem towards a satisfactory solution, and then to discuss separately some of the more important stories or groups of stories on mainly ethnological or geographical lines.

Speaking generally, there are four main explanations of the Deluge stories, given the prevalence of Deluge, or Flood, stories among different races of mankind: that they are (A) traditions of the Bible Deluge; (B) traditions of independent, generally local, floods; the Deluge is a great atonement; (C) pseudo-scientific explanations of natural phenomena or the like; (D) parts of cosmological systems; (E) myths. In point of fact, comparatively few writers have adopted any one of these theories exclusively. Cheyne, for example, in his article ('Deluge,' in Ebd.), made a marked distinction between a Deluge proper—a supposed submersion of the whole world—and partial floods, which may have given rise to Deluge stories. Certainly few, if any, have supposed otherwise. Those who may hold, would fail to recognize that the Chinese story, at any rate, is based on the tradition of a local flood.

A. The traditional origin of Deluge stories.—Is the belief that there are many and various Deluge stories of different parts of the world had their common origin in the Flood described in the Bible, borne out by the stories themselves in detail and by what we may reasonably infer as to their history?

1. Andree has gone so far as to assert, in the face of the facts that there are many parts of the world where no Deluge story has yet been discovered, such as Egypt and Japan. There are others, such as Africa, where they are very rare. It is therefore, so far as our present knowledge goes, an exaggeration to say, with some writers, that the tradition of a Deluge of some sort is practically universal, or even, as Lenormant maintained (Orig. 1. 489), among all except black races. On the other hand, it must frankly be recognized that Flood stories are very numerous, and that they are found among nations scattered far and wide over the world.

2. Exceptions must be made of a large number of stories which have evidently a local origin.

3. Accounts must be taken of the evidence of missionaries in unconsciously, or even consciously, changing and developing folklore, and of the difficulty which the savage mind has in distinguishing clearly between old and new, and its frequent tendency to paint the old in new colours. It was the avowed policy of many missionaries to make Bible stories more acceptable by combining them with ideas with which their converts were already familiar. Moreover, the missionary, through whom the Deluge stories were in many cases originally communicated, was a prejudiced witness. He had a very natural wish to find confirmation of an event which he believed to be unfoldingly true or only true, and which he strove to deny. No wonder if, without the least wish to deceive, he encouraged his hearers convert to give him the kind of information he desired, and, in reporting it, unconsciously assimilated it still more with the familiar tale. Andree, in the study of which there is given an interesting example of the way in which natives were sometimes asked leading questions.

4. That many of the Deluge stories current among uncivilized tribes were actually coloured by Christian influence becomes evident on examination of the traditions of the stories themselves. For it will be found that—

(a) Those Biblical details on which so much stress is sometimes laid are often attached to a
story entirely unlike the Bible Deluge narrative, both in character and in purpose.

Thus the sending out of the raven and the dove by the old man who had found refuge from the Deluge in a boat on one of the Rocky Mountains (Peruvian Indians) is another example, and yet, according to Petitto, it is almost exactly similar to the Biblical Deluge. It is in the branch of that tree which grew into the sea for the unknown olive-branch. A still more interesting variation is found in a story told by the South-American Macusi tribe, in which the Deluge is represented as the result of the investigatory movement of some old woman (see below, IV. 6).

(b) The Deluge stories which thus resemble the Biblical narrative in some of its details often betray their Biblical colouring by mixing up other familiar Biblical stories, such as the creation of woman and the Tower of Babel.

When we read in the story of the Macusi just referred to that, the Good Spirit created the first man, the latter fell into a deep sleep, and on waking found a woman standing by, we are not surprised to hear the incident of the rat and the ear of maize. In a story of the Papagos, in Arizona, it is the hero of the Deluge, Mozezuma, whom, disregarding the warning of the Great Spirit, builds a house that should reach to heaven, which is destroyed before its completion by lightning from heaven. In the story of the Washo, a California tribe, the shaman performs a ceremony to build up a temple as a place of refuge from any future Flood. When the shaman went down into the temple with a terrible rain of fire occurs, and the temple sinks up to its doors. When the temple falls, the rain stops, and from the top, from whence they are hurled by the angry god, Andree remarks here that the building of the temple is evidently a national symbolic feature also to the customs of the tribe, and certainly the destroyed temple is not a very ancient feature. That the purpose of the shaman’s symbolic action, but escape from the Flood, was to seem to suggest an adaptation of the Tower of Babel story.

It would thus be a parallel to the story of the neighbouring Papagos, and to that of the Mandans (see IV. 6. (c)).

(c) Speaking generally, what have the appearance of traits due to Christian influence are found most frequently in those countries where Christian influence has been longest at work, especially on the American continent.

v. The argument from Biblical details in Flood stories is in any case hazardous, as it proves too much. We find details not given in the Biblical narrative also repeating themselves in a most remarkable way in the legends of localities far removed from each other.

(1) The boat or raft of safety is frequently described as moored by a rope. A new element is sometimes introduced by some of the ropes not being long enough and the occupants of the boats being drowned (Finns (Lemerond, Origines, l. 455)). In the same legend, of the Pekel Islands, such was the fate even of the one surviving old woman, until the oldest of the ghosts came down and pushed them overboard.

(2) Again, in the story of Delkunian and Pyrris and the stones, there is an exact similarity in the story of the Maipuri, in which the coca-root throws the man over his head when he escapes from the flood, and it is thrown by the woman. In the legend of other tribes on the Orinoco, as also of the Macusi, stones were thrown over by the surviving man. In a Lithuanian story a rainbow was thrown from the old couple to comfort them, and to advise them, if they would have offspring, to leap over ‘the bones of the earth.’

(3) The miraculous growth of the fish, a conspicuous feature of the Indian legend (see V. B. I.), has its counterpart in the cuttle-fish of the Thimkis, which grew so large as to fill the whole boat.

(4) It is by no means easy to say how far features of this kind are actually borrowed from other stories, and how far they are the result of imagination and reason acting in similar fashion on different peoples. There is certainly no difficulty in supposing that the tying of the boat was introduced as the most natural thing for the survivors to do. On the other hand, the enigmatic phase ‘the place where the earth combined with the consolidation of the rainbow (Lithuanians), and a specific combination of the stones story with the rat and the maize-ear (Macusi, see above, IV. B.) suggest that both elements in either case were due originally to the influence of Christian teachers. We can readily understand how well-educated missionaries might, in drawing attention to the prevalence of these stories, have instanced that of Delkunian, and so have such a picturesque incident embodied in the story of the fish to run away with a popular tale.

VI. The extraordinary interest of the variation in the different Deluge stories makes it improbable that all originated from one traditional story, as will be best realised by taking what might be regarded as the central type and pointing out some of the variations which we may: may have found in (a) stories of god or gods, angry with the Antediluvians (b) usually on some specific ground, (c) determine to send a Deluge, and (d) give warning of it to some one or more beings. (e) The latter, usually following Divine directions, construct some kind of boat or box, or adopt some other means of escape. (f) In this structure they preserve also the necessary of life, including domestic animals, more rarely pairs of animals generally. (g) Shorty afterward, (h) the box is opened, and (i) the Deluge. (j) When the Deluge subsides, (k) they land on some mountain or island, and (l) sometimes offer a sacrifice. (m) Future descendants of men (and sometimes of animals also) are reproduced, often in a miraculous way. (n) The former or the chief of them are translated to heaven.

This imaginary norm, from which, or from something like it, all the stories might naturally be supposed to have come, is obtained by putting together the features which are most certain that have found. No story, in fact, gives them all. Even the Bible story has no translation of Noah (but see Antediluvians). The Greek legends have no post-diluvian sacrifice, and the Indian story in its earliest forms gives no reason at all for the Deluge. But, apart from such omissions, we find variations, under each head, of almost every conceivable kind.

(4) The Deluge, though almost always the work of some god, is occasionally, among the North American Indians, ascribed to a malignant being, as the Black Serpent (Algonquins), an eagle (Pimas), or a raven (Hare Indians).

(b) (1) The Deluge is a punishment for sin, not only in the Bible, but among the Finns, the Gipsy and Society Islanders, the Algonquins, and some others. (2) More particularly it results from the resentment of a god for some act of violence or personal injury, such as, rather, frequently, the refusal of hospitality (Greek Deluge story) or the slaying of a favourite. Thus, according to a Greek Flood story preserved by Nonnus, it was sent to put out a conflagration caused by Zeus for the murder of Dionysos by the Titans (Usener, p. 49). In a story of the Fiji Islanders it is the anger of the god for the slaughter of his favourite bird. The Dayaks of Borneo attribute a great Flood to the destruction and cooking of a boa-constrictor. With the Hare Indians (N. America) it is the raven who brings about the Deluge to punish the Wise Man for having thrown him into the fire, though, curiously enough, the raven escapes with him on the raft. Even more original is the cause of the Deluge as reported from the Leeward Islanders. In the story of fishing in sacred waters caught the hair of the sea-god as the latter was having a map (Ellis, Polynesian Researches, ii. 58). (3) In the Transylvanian Gipsy story it is the punishment for the disobedience of a woman in eating a forbidden fish—a motive which may have originated from the Biblical story of the Fall. In both these last stories the Deluge appears singularly unreasonable. In the latter the woman herself, who is alone responsible for the crime, is slain by the first flash of lightning; in the former, more unfairly still, the fisherman, his wife, and, according to some versions of the story, a few friends, are alone alive.

(c) The warning of the Deluge is generally made by revelation, sometimes directly (Genesis), sometimes by another god than the author of the Deluge (Akkadian), often through the medium of some which have foretold rain. The warning may be a story regarded as an incarnation of Visnu (Indian), by a wounded dog (Cherokee), or by llamas to a shepherd (Peru). The last two cases seem to have arisen out of the observed faculty that some domestic animals have of foretelling rain. The motive of the Indian story seems connected with an ancient mythological conception, which attached a peculiar sanctity to the fish. In a story of the
Finns a warning is given three times in vain by an eagle (himself the cause of the Flood) to a prophet (Bancroft, *N. B.iii. 78*). (d) Those who are permitted to escape vary very largely. Frequently it is one person only, as the old woman or her daughter (cf. *cf. the man and his wife* (Darijung, Himalayanas), a brother and sister (Kolarians, East India), or two pairs (Andamanese). Less frequently a few friends or slaves are also saved, as in the Bible and in the Leeward Islands stories, where, however, accounts differ. Rarely we find a considerable number, including slaves (Akkadian). In a highly original story of Kabadi, in New Guinea, all the men escape by getting up into the peak of a mountain and waiting till the Deluge has subsided. In other stories they are all destroyed, and the Deluge is followed by a new creation (Kashmir). Especially was this the case where the purpose of the Deluge was the destruction of monstrous beings (see *Antediluvians*). In some American Indian stories it is an animal only that survives, such as the coyote (Wappo, etc., California); in one of the legends of the Indian Nagas (Karens in Burma), it is the coyote and the demi-god Montezuma, while the Thlinkits make the raven and his mother the sole survivors. (e) While by far the most usual means of escape is by boats or rafts, there are a few legends outside the Bible story in which a larger or smaller box or ark serves the purpose, as with the Banar of Cambodia and in some forms of the Greek Deluge legend. Possibly this is the origin of the Australian Canoe legend, which forms the centre of extremely curious ceremonies among the N. American Mandans, which are certainly connected with some old Deluge story (see *G. Catlin, O-Kee-pa, London, 1866*). Very frequently all the refugees escape to a mountain, either by means of a boat or directly, and some very curious and graphic accounts are given of the straits to which the survivors were reduced, as the water came higher and higher. Thus in a legend of the Ojibwa, Mamantcho, when the waters have reached the mountain peak, sets up on the topmost branch of a fir-tree, where the waters gradually rise to his mouth, in which he becomes drowned. In yet another it is by a canoe which the survivor makes out of a piece of the sky (Sae and Fox Indians). In not a few stories the survivors escape by climbing up into a fruit-tree (fruits in Borneo, Tree in Brasil, Acaucas in British Guiana), or, more curiously still, by climbing up a chimney (Makah or Kwakiutl in British Columbia). In some Peruvian stories the mountain of refuge itself floats on the Deluge like a boat. Caves are, singularly enough, the place of refuge in a legend of the Mexican Chichas and of the Arawaks of British Guiana, and the hole of a monstrous land-crab serves the purpose in the story of the Urans, a tribe of the ignorant Indians. From a translation of a very remarkable bark picture of a tribe of the Algonquins, it would appear that the place of refuge was a turtle's back, which became identified with an island. But quaintest of all is the story of the Cree, in which the one surviving girl saves herself by catching hold of the foot of a bee which carries her up to the top of a hollow mountain. In the Thlinkkit story the raven and his mother escape; in that of the Paracat it is the Pagupag the coyote saves himself in a bamboo sealed with rain. (f) Speaking generally, food for the future is provided in one of two ways, either by the survivors taking it with them, as in the Bible story, or by its being produced in some marvellous way afterwards. The preservation of animals, apart from their use for food and sacrifice, is very rare, not being found even in the Akkadian version, and is probably derived from the Bible version. Food is miraculously produced in the stories of the coyote, whose brothers have by two primeval parrots in a Peruvian story (cf. Elijah and the ravens); in another the survivors feed on fish, which they warm under their arm-pits (Tolowa in California). (g) The Deluge in many stories comes without warning, as, it would appear, the necessary consequence of crime, *e.g.* the cooking of the fish and the serpent respectively in the Gipay and Dayak stories already referred to. More frequently it is caused after a short period of preparation, the whole of the earth being covered with water at some time before- hand. The 7th day of the Bible (Gen. 7: 10), and probably of the Akkadian story also, has its parallel in a late version of the Indian story (see below, v. Deluge). (h) The physical causes to which the Deluge is assigned in different legends are numerous. Naturally enough it is generally rain, often with thunder and lightning. In a Sac and Fox Indian story the earth is said to be made of wax, as large as a wigwam. Less frequently it is the incursion of a wave (Washo, California), or the pouring in of the water of the sea on to the land (Makah Indians of Cape Flattery). Sometimes it is the sudden melting of the winter snow, as when a monkey grasped through the bag containing the heat and let it out (Chippewa). Sometimes the cause ascribed is very fantastic. A man accidentally lets fall and breaks the jar containing the water of the ocean (New Guinea), or it is made of wax (Tolowa, California) and it is the same motive, with the same fatal consequences, that tempts the ape to remove the mat which covered the waters in a hollow tree through which they communicated with the ocean (Acawo). (i) In a Finnish story the Deluge is of hot water. According to a legend of the Quiché Indians, a deluge of resin followed one of water, and in some cases fire may be said to take the place of water, the conflagration for story being the Akkadian flood, of which the account is analogous to the more usual deluge of water (Yuracarés of Bolivia, Mundari of East India; cf. *artt. Ages of the World*). In extent the Deluge varies from an obviously local flood to a universal deluge. Very frequently everything is covered except a few lofty ranges such as the Rocky Mountains (Déné Indians). In one Australian legend the low island of refuge alone remained uncovered, when the lofty mountain on the mainland, on which the people had taken refuge, was submerged, this idea probably arising from a not uncommon notion that islands float. (j) The duration of the Deluge is very seldom given, and, as the two Bible narratives differ both as to its duration from one another (Akkadian), and in yet another it is by a canoe which the survivor makes out of a piece of the sky (Sae and Fox Indians). In not a few stories the survivors escape by climbing up into a fruit-tree (fruits in Borneo, Tree in Brasil, Acaucas in British Guiana), or, more curiously still, by climbing up a chimney (Makah or Kwakiutl in British Columbia). In some Peruvian stories the mountain of refuge itself floats on the Deluge like a boat. Caves are, singularly enough, the place of refuge in a legend of the Mexican Chichas and of the Arawaks of British Guiana, and the hole of a monstrous land-crab serves the purpose in the story of the Urans, a tribe of the ignorant Indians. From a translation of a very remarkable bark picture of a tribe of the Algonquins, it would appear that the place of refuge was a turtle's back, which became identified with an island. 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A more remarkable proceeding is that of the surviving coyote, who, according to the Wappo Indians, planted feathers wherever the wigwams used to stand and they grew into men and women. A similar story is told by Bancroft (iii. 57) of some Californian tribes who relate that men were created
by the coyote and a feather which became an eagle. The Déé Indians sometimes identify that as the god animals take into men, but it is not explained where the animals came from. In a story of the Pinus Szeats, the surviving son of a god, having slain the eagle which had caused the Deluge, rolls the dead bird (Huang-ruo-ching, chap. iii., 78). The Indian post-diluvian rite was a complicated sacrificial ceremony by which Man was apparently directed to produce both men and animals by an offering of clarified butter. But it is possible here to distinguish the primitive legend from later ritual and mystic acretions.

Where there is a single survivor, or only survivors of one sex, the re-peoning of the earth is frequently effected by union with some god or animal.

We have an example of the former in a story of the Pelew Islanders. In the story of the Crees the surviving maiden forms an alliance with the great eagle, through whom she has effected her escape. In a Persian story one of the surviving brothers eats the parrot which has brought him food and she becomes his wife. In the Alaskan story the preservation of seed is almost a unique feature. The necessity of re-planting the earth, or at any rate of re-filling it with cereals and vegetables, does not generally seem to have suggested itself.

(a) The apotheosis of the chief survivors is an important feature of the Babylonian story. There may be a trace of it also in Gn 6:2 (P; cf. Gn 5:2; see ANTIDELUVIANS).

If, then, the argument from the many existing Deluge stories were pressed, the most that it could with any reason be supposed to prove would be a rather colourless tradition of a Deluge or great Flood of some sort; but any such argument would have to be largely discounted, if not altogether neutralized, by facts to be considered under the next head.

(ii) Deluge inundations.—That this supposition will account for a very large number of Flood stories is obvious.

i. The Chinese Deluge story is merely an early tradition, though highly coloured, of such an inundation as has frequently taken place in the valley of the Hwang Ho (see V. E. ii., iii.).

ii. Such stories are especially frequent in volcanic districts subject to earthquakes and seismic waves, as in the Prince of Wales Peninsula (Hersting St. John), the later Lake Winnipiseogee, or the Bay near Hervey Bay in Queensland. In a legend connected with the last-named place the inundation is expressly ascribed to a monster wave which burst over the land. In the story of Cape Flattery, the prairie which was flooded was once submerged, and has an alluvial deposit of about a foot, as Swan argues, who gave the story in Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, vol. xvi. (quoted by Eells in Amer. Antiquarian, i, 70-72).

In northern districts the Deluge is sometimes assigned to the melting of the snow (e.g. Chipewyas), and very probably originated in a reminiscence of an exceptional inundation from such a cause. The same may be said of the Deluge stories of island peoples. The experience of high tides occasioned by storms would naturally make an impression upon the active imagination of a savage race, and occasion, or at any rate give a certain colour to, stories of this kind. Such tides are still a matter of great interest in the American coast and among the Eskimo, where the tide for a time may be several feet above the highest level reached by the sea; and the normal savage is like a clever child only half awake. A more potent cause might be found in the submergence or appearance of islands through volcanic action.

In many Deluge stories obviously originated in purely local events makes it highly probable that this is the true explanation of many others, where the local cause has been obscured as a tradition, has then become a legend, and has finally passed into a myth, the tendency of the imagination being towards making the story more and more wonderful. Thus, what was originally a local flood may become a universal Deluge, the surviving anecdote, the survivor of a violent inundation is ascribed to the direct, and often quite miraculous, action of Divine Beings. How far any particular story can be thus explained must be considered on its own merits.

C. Explanations of natural phenomena.—How far did Deluge and Flood stories arise as a hypothetical explanation of observed facts or racial conditions?

(iii) They often appear as a pseudo-scientific explanation of natural phenomena. The savage mind would naturally ask, How came the sea and land, mountains and valleys, and lakes and islands to be where they are and what they are? Whence the differences of water, land, and climate? How came the fossils which are found upon the hills? To these questions they found an answer in the hypothesis of a great Deluge which left the fish turned into stone on the land (Eskimo [see Hall, Life with the Esquimaux, London, 1864, ii. 318]. Lecward Islanders, Samoan Islanders); or formed a large lake (such as the Tahoe in California, or the Dihlo Lake on the southern border of the Congo State); or caused men to seek refuge in distant lands, to discover and lend aid to the survivors of the Deluge (Ranawans [Washington, Makah Indians of Cape Flattery, Thlinikits, Bella-Coolas]; or left the red colouring on the Islanders' skin (Crees). Sometimes the Deluge plays quite a subordinate part in a story which is essentially of a different kind.

A Deluge story of the Pelew Islanders is connected with a picturesque account of the origin of the red stripe on the head of the bird called the tarit (Callipeplis lutea). In the Pelew Deluge myth, among other motives, explains the saltness of the sea. In an interesting myth connected with Mangias (Cook Islands), the great purpose of which is to explain the origin of the many fish in the sea, and of the coco-nut, the Flood is merely required to bring up the coco-nut, out of which the human child grows, to the door of the house, but whose pious duty it was to say him. In fact, there is another version of the same myth in which there is no flood at all (Hall, Myth, p. 281). Gill, who was 22 years a missionary in the Hervey Group, had specially favourable opportunities of collecting stories uninfluenced by Christian teaching; as he obtained them directly from Tesevala, the last priest of the god Tialo, who took the double form of a shark and an eagle. Incidentally also the Flood story given above accounts for the passage by which the water drains into the sea. In another legend, told by Gill, the chief object of the Flood was to put out the furnaces of Riolith, the earth being designed to cook Nguru. The Flood puts out the furnace and permits Nguru to effect his escape.

It is very probable that to the same intelligent curiosity we must refer those many stories which seem to lead up to the origin of land, or at least of islands.

There is an old Indian legend according to which Vigoo in his creation as a boy brings up land from the bottom of the ocean (Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv. [Lond. 1873], ch. i. and ii.). With this we may compare the legend that Queru pulled up the island of Mangaia out of the nether world. But there are several apparently analogous stories among the American Indians connected with a Deluge which occurs as an event, not as a primordial condition. In such stories some animal, a duck or beaver or fish, more often a small rat, dives down for earth and brings it up between its feet or in its mouth (See and Fox Indians, Chipewyas, Ohjivas). Some have compared the curious episode to the sending out of birds by Noah in the later Babylonian story. But there the clay on the feet of the birds is a proof of the re-appearance of ground, on which, though still wet, the birds could walk; whereas in the Indian legend the cause is a real variant of the dove and the olive branch. It is very unlikely that, as Andree remarks, the sending out of animals in the American Indian stories has any connection with that Bible incident. More probably it is an ancient myth accounting for the origin of land, and among an originally coastal people has become mixed up with later inundation traditions of a more local character.

It seems probable that in some cases, among island and coast-land peoples, the Deluge story originated in the tradition of the early migration of the people. In such cases the ocean is itself the Deluge, and the island or coast-land the home to which they escaped. In some such way the Bunna account for their settlement in the Malay Peninsula. How easily traditions of such a kind could
pass into myths may be seen in many of those Deluge stories, in which comparatively recent events have become interwoven with them.

Thus a Deluge myth of Western Australia is connected with a story of an earthquake and "white" rain, and can have originated or taken its present shape only after the first English settlements in the country. In a Deluge myth of the Papago Indians, a white-spirited, indigible to tame Mio-

tetana's rebellious temper, sent an insect into the unknown land, the Spacituras, which destroyed Montezuma, and people no longer worshipped him as god. Here Montezuma, an Aztec ruler, who was actually killed by the Spanish in 1520, has become the demigod-hero of an ancient Flood myth.

D. Deluge stories explained as part of a definite cosmological system.—This has been incidentally touched upon in the account of Noah, the sun-god. The life of a myth is history, and a myth may be explained in any number of ways, but such conceptions are hardly of a kind to account for the general prevalence of Deluge stories. Moreover, the savage mind, at any rate, was essentially local and limited in its range, and compared with the world at large, the horizon of its ordinary experience.

E. Deluge stories explained as Nature myths.—In this view some forms of the Deluge story, especially those of Palestine, Babylon, Greece, and India, are considered representations of some ordinary natural phenomenon of constant recurrence. Noah in his Ark is generally regarded by its ex-

ponents as a sun myth, but as regards the interpretation of the story there is a wide divergence of opinion.

1. Cheyne, for example (see art. 'Deluge,' in E.B.Y), following Schirren and Gerland, suggests that the Deluge has been trans-

formed into the sun myth. According to the Jewish legend, the pre-emp 

tory of Noah in the Ark, like that of Zeus in his chariot, is a mythical interpretation of the course of the sun. But this would imply an incredible twist of the primitive imagination.

2. Usser, on the other hand, who has written on the subject at very great length, makes the whole point of the myth lie in the finding of the Deluge hero, which represents the rising sun. He derives his argument partly from philology, but chiefly from the comparative mythology. He explains Denuskion as the 'Little Zeus'—a suitable name for the newborn sun, and he compares the many stories, such as those of Perseus and Oedipus, in which a child is thrown into the sea in a chest or otherwise, and whose landing gives rise to some cult, which he connects sometimes, rather curiously, with that of the sun. In fact, almost every legend which has a sun in it (and there is one to be found almost anywhere) is explained in this marvellous manner, from Arion on his dolphin to the legend of Dionysus and Erato.

3. Usser finds developments of the same idea in fairy tales, Christian legends, and many myths and religious customs, coins, etc., representing the sun god, like Thoth, Horus, Osiris, or Eternity. Strangest of all are the illustrations drawn from the legend of St. Christopher, the river-god, and, according to Usser, the pictures of the Christian baptism. He lays great stress on the fact that the season of baptism was called Epiphanie, an emblem of rising light, and even directs attention to the fact that the water is de-

scribed as stormy, seeing in this the idea that the water was con-

ceived as lifting up the soul in the Ark, preparatory to its landing, i.e. rising. Such arguments as these hardly need serious discussion.

F. General conclusion.—Speaking generally, the comparative study of Deluge legends tends to make it more and more evident that, while a very large proportion of them certainly arose originally out of local events, these have always been highly colored and frequently transformed by the imagination, which among more uncivilized races saw all Nature teeming with conscious life in manifold forms. Either in conjunction with such traditions, or sometimes independently of them, Deluge stories have been taken as the out of an inventive creative imagination, which is the natural wonder of the present by even greater wonders in the past, and by a process of repetition changed the guesses of an earlier into the traditions of a later age. In this way, such stories have a living interest to the student of psychology, but are of far less importance in the comparative study of religion. It should be added that, though the common derivation of Deluge stories from the Bible Deluge can no longer be maintained, the Bible story and those related to it have had in various ways a wide and important influence upon a large number of these.

V. Groups of Deluge stories.—A. SEMITIC.—

The Semitic Deluge story is found in three forms: (i.) that of the Akkad tablets, (ii.) the Bible Deluge, and (iii.) the story as narrated by later Babylonian historians, e.g. Berossus. It is now generally recognized by scholars of different schools that (i.) represents the most ancient form of the story, of which (ii.) is merely a variant, while (ii.) is a very different version of the old story adapted to an altogether different conception. The grounds on which this opinion is based are: (1) that the belief, though the date of the inscription upon the Akkad tablets is probably about 2000 B.C., it is a copy of a poem dating from about 2200 B.C., as it is confirmed by the mutilated fragment of another Babylonian Deluge story, discovered by Schell at Abū Habba (Sippara), the colophon of which points to a date for the inscription of 2290-2150 B.C. (see Ball, ii.); (2) that the story, as drawn, may have been brought by the Israelite people migrated; (3) that the story itself, in both its Biblical and Akkadian forms, is connected more nearly with the same region of the world than with the mountains of Nizir [Akkadian], Arrarat [Bible]; (4) that the Akkad story is based upon the religious ideas of that country and the worship of the ancient gods of Babylonia, while that of Genesis is conceived in the spirit of the high morality and monothecism of the Jews.

i. The Akkad Deluge story.—The Akkad Deluge story, discovered by George Smith in 1872 among some monuments in the British Museum, was inscribed on the eleventh of twelve tablets, each containing one canto of an ancient epic poem. Each tablet is connected with a sign of the zodiac, and, as the eleventh is that corre-

sponding to Aquarius, the Deluge story is particu-

larly suitable. The epic relates the adventures of a certain Gilgames, who is frequently identified by scholars with the Ninurta of Genesis. In order to seek a remedy for sickness, he pays a visit to his mother, who in the month of the river Euphrates, and Sinutäsi gives him an account of the Deluge and of his own translation, of which the following is an abstract:

The gods in Sutinäsi's absence, determined to send a Deluge. Ea, the lord of wisdom, reveals their purpose to Sutinäsi, and bids him build a ship of certain dimensions, there being the seed of life, and launch it. Sinutäsi carries out these instructions, building it 120 cubits (7) high, of six stoen, and divided into seven parts, pouring over it several measures of 'pitch' both inside and out, and providing it with oars. Having celebrated a great sacrificial feast with oxen and sheep, beer, wine, oil, and grapes, he brings into the Ark stores of gold and silver, beasts of the field, man-

servants and maid-servants, and the sons of his people [call " the craftsmen" (Hall)]. Having done so, Sinutäsi is bid to enter and shut the door, and to await the Deluge that night. He appoints Dumuzi, king of the 'land of Thera,' (Buzur and Ball) his pilot, and waits in dread for the storm, which burst forth next morning. The description of the storm and the conflagration of the earth are thus graphically and forcibly described (57-111):

When the first light of dawn appeared,

There arose from the fountain of heaven a black cloud;

Rimmon in the heart of it thunders, and

Nabu and Marduk march ahead

The Throne-bearers march over mountain and plain.

The mighty Æthibar (or Girta) wrenches away the helm;

Ninib goes on pouring out rain;

The Annunaki (earth-spirits) lifted torches;

With their shen they lighten the world.

Rimmon's violeat torcheth to heaven,

Whatever is bright he turneth to darkness.

One day the Southern blast

Hard it blew, and...
DELUGE

Like a battle-charge upon mankind rush the [waters].
One no longer sees another; No more are discerned in (described) from heaven.
The gods cried aloud, Sought refuge in ascending highest heavens (lit. the heavens of Anu); The gods cowered like dogs; on the battlements [of heaven] they crouched.

...screams like a woman in travail...
The loud-voiced Lady of the gods explains: "You generation is turned again to clay! All and every one of the gods forebode the evil. A tempest for the destruction of my people I foretold. But I will give birth to my people [again], though Lady Babylon rises through the sea." The gods, because of the Anunnaki went with her; The gods were distressed, they gave warning.
Closed were their lips (Ball, p. 281).

For 6 days and nights the storm races, and shakes on the 7th, when the waters begin to subside. Štipnāṣti weeps at the sight of the corpse; he opens the window, however, and discovers distant land. Thither the ship steers, and grounds on Mt. Nimr. Here, after another 7 days' interval, Štipnāṣti sees forth a dove, which finds no resting place, and returns.
He then sends forth a raven, which, when it sees that the waters have subsided, returns. Then he sends forth the animals to the four winds of heaven, builds an altar, and offers sacrifices with libations of wine, at which the gods collect like flies (3), while the great goddess Enlil fights up the mighty bow (3). The account goes on to describe how, when Bel sees the ship, he is filled with anger, and commands the gods that no one shall step forth again alive. He also declares that for having caused a Deluge, and suggests it is future other punishments, such as when the sun revolved about the world, that he did not. Hereafter he reveals the counsel of the gods, but only sent a dream to Atra-Hasis. His pleas are so successful that Bel takes Štipnāṣti's hand and invites him and his wife, and bids them be as gods, and dwell at the mouth of the rivers.

Unfortunately, there are a large number of lacunae, and in many other passages the language is very obscure; but the above may be taken as fairly representing the general drift.

There can be little doubt that the text as we have it is composite (see Sayce, Higher Crit. and Mon. ch. iii.). The Deluge is ascribed first to the gods collectively, then to the sun-god (Šamaš), and, lastly, exclusively to Bel. The hero of the Deluge is twice called Atra-Hasis instead of Štipnāṣti. Moreover, a double version of Ea's warning speech is given, and, lastly, Bel's counsel to Štipnāṣti is omitted—consists of 57 lines. It represents some god as calling upon Šannu to bring a flood on the earth, and Ea as interposing to save Atra-Hasis (see Driver, Genesis, in loco: Ball, p. 43).

Before passing on to consider the Bible Deluge, we must call attention to a few passages in the Akkadian story. (1) The recurrence of periods of seven days' duration. The preparations appear to have taken 7 days (cf. Gn 7:3), the ship being completed on the 5th, and 2 days more being required for the furnishing and emboating. The storm itself lasted 7 days, and there was another interval of 7 days, while the Deluge was abating, before sending out the birds, which were sent out consecutively, apparently on the 7th day, or, at any rate, at the great interval (the story of Berossus, 'after some days').

...the ship are uncertain. There are lacunae in the direction where the directions are first given, but, at any rate, the height and breadth are the same. In describing the actual building of the ship, the height (and, therefore, the breadth also) is 10 sars (150 cubits [Sayce, Hommel]), but the length is not given. It seems, therefore, enormously larger than the Bible Ark 4 times the height and 3½ times the breadth (cf. Gn 6:10').—(3) These saved in the ship included Štipnāṣti, his wife and slaves (male and female), and the pilot and all his people; but the mention of other relatives at least doubtful. (4) Most important of all: Atra-Hasis and his wife (but no others) are translated.

i. THE BIBLE DELUGE STORY.—I. Analysis.—The Bible Deluge story, like the Akkadian, is certainly composite, parts belonging to the comparatively late Priestly Code (P), and parts, speaking generally, to the ancient Jahweh source (J).

The parts usually assigned to J are: 6:7-17, 7:10 (in part) [see below].
The parts usually assigned to P are: 6:18-23, 7:8, 10-15a, 16-18, 21-22, 24, 28a, 30c. Isa. 14:19-20, 21-22.

2. The J Deluge story.—(a) Its date.—Though the composition of J as a whole can hardly be earlier than the 9th cent. B.C., it seems probable that the Deluge story here is taken from the 12th or 15th, there is clearly a distinction between certain domestic animals that were sacrificed and wild game (i.e. clean animals) which it had been the custom to eat, but which could not be sacrificed—a distinction which is also implied in the story of the deception of Isaac (Gn 27:1-3).

On the other hand, the Deluge was not a universal tradition among the Israelites, or, at any rate, did not form part of a generally recognized historical system; the tradition concerning Lamech's sons (Gn 4:22) implies an unbroken history of civilization; and, if the writer of this last section was aware of the Flood tradition, he certainly did not regard it as a universal Deluge. Many critics, therefore, regard the Deluge story as a comparatively late insertion into the original cycle of J traditions (see Of Ben, loc. cit.).

(6) A relation of some kind between J and the Akkadian story is evident. The points of similarity are the Divine decision to bring a Flood (Gn 6:7) in consequence of man's sin (this is implied in Ea's expostulation with Bel in the Akkadian story); the warning by Divine agency that the Flood was coming (7); the command to build an Ark, implied in 6:15; the periods of 7 days, though not so connectedly as in the Akkadian story (7:10, 8:9, 20); the sending out of birds at intervals; the sacrifice after the Deluge, and the delight shown in it by Jahweh (8:22); On the other hand, it differs in the monothestic character of the whole story, and the necessary omission of the petty quarrels of the gods; and in its infinitely higher religious and moral tone (the occasion of the Flood, Jahweh's wrath against man, and the emphasis which we do not find in the Akkadian story); the means of preservation, an ark or chest, instead of a ship; the Flood's duration of 40 days instead of 7; the birds sent out—raven, dove, dove, dove, instead of a proper swallow, raven; the incidence of the olive branch (but cf. Berossus); and the omission of the apostheosis of Noah.

* For full analysis, see Oxford Hex; Kautzsch and Sohn (quoted in Ussher, pp. 17-23). Driver, Genesis, 1892.

** Note added, v. (afterwards corrected by revisor) to P.

† Ball argues from the dimensions that the Akkadian ship was really a chest; but it had ears and a stern, and was launched and navigated.
(c) At this point two important questions arise. 
(1) Is the Bible story derived from the Akkadian, as we find it in the tablets? Probably not. That there were several versions of the story current in Babylon is clear from the evidence of two stories contained in the Akkadian, as well as the evidence of the other mutilated fragments, as well as by the account of Berossus, which differs in some important particulars. The olive branch in the dove's mouth is the kind of picturesque detail which looks very ancient, and may have been original, and is to some extent confirmed by Berossus (see below, V. A. iii. 1, b. c). It has been suggested that the sending out of birds may have originated in the well-attested ancient custom of letting birds loose to ascertain the direction of land; but, while this is not altogether improbable, it must be admitted that such a purpose is not very evident in the Akkadian story, and is quite inadmissible in that of the Bible. On the whole, it would appear that the Bible story is derived from one that did not differ essentially from the Akkadian as we know it.

(2) Is the story of J a deliberate paraphrase of whatever form it was derived from, or was it the result of a gradual process of omission? Such a subject is hardly capable of positive proof, but the probability seems in favour of the latter alternative. (a) If the story was, as seems likely, derived from Babylonian at an early date (note its anthropomorphic details), and that of J's is a later one still (9), it would probably, in all probability, have been handed on by oral tradition many centuries before it was written down, and, if so, would naturally have become gradually changed in the telling, as religious ideas developed from time to time. (b) We can thus find best account for one of the most characteristic differences—the chest of the Bible left to drift by chance or at the Divine will, in the place of the purposely navigated boat of the Akkadian story. No doubt Lenormant was right in saying that the latter is a feature suitable to the story told by a maritime people, such as the inhabitants of the Persian Gulf, whereas the Bible Ark points to a people ignorant of navigation (Orig. i. 45, quoted by André, p. 8); but it seems unlikely that a writer in comparatively late times would have deliberately altered the ship into an ark, whereas such a change might naturally come about later. If writers have made this difference as a proof of the priority of the Bible, and even Cheyne, while very far from admitting such a view, suggested that possibly this particular feature may be more primitive—the conversion of the chest into a ship being due, if this be the case, to a rationalizing tendency (art. 'Deluge,' in EB)—such an argument cannot be considered as to any extent outweighing the strong grounds for the priority of the Akkadian story; and, after all, that the Bible Deluge should be in this, as it is in other respects, more marvellous than an early form of the story, is what we might naturally expect in a later stage of tradition.

(d) Conclusion.—We probably have in the J story a mere compilation, either brought with the people from Babylon at their first immigration, or obtained from that country through the frequent intercourse which we know to have existed from early times between the two peoples, but modified as the link in the gradual course of transmission, a suitable vehicle for enforcing those great moral and religious truths which became the distinguishing features of the Israelites.

3. The P Version of the Deluge.—(e) Compared with that of J, P has in addition the description and the dimensions of the Ark, the description of the Deluge as due to the breaking up of all the fountains of the great deep, as well as the opening of the windows of heaven (71 8), the stranding of the Ark on Mt. Ararat (88), and the rainbow (9 18), together with statistical references to Noah's age, etc. P omits the sending out of animals and the ark, and substitutes the elaborate covenant connected with the rainbow (9 17) and laws of blood for the simple promise of J; and, on the other hand, may have simplified and omitted all 356 days instead of 61, and substitutes the elaborate covenant connected with the rainbow (9 17) and laws of blood for the simple promise of J; and, on the other hand, may have simplified and omitted all.

(b) The comparison with J and with the Akkadian Deluge raises a somewhat difficult question. Was P's story derived independently from Babylon during or shortly after the Exile, or was it, on the other hand, merely a revision of J's Deluge story? or, again, was it in some respects an independent version of the ancient story, belonging, like J's account, to ancient religious traditions?

Those who adopt either the first or third of these alternatives lay stress on the fact that so much of what is peculiar to P has its parallels in the Akkadian story, in which we find certain dimensions of the ship, its being tarred with pitch, the Deluge ascribed apparently to the sea as well as the rainstorm, and the promise that all the creatures of the earth shall be destroyed. On the other hand, it may be observed (a) that, as already pointed out, the actual dimensions of the Akkadian ship are enormously greater than those of P's ark, and, moreover, that the insertion of exact dimensions in the account of the Deluge is not at all in accordance with the method of P, as, e.g., in the dimensions of the Tabernacle and all its furniture; the resemblance, therefore, on this point, such as it is, may be merely accidental; (b) that the reference to the rainbow in the Akkadian story is not the idea of its being the sign of a covenant made with the earth, but of a sign warning of the coming of the Deluge; and (c) that, on the other hand, P's story does not resemble the Babylonian story, as Quatremère de Quincy, Houdin, and other later writers have been led to think; and, furthermore, that the omission of the sacrifice of Noah accords with the omission of all the Patriarchal sacrifices—an omission which certainly suggests the inference that P disbelieved in or held the accounts of sacrifice altogether. Lastly, the omission of such an anthropomorphism as 'Jahwh shut him in' in 7th is quite in character with P's usual practice. (c) As the present combined account of the Deluge is based on P's story, which apparently has been preserved almost intact, whereas some parts of J are obviously omitted (those, for instance, giving the warning of the Deluge and directions for building the Ark), it is quite possible that some general statement of the Ark's dimensions, a description of the pitch, the covering, the placing of animals, etc., the account of the rain no longer considered in its place, and the incident of the rainbow, may originally have had a place in J's story. If this be so, P must have retained the latter, not because of its picturesque, but as the basis for a favourite theme, as a Divine covering for the gradual unfolding of the story, and effectually with the change of Gl to 365 days, the number of days in the solar year, though it does not agree with the three weeks of the Akkadian story, appears to be based upon some astronomical theory, and may be due to Babylonian influence of some kind. It may also be reasonably urged that the reference to the fountains of the great deep really corresponds with P's idea of nomenclature (cf. G. N. P.), and finds a
paralled in the post-exilic Is 24:1. It is not likely, therefore, that it was originally derived from J. This view may be considered not improbable, that in addition to J, P may have had access to some other version of the Akkadian story, but, if so, and as far as it is derived quite uncertain.

iii. The Deluge according to Later Babylonian Tradition. —The Deluge as given by Berossus. —Berossus was a priest of Bel in Babylon about 300 B.C., who wrote a history of Babylonia (see art. BEROSUS). He claims to have copied out MSS of several authors who had been previously written on the Babylonian flood for 15 centuries. Unfortunately, only a few fragments of his work have been preserved, which were copied by later authors. His Deluge story is given or referred to by several sources:

(a) It was copied by Alexander Polyhistor (a Milesian writer of the 1st cent. B.C.), whose work is also lost. Thence it was copied by Eusebius in his Chronicon; and, though the original of the Chronicon is also lost, it still exists in an Armenian tr., and it was also reproduced, probably verbatim, by Syncellus in his Chronographia.

(b) A Latin translation, based partly on the Armenian version, with the various readings of the Syriac and Persian versions, is added to the work of Eusebius by the Chronicon of Eusebius (i. vii., also in Prep. Evan. ix. 12, p. 414) and in the Chronography of Syncellus (p. 70).

It differs, however, (1) in making a double interval of three days before and between the sending of the birds, and (2) in the birds being sent out only twice. Mige's attempt to get out of the text of Syncellus a third sending of the birds is not quite successful; it would require that it took place after they had returned with the clay.

5. References to Berossus's Deluge story in Josephus. —Josephus's account of the Deluge (Ant. 1. iii. 5, 6) differs slightly from that of the Bible. He mentions that Noah, when the Ark rested on the top of a certain mountain of Armenia, opened it and saw a small piece of land. The dove was sent out 7 days after the rain, and only came returned, covered with mud and bringing an olive-branch. After waiting 7 days more, he sent forth the living creatures. These differences may be partly due to the fact that in the Greek text of the Deluge, and therefore the reference to the clay, at any rate, is taken from the account of Berossus, which he had seen, and probably other accounts also, for he goes on to say: 'All writers of barbarian history make mention of this Flood and this Ark among whom is Berossus the Chaldaean,' and he quotes from him the statement about the remains of the ship on the Kordyaeans, and the use made of the pitch, in the same words as those used by Eusebius and Syncellus, who themselves refer to Polyhistor as their authority. This proves beyond a doubt that Polyhistor's story was derived from Berossus.

Josephus's statement about the universality of the Deluge story may be taken as showing that his Deluge story was a common theme among ancient historians.

iv. Origin of the Semitic Deluge Story. —(a) There is nothing to suggest in this case that it formed part of a consistent mythological system. (b) Being one of the oldest stories, the subject was clearly suitable for treatment in the Akkadian Epic in connexion with the rainy month; nor need we suppose it, therefore, connected with any special astronomical theories. (c) It is not possible to assign to it any particular status in Semitic mythology, though the Deluge stories of the Canaanites and the Phoenicians do play their part, finds its analogies in many Deluge and other stories throughout the world, in which natural events form the basis of, or become mixed up with, mythological details (see above, IV. C. (b)). (d) The frequency of Deluge stories arising out of natural inundations gives a prima facie probability that such an event was the origin of the tradition in this instance. (e) In both the Bible story and the Akkadian the Deluge is ascribed to natural causes: (1) an excessive rainfall; (2) somewhat more indefinitely, the rising of the sea. The first is obvious in both accounts. The second is definitely stated in P in the words 'all the fountains of the great deep were broken up' (Gen 7:11). The deep being regarded as being under the earth, such language would very naturally suggest an earthquake breaking up the ground and letting the deep burst forth. It seems implied also in the Akkadian story, which, if it does not, at least indicates in the characteristic phrases which speak of the earth trembling, and the floods breaking out below the earth, at least describes such a terrific storm and tempest and invasion of waters as to imply a cyclonic wave rather than a mere overflowing of rivers if. The traditional resting-places of the ark, Ararat = Armenia (Bible
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and Berossus), and Nizir = Rowandiz in the North-East of Babylonia (Akkadim), point to a definite region of the world. (g) Siiss has pointed out with great force that the necessary conditions are fulfilled by supposing that the shores of the Persian Gulf were given in detail by ancient writers, accompanied by a tremendous cyclone. The very great distance which such waves travel, and the fearful destruction of life and property which is often involved, have frequently been pointed out.

Thus the wave associated with the backgarden cyclone in the delta of the Ganges reached a height of 45 ft. and destroyed nearly 100,000 lives (CBS viii. 22, 11); the wave caused by the eruption of Krakatoa (30th-31st Aug. 1883) reached 50 ft. (cf. the 15 cubits of P. Gr 779) and destroyed more than 30,000 lives. One wave reached as far as Cape Horn, 9,510 geographical miles distant (CBS xxvii. 239).

It can hardly be deemed improbable that a phenomenon of such a kind occurred on the coast of the Persian Gulf, then probably lying much further north than now, and that but few survivors escaped in boats to the more hilly regions, with what effects they could secure. We have, in an event like this, all that is needed for the growth of such stories as are preserved in the Akkadian Epic and the Bible Deluge.

It need hardly be added that the religious value of the Bible story does not lie in its improbable details, which are sometimes among the least, but rather in the religious and moral lessons, of which the ancient tradition was made the vehicle, viz. that Jehovah hated and would punish sin, but would save those who were faithful and obedient, while the further thought is suggested in P, at least, that His mercy is a more abiding motive than His wrath.

B. THE GREK DELUGE STORIES.—I. Story of Deukalion and Pyrrha.—This is by far the most important of the Greek Deluge, or flood, stories.

(a) Its most typical form is that given by Apollodorus (140 B.C.) in his Bibliotheca, i. vii. 2: When Zeus determined to destroy the men of the age of copper, Deukalion, at the suggestion of Pyrrha his father, constructed a chest (ἀναρακτή), into which, having placed therein the necessary of life, he entered with his wife Pyrrha. Zeus sent a great rain, which flooded most parts of Greece, and destroyed all except those who escaped to the neighbouring hill-tops. The pair, after drifting in the chest for 9 days and nights, reached Parnassus, and the flood having somewhat abated, disembarked, whereupon Deukalion sacrificed to Zeus, and Zeus, and in gratitude, caused the chest to be transformed into a mountain, in which Deukalion and Pyrrha became men, and those which Pyrrha threw, women. Then follows a derivation of the word Aede (Ἄδει) from ἀαράκτη (ποτίνος) [chest].

(b) This story evidently originated in a confusion of a myth with what may have been an ancient tradition. If Pandora, as Apollodorus had just asserted, was the first woman, and Prometheus first made men of earth and water, how could Deukalion be, as Apollodorus likewise states, king of Phthia, and who were the men who were nearly all destroyed? How, again, is the survival of any consistent with the story of the stones?

(c) (1) There seems to be an allusion to the story of the stones in Hesiod ('Hesiod, fr. 141, ed. Rauch; see Usener, p. 32). (2) The earliest complete reference, however, to Deukalion’s Flood is in Pindar, O. xiii, 63-67, where the situations between Pyrrha and Deukalion descended from Parmassus and founded of stones a race like themselves, and how the mighty waters which had overflowed the earth had been suddenly stopped by Zeus. Pindar especially speaks of a comic story; otherwise, much of what he says would have been quite unintelligible to his readers.

(3) The best-known form of the story, however, is that given by Ovid, Met. i. 155-415, the most curious feature of which is the fact that Ovid interwove with the special mythological features, such as the opening of the Vale of Tempe All are local in character, and that one of them, from its antiquity and picturesque scenes, should have found a permanent place, though often mixed with others, in Greek myth, is a curious story; or, it may be, the reason why it too may have originated from a local inundation, the story remaining such recreations of the picturesque and marvelous as are common in similar cases.

The occurrence of Deukalion instead of a boat is interesting in view of the same variation in the Semitic story, and might suggest the possibility that the Greek legend, as we find it in Apollodorus, was founded in some ancient Hebrew narrative. But there is a great difference between a chest,
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holding only a couple of persons and such food as they required for 9 days, and the monster bible 'Ark.' with all its arrangements and inmates. Moreover, the chest was not an uncommon feature in the wild stories of Greek legend.

iv. The mixed Deluge story of the pseudo-Lucanian.
—We have a real mixture of the Greek and Semitic Deluge stories in the de Judaicis Syriac (Lucian, ed. Jacobitz, Leipzig, 1881, ii. 344 f.). This version was connected with a hole in the ground over which the temple was built and into which the Deluge was said to have subsided.

According to account, Deukalion and his wife and children, were saved in a great chest (λίβαντα). As he entered it, there came all kinds of animals, wild and tame, cows, horses, serpents, fish, and birds, to which he gave names, and there was great friendship between them, and they all sailed in one ship. He directed them that four of every species should be sent from the water preserve. When the water had disappeared through the hole, Deukalion built an altar and the temple over it.

Usener certainly goes too far in saying that this is the Babylonian Deluge story with only the name Deukalion inserted from Greek legend. It contains several features from both, and, except that to Deukalion it gives a second name Σκέδων (which, according to Buxton, is a corruption of Σφίδων, and is intended for Susithro, the Noah of Berosus), it bears a far closer resemblance to the Biblical than to the other forms of the Babylonian Deluge legend, e.g. the wild animals are preserved as well as tame; all in pairs; only Deukalion and his family escape; in a chest, not a boat (the last perhaps from the Greek story). That traditions of the Deluge ultimately derived from the Bible, was current in Syria long enough, and there seems also evidence, in another tradition that the people was founded by Semiarnis, of early intercourse with Babylon.

C. PERSIAN DELUGE STORIES.—i. A curious legend is contained in two fragments of the Yima songs preserved in Vendidad (SBE iv. 10 ff.). It is given in full by Usener, pp. 205-212, from the critical tr. of Geldner.1

A council was held by the gods, in which Ahura Manda decreed that a terribly severe winter would be followed by a great Deluge from the melting of the snow. Yima was directed to build an enormous fort foursquare, and to stock it with men and animals of all kinds. Yima carried out these instructions, but it is not actually said that the Deluge came.

Usener regards the whole story as an ideal picture of the future, the eternal city where men are to live in harmony and righteousness a life free from moral and physical evil, when the world is destroyed by the Deluge; but the passages which seem most correct are another tradition, which Geldner regards as later insertions. It seems more probable that we have here also an example of the tendency to idealize what was originally a natural event.

ii. A second story is found in Bundahish, viii. (tr. by E. W. West in SBE v. 25-28). Tistar, in the three forms of a man, a horse, and a bull, sends successive Deluges each of ten days' duration, and destroys all the noxious creatures on the earth. This is part of what is clearly an astrological myth describing the contest between good and evil, and accounting for lightning and thunder, the salt sea, and the origin of lakes and seas.

II. INDIAN STORIES.—i. The Fish Legend.—(1) The oldest form of this typical Deluge story of India is preserved in the Satapatha Brähmana, i. 8. 1 (SBE xii. 216, tr. by J. E. Gelling; for other translations see A. Weber, Indol. Stud., 1886, i. 9, Indol. Stud., 1886, i. 161; Max Müller, Hell. Lit., vol. 1, 1859, 425; J. Muir, Orig. Sbr. Texts, i. 1857) 181 ff.1:

In the morning, Manu, when water was brought to him for washing, found his basin full of fish. The fish foretold the coming Deluge, and prevailed to save him if he would preserve it, first in a jar, then in a pit, and, when it had continued to increase, he put it into the sea. Manu was to build a ship, and enter it, and look out for his preserved. Manu did

1 For a divergent interpretation of this Indian material, see art. Bl AGREES, ABUSE OF THE (Persian).

as directed, and finally "took the fish, which had then grown to an enormous size, to the sea. Then Manu entered the ship, and the Deluge came, which destroyed all living creatures. Meanwhile the fish approached Manu, who fastened the ship to his horn, and was so conveyed up to [over] the Northern Mountains. Manu was directed to tie the ship to a tree, and gradually to descend as the waters abate.

The rest of the story is concerned with a complicated and very unmixed narrative, which is not quite consistent, in which a woman was first produced, and, by her means, offspring of men and cattle.

According to Weber, the final reduction of the Satapatha is only a little before the Christian era; but, as Edding shows, it is a compilation of earlier treatises, and this particular story gives the impression in its main features, of being ancient.

One special interest in the story lies in its curious points of resemblance and contrast to other Deluge stories. The warning of the Deluge by an animal, the fastening of the ship by a rope, the post-deluvian sacrifice, and the miraculous reproduction of men, have all their analogies; but they are not found, as here, in combination, and the loving of the ship by a fish is quite unique. The probability is, therefore, that this legend is of natural growth.

Weber and, to a less extent, Muir see in the story a tradition of an original immigration of the race from across the Himalayas. They base their opinion on a comparison of the words of the Hindoos, 'over the Northern Mountains.' Edding, however, renders 'up to,' and some writers suppose the story to have originated in an exceptional overflung of the Ganges. The question is primarily one of texture. Edding, the chief exponent of this view, in his pseudo-Lucian. (or Edding) and ati-dudrava (Weber, etc.). The chief argument against an originally mythical origin of the story is that here also the tendency is to become more and more mythical, and if we regard the story as we can easily explain the story as having grown out of a natural inundation.

(2) A second version of the Indian story is that given in the Mahabharata (quoted from tr. by H. Jacobi in Usener, p. 29; see also Muir, op. cit. i. 186 ff.). The story has here assumed a more elaborate and marvellous form.

Manu is a prince among monks, renowned for his asceticism 'standing on one leg with his arms raised on high, with head bent down and never blinking an eye, he practised terrible austerities,' etc. The fish appeared to him as he was practising austerities by the forest, and persuaded him to enter the fish because many miles long, and yet Manu could carry it quite easily. The fish then becomes very grateful to him, and when the end the fish reveals himself as Brahma, and appoints Manu as creator of all things.

In this version there appears to be a confusion, not uncommon in similar myths, in the character of Manu as himself a descendant of former ancestors, and as the founder and creator of men and all things. In the older form of the story he is the first man, and never more than a man.

(3) A third version is found in the Bṛhadāranyaka Purāṇa, viii. 24. 7 ff. (for Eng. tr. see Hardwick, Christ and other Masters, new ed., London, 1863, vol. i. pt. ii. ch. iii. pp. 312-315; Muir, op. cit. i. 208 ff. 2).

According to Cheyne, this book cannot be earlier than the 12th cent. A.D. The story itself is mainly a development of that of the Satapatha Brähmana, with a mixture of the mythical and quasi-philosophical elements characteristic of the Purāṇa.

The Deluge took place during a sleep of Brähma, when the strong demon Hāyagriva stole the Vedas. Hāri took the form of a monstrous fish, and, in his form revealed himself as Brahmavarta, a devout king who lived only on water. The gradual growth of the fish is like that in the earlier legends, except that he could not swim by his legs, incapable of swimming of longues prolongs. The ark in this case was miraculously brought to Satyavrata, who occupied by the priests of the Brahman, spent his time therein singing hymns of praise and receiving divine revelations. Finally, Hāri slew Hāyagriva and recovered the Vedas. Satyavrata, instructed in the ancient knowledge, was appointed the 7th Manu. But, after all, the
appearance of the horned fish was medug, or delusion, and 'he who shall devoutly hear this important allegorical narrative will be delivered from the delusions of the Deluge.

It is interesting to note that this version has several points of contact with the Bible story. (1) The Deluge is caused by rain as well as by the snow and hail of the sun. (2) The story begins with the Deluge, and the ark is saved. (3) It is sent because of the depravity of man. (4) Animals are preserved in the ark, and these in pairs. Of these (3) is inconsistent with the beginning of the story, and is evidently a later addition. The most probable explanation of them all is that they were due to Christian influence. Their appearance only in the latest version of the myth makes it impossible to use them as arguments to prove that the story itself is derived from the Bible story, or originated in the event which that story describes.

ii. The Door Legend.—Another Deluge myth is given in Muir, op. cit. 1. 2501. It is one of the most interesting narratives in <i>Vingham Purana</i>.

It tells how the Divine Brahma, awakening from his night slumber, and perceiving that the earth lay within the waters of the universal ocean, assumed the form of a boa, plunged into the ocean, and raised up the earth and placed it on the surface. This is a creation myth, and has a curious analogy with some of the American Indian stories (see IV. C (v)).

E. CHINESE FLOOD STORY.—Accounts of this are found in the <i>Shu King</i> (especially ii. 4. 1) and in the <i>Shih King</i> (iv. 3. 4. 1), and the writings of Meng-tse (iii. 1. 4. 7. 9. 3ff.).

i. According to the <i>Canon of Yao</i> (<i>Shu King</i>, i. 3. 11; tr. Legge, <i>SBE</i> iii. 314).

"Yao, the Holy President of the Four Mountains, destructive in their overflow are the waters of the inundation. In their vast extent they embrace the hills and overlap the great heights, threatening the heavens with their flood, so that the lower people grieve and murmur! Is there a capable monarch who can prevent the inundation?" Khwan was appointed, and laboured unsuccessfully for nine years. The <i>Yi</i> afterwards resigned his throne to Yi, who had coped successfully with the inundation.

ii. The <i>Shu King</i> (ii. 4. 1) gives the account of Yi’s work as follows (in Legge’s translation):

The inundating waters seemed to assail the heavens, and in their vast extent embraced the mountains and overtopped the hills, so that people were bewildered and overwhelmed. I [Yi] mounted a vessel (four canoes) [carts, boats, canoes, and speaking shoes] and all along the hills heaved down the woods, at the same time, along with I, showing the multitude how to get food to eat, and how to make houses and wasps’ nests free from the nine provinces, and conducted them to the sea. I deepened the canals, and conducted them to the streams, at the same time, along with Chi, sewing grain, and showing the multitude how to procure the food of toil in addition to flesh meat. I urged them further to examine what they did for what they had not, and to dispose of their accumulated substance and grain to eat, and all the States began to come under good rules.

Elsewhere in the <i>Shu King</i>, Yi is repeatedly described as having determined the relations of land and water, and the <i>Shih King</i> declares that, ‘when the waters of the flood had become widespread, Yi caused the various regions of the earth world to appear; the great outlying realms received their limitations.’

According to these accounts, all these works were accomplished during a single journey. In fact, the accounts probably describe work gradually carried out through many ages, though possibly commenced by Yi. They were evidently intended to aver a constantly repeated and widespread disaster.

iii. Origin of the story.—Legge believed that (the occasion of Yi’s special work was an actual inundation of an alarming kind of the Hwang-Ho (‘the sources of China’), which he puts in the 21st cent. B.C., whereas he ascribes it to the 12th.

According to Meng-tse (b. 372 B.C.), however, the tasks of Yi were carried out under far more difficult conditions.

‘In the time of Yao, when the earth was not yet in ordered state, the masses of water flowed unchecked and flooded the earth. Flora was consequently destroyed, and birds and living creatures went about in enormous quantities. Grain could not grow. Animals pressed hard on man... Yao alone concerned himself about this matter and developed an ordering activity and gave Yi control of fire. Yi caused devastating floods and rain upon the mountains and in the marshes, so that the animals fled and sought shelter. Yi divided the nine rivers. ... Then it became possible for the Nine Provinces to build canals, and the people of the Middle Kingdom to support themselves’ (ib. 1. 4. 7). At this same period, moreover, serpents and dragons destroyed the deluge with rain, but Yi, while drying up the courses, chased these monsters, the animals that had oppressed man vanished, and the plains of China became habitable for the human race’ (pp. 2, 34).

It is by no means impossible that, as Legge held, these accounts all had their rise in a tradition of an extraordinary inundation by the Hwang-Ho; and in this connexion it is worthy of note that the great flood of 1531-33 is said to have cost some millions of lives, while it took 15 years to repair the damage and to reclaim the river within embankments. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that Legend, in his ‘Zur chinesischen Flutsage’ (<i>Postgrijs</i> an <i>Rot</i>, Stuttgart, 1803, pp. 9-14), maintains that the story is based on a cosmogonic myth, devoid of connexion, even in its basal ideas, with the Bible account, and associated in form with experience of the frequent inundations of the Hwang-Ho; and, like von Gutschmid (<i>ZDMG</i> xxiv. 186), it holds that the story denies any actual existence in history, was essentially a sort of demiurge, who helped to establish civilization on earth. It is open to question, therefore, at least on the basis of Meng-tse’s statements, whether this whole story is not to be regarded as a cosmogonic rather than as a Deluge story.

F. FOLKLORE DELUGE STORIES.—Under this general heading are included the numerous stories of peoples, more or less stereotyped, not included under previous headings. It is not necessary for the present purpose to make any general classification of them on either geographical or ethnological lines. It will be sufficient to point out a few facts bearing on the subject of this article.

i. One of the essential characters of these stories arises out of the fact that they are folklore. In the Deluge stories of Babylon, Greece, and India we have well-defined legends that have been traced out more or less distinctly in their developments and ramifications. Though a few of the stories now under consideration have come to us in a written form more or less ancient, they are not literature in the same sense, but only stereotyped folk-tales. By far the greater number of these stories, however, are still, or were till recent years, in a fluid and formative condition. The imagination which has produced them is, or was till recently, still at work, and has been continually modifying them. It has already been noticed how both historical events and fancy-striking anecdotes, such as Bible stories, have in many cases become mixed with the early tale, nor is it possible to separate them with scientific accuracy. Not infrequently what is essentially the same story is differently told on different occasions, or at any rate is differently reported (leeward Islands; see IV. A. vi. (d)).

There are many difficulties in the way of getting trustworthy evidence. As already pointed out, the missionaries, by whom most of these stories have been reported, were frequently prejudiced witnesses (see IV. A. iii.), and, moreover, the stories in several cases collected at a time after the conversion of the people with whom they originated. These missionaries had to depend on their own memory or that of their converts, and it was only in quite exceptional cases that the
opportunity afforded to Gill was offered (see above, IV. C. (v)), of reporting from the occurrence of one whose knowledge of heathen lore was both fresh and complete.

iii. Another striking fact is the irregularity in the distribution of these stories. For example, there are very few of the incidents reported from Africa, a considerable number from the islands of the Pacific, and an extraordinarily large number from the continent of America. This is accounted for negatively by Andree on the ground that Deluge stories do not readily take refuge elsewhere, as in Africa, the inundation of the great rivers is an annual occurrence, which does not therefore impress the imagination. It may be noticed in this connection that one of the most important exceptions is connected with a special local feature—the formation of the Dilo-lo Lake on the southern border of the Congo State (see Andree, p. 49). Again, the Deluge legend of the Masai in Uganda, to which attention has been lately called by Merker (see Guerard, 1906, p. 945), is so obviously parallel with the Bible Deluge that it cannot be regarded as independent. We find here the Ark, pairs of animals, birds sent out (a pigeon and a vulture [cf. the crow of the Lummi Indians and the humming-bird of a Mexican story]), and four (1) rainbows.

iv. It would appear that there must be some positive reason for the frequency of Deluge stories among the American Indians. George Catlin, in his A.H. (p. 24), stated that he did not find one which there was not one which did not relate some distinct or vague tradition of a Flood, and, in fact, a very considerable number of these stories have been preserved. It certainly must be admitted that the Deluge impressed itself very readily on the Indian tribes, but how far this was due to their past experience as an island people, and how far to the psychological character of the race, is a question for the ethnologist or anthropologist rather than the student of comparative religion. This much at least can be said, that there is some reason for believing that several of these stories are of comparatively ancient origin.

(c) In the first place, there is abundant evidence to show that Deluge stories were current in Central and Southern America at the time of the Spanish occupation. (2) The common elements in the stories of neighboring and related tribes in some of these tribes, and the frequent occurrence of certain characteristic features have become rooted in the imagination. (a) Several of the tribes about Peru, though their Deluge stories differ widely in other respects, have the common feature of a floating mountain—a combination, it would seem, of the ark and the mountain of refuge. (b) In more than one Mexican legend men were turned by the Deluge into fish. (c) We have noticed that several tribes about the Orinoco and its neighbourhood have the common features of stories (or coco-nuts) thrown to produce men (see IV. J. v. (2)). (d) Of still greater interest is the curious feature already mentioned (IV. C. (a)) that land was sent down at the Deluge, not by the waters subsiding, but out of scattered grains of sand or earth springing up and growing like seeds. Thus in the story of the Ojibwas, after the hoon has dived several times in vain, it is the musk-rat restored to life by the surging Manahozo whom (who was standing up to his neck in water on the summit of a high tree) that dives and brings up the grains of sand between its toes. These Manahozo throws into the waters, and they grow into islands, which unite into mainland. In a story of the Sac and Fox Indians, another branch of the Algonquins, the survivor, seeing that the Deluge would soon overwhelm the mountain on which his family had built a house, now filled it out of a piece of the blue sky. After sailing about some days, he sent out one of the largest fishes, which returned with its monster mouth full of earth, out of which he formed the dry land. In the story of the Deluge, all tribes, or related group, it is the northern diver that eventually returns to the canoe with clay on his webbed feet, after the beaver, otter, and musk-rat have failed. This old man breathed upon the earth, and it became the surface, and it finally happened in certain groups of tribes that a particular animal plays a prominent part, as the coyote among the Californians (Wappo, Papagos, etc.), the raven among those on the north-west seaboard of N. America (Thilukits and Bella Coolas).

v. This prominence of animals is a very characteristic feature of the American Indian stories, and is by some believed to be connected ultimately with totem-worship, whereas in the stories of some other groups, such as those of Hausa-speaking Islanders, a greater prominence is given relatively to what we should call the wonders or powers of Nature. Thus, according to Bancroft (iii. 87), the Californians describe themselves as having originated from the sea.

Among the Algonquin tribes the black serpent is the enemy of man and of created beings, and sends the Deluge. Manahozo, in more than one story of this people, was sent down to the turtle's back. In the stories of the Ojibwas his helper is usually the diver or the musk-rat. With the Thore Indians it is the eagle which throws the Deluge diver being blown into the fire; and it is the white owl who befriends the wise man by letting out the cattle which the ravens had imprisoned. With the Cherokee it is a dog which foretells the Deluge; with the Peruvians the Huanae reveals it to a shepherd. The Creees have it that the eagle reared the Deluge, and became by her the father of the new race. In a very original story of the Pimas (California), the god of the Sun, being angry with a raven for having corrupted the Deluge, killed it up to its eye, slays it, and restores to life those whom it had killed (Bancroft, iii. 79).

vi. The general inference from a study of these folk-tale Deluge stories is that we have not to deal with mythological or cosmological systems, in which a Deluge occupied a part, but rather that these stories were the result of experience, tradition, imagination, and nature of curiosity, being sometimes separately, but more often in combination in different ways and different degrees.

LITERATURE.—The best general book, esp. for Deluge folklore, is R. Andre, Die Flutgeschichten, Braunsw. (1860), a large and interesting collection of Deluge stories. Among the most important books referred to by Andree are H. H. Bancroft, Narrative of the F decorations of the Pacific, 1875-76; A. Humboldt, Sites des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes du Nevada, Paris, 1860; W. Ellis, An account of the Pacific, 1829; W. W. Gill, Myths and Songs from the S. Pacific, London, 1876; R. S. Suss, Das Amszt der Erde, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1882-83; F. Lenormant, Les Origines de l'histoire d'apres la Bible, Paris, 1880. For a careful tabulation of Deluge stories, see M. Wernertanz, Die Flutgeschichten der Altertums und der Naturvolker, in Mitteil. der anthrop. Gesellschaft, 19th Ser., xxxi. (1901) 305-333. Translations and comments upon the Pima Deluge story are given in KIB vi. 206ff.; P. Hamps, Der keltischen Staatsherricht, Leipzig, 1851; A. H. Sayce, Higher Criticism and the Monuments, London 1884, ch. III.; C. T. Ball, Light from the Pacific, London, 1889, pp. 34-44. The most important Indian, Chinese, and Persian Deluge legends are given in SEE, esp. in M. Muller (see also references in this article). For Greek Deluge stories, apart from theories about them, the best work is H. Usener, Die Staatsherricht, Bonn, 1869.

DELUSION.—Delusion in the popular sense simply means a mistaken belief. In the technical sense, however, it means a wrong belief which is maintained despite a defect in thinking. And that is the meaning which the word should always have; for there is manifestly an important difference, for example, between a mistaken opinion which may be held because of wrong information supplied or facts withheld, and one which is maintained owing to an error in reasoning. A delusion is a belief falsely believed—that is, believed be
cause of a faulty mind. To stretch the point, an opinion, even if it is a good opinion, is delusional if it is not supported by facts. And that brings us to a distinction which is of some value—that there are beliefs which are demonstrably untrue and which are delusions, and there are beliefs which we cannot prove to be untrue, which may even be correct, yet are arrived at by a delusional process.

The delusional state of mind—the kind of thinking which is prone to delusion—very often results from some disease, of greater or less degree, acquired in adolescent or adult life, which warps the judgment by tampering with the brain’s mechanism. Upon which depends, in the development of a mind to the level of a mature judgment, an enormous mass of experience contributes, and a very great part of our thinking rests upon obvious opinions which we never take the trouble to test. It is part of the misfortune of a delusional mind that it may begin to question such standard opinions—opinions which ought to be regarded as axioms, and upon which the whole fabric of our thought is based. For example, a man may be led to believe what he has occurred, and much writing has been wasted in the exposition of it) as to whether two and two really do make four. Scepticism of this sort, when it goes far, is an exhausting mental process, and there are increasing instances in which, associated with suffering and further trouble. It is a form of illness which may be called a wasting disease of the mind, as if a man were to consume his own skeleton and have neither backbone nor leg by which to stand steady. On the other hand, that a good deal of delusion can be traced to a vice at the opposite extreme—a kind of mental indolence. A large number of people who have wits enough to think if they had energy to use them, believe things which they have no right to believe, and entertain opinions which do not harmonize with those which they have earned a right to entertain. In these cases, again, there is what we may call a sore spot in the mind—a place where friction occurs when the rational process is checked by superstition. It is always a source of mental weakness in a thoughtful man to reserve certain subjects and to neglect or refuse to discuss them. That, however, is not to say that there is no place in good thinking for a man who is convinced that his opinions will not continue in mystery. On the contrary, the essence of delusion is the being too certain, too quick to seize and hold a definite opinion. This is illustrated by a very constant quality of delusion—that it refuses to be guided by facts or modified by argument. There are some people whose minds are very hard to move; once they have formed an opinion—and such people form opinions about many things—they will not give up or even be shaken in their belief; and the reason is that it is one of their mental characteristics, due in part to brain conditions, to find changes irksome. We must also observe that there are certain beliefs which are essentially learned, and it is tempting to hold an opinion which seems fitting and good, and it is easy to retain, as convictions, some comfortable beliefs which have never been subjected to criticism; perhaps the majority of the delusions common in the insane are of this character, which people like to believe and refuse to disturb, not on grounds of reason, but on grounds of feeling.

In insane delusions—by which we mean delusions which occur in insanity, and which are due to actual brain disease—the quality of unreasonableness is very marked. If an insane person insists that he is made of glass, he will not be dissuaded by a demonstration of the fragile nature of glass and of his own resistance to fracture; he will only retort that the kind of glass of which he is made is not the ordinary breaking kind; hence the common practice with such people on the part of those who have the cure of them. And it is the best method for all delusional people, whether sane or insane; there is no use trying to argue with them; therefore change the subject, encourage reasonableness in general, and trust that in time, after a development of other parts of the mind, the ‘patient’ on coming back to the vexed question again will see it in a new light.

It need hardly be said that the subjects concerning which people are prone to express delusions are often mystifying even to the most expert thinker—electrical phenomena, space, time, the mechanism of the body. They are delusions of a sort of telepathism or hypnotism, insanity, occult religions facts, and all sorts of novelties and new inventions.

From what has been said concerning the nature of delusion, it becomes clear that the subject is an important one, both in a theory of mind and in practical affairs; and it is instructive to try to determine the extent and the province of delusion in normal thought. To do so exhaustively is impossible; but it is easy to cite a few examples which will suggest, and it has occurred, and much writing has been wasted in the exposition of it) as to whether two and two really do make four. Scepticism of this sort, when it goes far, is an exhausting mental process, and there are increasing instances in which, associated with suffering and further trouble. It is a form of illness which may be called a wasting disease of the mind, as if a man were to consume his own skeleton and have neither backbone nor leg by which to stand steady. On the other hand, that a good deal of delusion can be traced to a vice at the opposite extreme—a kind of mental indolence. A large number of people who have wits enough to think if they had energy to use them, believe things which they have no right to believe, and entertain opinions which do not harmonize with those which they have earned a right to entertain. In these cases, again, there is what we may call a sore spot in the mind—a place where friction occurs when the rational process is checked by superstition. It is always a source of mental weakness in a thoughtful man to reserve certain subjects and to neglect or refuse to discuss them. That, however, is not to say that there is no place in good thinking for a man who is convinced that his opinions will not continue in mystery. On the contrary, the essence of delusion is the being too certain, too quick to seize and hold a definite opinion. This is illustrated by a very constant quality of delusion—that it refuses to be guided by facts or modified by argument. There are some people whose minds are very hard to move; once they have formed an opinion—and such people form opinions about many things—they will not give up or even be shaken in their belief; and the reason is that it is one of their mental characteristics, due in part to brain conditions, to find changes irksome. We must also observe that there are certain beliefs which are essentially learned, and it is tempting to hold an opinion which seems fitting and good, and it is easy to retain, as convictions, some comfortable beliefs which have never been subjected to criticism; perhaps the majority of the delusions common in the insane are of this character, which people like to believe and refuse to disturb, not on grounds of reason, but on grounds of feeling.

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to advert to hallucination (q.v.). A hallucination, like an illusion, is a wrong sense-perception, but differs from it in that there is no outward object for the hallucination. A hallucination is a perception—most commonly of the eye or ear—which is accepted without question by the mind that accepts this fiction of the senses, there is obviously delusion. Hallucinations do not bulk largely in normal thinking; but they are frequent and important in mental disease. In such cases we may refer briefly to common forms of delusion more in the sphere of thought. Perhaps the best example of all but universal delusion is the common belief in an absolutely free will. It would be entirely logical to regard the sublunar philosophy. Suffice it to say that it is obvious that sometimes one’s will is not wholly free in the ordinary sense. Yet people invariably think and speak as if choices were always of their own making. This delusion is clearly necessary and salutary; without it both thinking and doing would come to a standstill. Another delusion, equally inevitable and necessary, is one which besets every thinking man, that is, the belief in an organic unity which works correctly. Give two men exactly the same data and let them think out a conclusion: each believes, is bound to believe, that he is thinking correctly; yet in many cases the conclusions will not be the same. If someone were somewhere, finally, we may cite the very prevalent delusion that any thought can reach a final conclusion. Nearly every one feels, and a great many people believe, that a subject can be finished, that thought can come to a conclusion. And, while it is obvious that no subject can be exhausted and no statement final, this delusion is also inevitable. These examples will suffice to show us that, to the wise mind will take note of the inevitable margin of error in its own operations and perhaps discount it, yet not be daunted by it.


DEMOCRITUS.—See Government.

DEMOCRITUS.—A Greek philosopher (c. 460–c. 350 B.C.) whose importance lies in his being the pioneer of Materialism and the mechanical explanation of the universe.

1. Life and writings.—The birthplace of Democritus was Abdera in Thrace, a flourishing colony founded by the Ionian city of Teos. He must have been a fellow-citizen, and, if the received dates are approximately correct, a younger contemporary, of Protagoras. The accounts of his life which have come down to us are open to suspicion on various grounds. They dwell on his insatiable scientific curiosity, which impelled him to spend years in foreign travel. He is said to have visited Egypt in order to learn geometry from the priests, and to have held personal intercourse with Magi and Chaldeans in Persia and Babylonia. What amount of truth there is in these tales it is hard to say. Like Pythagoras, Democritus became to later ages a legendary figure, whose real attainments are open to question.

2. Leucippus.—Democritus can hardly claim to have originated the system which he taught. There seems no valid ground for doubting the statement that Leucippus preceded him in laying the foundations of Atomism, which they both afterwards developed in common:

The metaphysics of Democritus's doctrine, as stated by Aristotle, presumed the Eleatic paradox that reality or real being is One, not Many, immutable and eternal, not transient and diverse: whence the Eleatics deduced that our world of matter had a substratum of mathematical physics, and astronomy appeared less remarkable than his supposed skill in alchemy and magic. The list of his writings that survives shows him to have been a prolific author. The grammarians

Thrasylus, in the time of Tiberius, arranged the collection in tetralogies, or sets of four—the same arrangement which he had adopted for the Dialogues of Plato. The lucidity and simplicity of Democritus's style are praised in antiquity by competent critics like Timon, Cicero, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. He wrote in the Ionic dialect, hitherto almost exclusively employed by prose writers, although in his own lifetime it was being gradually superseded by Attic. The works treated were, to judge by their titles, chiefly Mathematics, Physics, Astronomy, Anthropology, and Ethics. We have fragments definitely stated to come from the Kámov and the Krátomis, both dealing with social and place science, and from the περὶ ἔθιμον, an ethical treatise.

To his mathematical achievements there is unimpeachable testimony. Three of the thirteen tetralogies consisted of treatises on Geometry and kindred subjects, including Optics and Astronomy. From the title of one of them, 'On irrational straight lines and solids' (περὶ ἀδελεγμένων γεωμετρίας καὶ μετρών), it may be inferred that Democritus preceded Euclid in the investigation of irrationals—a problem which the mathematicians of the 4th cent. B.C. Similarly, Archimedes in his περὶ τῶν μηχανικῶν θεωρητικῶν πρὸς ἐραστήθην ἔρευς (lately discovered at Constantinople, and published by Heiberg, Archimedes, do. 1896) gives a small part of the credit for two important theorems, namely, that the cone is one-third part of the cylinder, and the pyramid one-third part of the prism, having the same base and equal height.

Democritus was 'father of mechanical methods'; Archimedes afterwards supplied a rigorous geometrical proof. The investigation by means of mechanics involved a partial anticipation of the infinitesimal calculus (see Heath's The Thirteen Books of Euclid's Elements, Cambridge, 1908, iii. 366–368, 4, ii. 40).

It is not, however, from the meagre fragments remaining that we derive our best information as to the doctrines Democritus taught, but rather from the criticism of opponents, especially Aristotle and Theophrastus, who gave to his works the attention they deserved. Aristotle in his scientific treatises is evidently much indebted to Democritus, and, though he often dissects from his conclusions, invariably speaks of him with respect and admiration. Plato, it is true, never mentions him by name, yet from various passages in the Dialogues it is obvious that not only was he acquainted with the system of the Atomists, but that Democritus was the type and representative of all those tendencies which he himself most actively combated.

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non-existent; the world is a continuous indivisible plenum. Leucippus, if he is to be credited with originating the Atomistic doctrine, altered this conception by opposing extension to mass as the fundamental postulate. The extended as empty, the plenum and the vacuum, or matter occupying space and space unoccupied by matter, were in his view equally real. Eleatics were right in asserting the one, but wrong in denying the other. By introducing real space and the geometrical forms of bodies as spatially determined, Leucippus destroyed the Eleatic One and reverted to pluralism. But we may still meet the subtle argument from infinite divisibility, by which Zeno of Elean had disproved the possibility of motion and of multiplicity. Since these arguments could not be refuted, nothing remained but to postulate indivisibles (έτανος, έττων) as the ultimate constituents of corporeal reality—things in space (Ar. Phys. i. 3, 187a, 1-3). The sum of existence, then, includes empty space as well as the atoms or indivisible particles of matter in space. Both matter and space are eternal, infinite and homogenous throughout. The only differences which single atoms present are differences of shape, from which must follow differences of magnitude. But fresh differences are introduced when single atoms come to contact and are changed into individual things. There then arise differences of order and position of the atoms in space; for, to use a familiar illustration, A differs from B in shape; AN is not the same as NA, the order is different, nor is the position different. Aristotle (Metaph. i. 4, 9836, 13ff.) in giving this account admits that he is substituting, for the precise ionic terms βρῶμα (fashion), διάκρισις (inter-contact), τροχή (turning), his own equivalent, διάρμα (diversity, difference of order), θέσις (position). It will be obvious, upon reflexion, that these three kinds of difference are merely spatial relations posited and presupposed by the very conception of space as extended in three dimensions.

Here seems the proper place to deal with a controversial question of great difficulty: of the three differences between atoms (shape, order, position), only one (shape) relates to single atoms. That some property of one single atom seems certain: e.g. atoms of fire are described as the smallest as well as the most mobile. But no good authority attributes to Leucippus or Democritus any utterance implying that weight was a fundamental property of the atom, although Epicurus, when he revised the original doctrine of the Atomists, expressly derived weight as well as magnitude from shape, and, as is well known, deduced from their weight the tendency of free atoms to fall. Later authorities not unnaturally confused the Atomic doctrine of Leucippus and the revised version of Epicurus. But the opinion has now gained ground that Leucippus and Democritus put forward no positive views as to weight being a fundamental property of a free or isolated atom, or as to the direction and force of the motion originally inherent in a free atom.

3. Developments of Atomism.—(a) Relativity of sensible qualities.—We have given in outline the theory which Democritus adopted and developed. When compared with the rival systems of Empedocles and Anaxagoras, it is seen to be decidedly superior in simplicity and logical coherence. These other systems, as some contents of motion; but, in the resolution proposed by the Atomists, qualitative changes in things result from quantitative changes in their constituent elements, and all proceeds uniformly by a law of natural necessity. Each of these two positions calls for further elucidation. The conception of a permanent substratum, or primary matter, to the early Greek thinkers, involved the notion of one indestructible and immutable; in other words, the sum of matter in the universe remains quantitatively and qualitatively constant amid all the change and variety of nature. Hence this result was secured by the Eleatics has already been shown. Empedocles and Anaxagoras took another way, maintaining a plurality of elements qualitatively constant. The four elements of Empedocles—earth, water, air, fire—and the deities assumed by Anaxagoras are alike in this, that they possess as fundamental and inalienable the qualities perceptible to sense. But these attempts to shape the conception of matter were attended by insuperable difficulties, so long as the sensible qualities of derivative bodies were ascribed to the original elements (whether four or an infinite number) out of which these bodies were compounded. In fact, on the theory of Anaxagoras, the distinction between original and derivative forms of matter vanished for there must be as many primary substances as there are varieties of sensible qualities.

This difficulty the Atomists solved by distinguishing the fundamental properties of matter as such from such qualities as are derived properties. Simple the distinction is the same as that made by Locke between primary and secondary qualities. The changing qualities of sensible things, such as colour, flavour, odour, temperature, cease then to be attributes of the essence of the thing itself but are expressed this by saying: 'By custom there is bitter and sweet, hot and cold, and colour; in reality nothing but atoms and void' (Sext. Adv. Math. v. 75; Diels, 55 B, 9 [1.2 585]). It would, however, be certain effect of all other similar bodies, including the human organs of taste. That effect, again, must partly depend upon the constitution of those organs, and on their permanent or temporary, common or individual, qualities.

But, whereas Protagoras emphasized the divergence of the effects under different conditions, and left out of sight its possible causes, the Atomistic theory took account of both. It allowed a relative value to the divergent perceptions, while at the same time it maintained the objective validity of that which produced them—in other words, the structure of perceptible material bodies and the essential properties of the matter out of which they were constituted. Viewed in this light, an enigmatical utterance attributed to Democritus by the Epicurean Colotes becomes perfectly intelligible. If Democritus said that an object does not possess one kind of quality more than another (τὸν πρῶτον δυνάμει τὰς τινὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἤτοι τῶν ἄλλων—Plut. de Nat. Rel. i. 1106 F; Diels, 55 B, 156 [v. 413]), we may be sure that he was speaking of the secondary qualities, and not of the properties of matter as such. The atoms have no secondary qualities. Thus colours, flavours, odours, temper
Democritus, having no objective existence per se; they, at all events when perceived, are relative to the perceiver. To one who held this view the task of science was immensely enlarged, at the same time that it became more definite. The problem was to determine precisely how the motion of atoms in the void produced the totality of changes, and the variety of changing qualities perceived by sense. No wonder that, unaided by the apparatus of modern science, the ancient philosophers, from time to time, regretted the futility of results attained, and confessed with a sigh:

'Truth lies in the deep' (Diog. Laert. ix. 72; Diels, 56 B, 117 [1.2 673]). We are, of course, not omniscient, but such things only as change with the state of our body, and of that which this impression of it (Sec. ada. Math. vii. 130; Diels, 56 B, 9 [1.2 383]).

No less important is the part played in the system by the conception of causation. A fragment of Leucippus lays down the axiom that 'nothing occurs by accident, but everything from a cause and under stress of necessity' (Act. i. 35; 4; Diels, 54 B, 2 [1.2 350]). In such unequivocal terms did he state the universal law of causation, and to this principle his successors consistently adhered. For all that, the natural explanation furnished by kinematics and mechanics; there was then no need of any supplementary hypothesis, whether of design on the one hand or of arbitrary spontaneity on the other, to which to assume a motion as an inherent attribute of matter—an ultimate fact for which no derivation was required. The motions of the atoms were as eternal as the atoms themselves, and were necessary; that is, in the ascending series of movements each followed upon and was determined by definite antecedents. Granted that atoms moving in space come into collision, the whole history of the universe becomes an application of mechanical laws. Colliding atoms suffice to produce impact, unity in groups, and break away from such unions; and thus arises all change, the succession of all events: the birth and destruction alike of particular things and of the infinite worlds are but moments in this scheme.

(b) Cosmogony.—The direct outcome of Atomic motion must be the production of our world and of all the individual things in it, for these are given in experience. As to the process by which this produces the universe, certain, as I think, is it not defective. Of one thing we are certain—that Leucippus and Democritus had no recourse to external forces, such as the attraction and repulsion which Empedocles personified as Love and Strife, or the forces of Anaxagoras. A late epistemist writes of Leucippus:

'The worlds arise when many atoms are collected together into the mighty void from the surrounding space and rush together. They come into collision, and those which are of similar shape and like form become entangled, and from their entanglement the heavenly bodies arising' (Ref. i. 12; Diels, 54 A, 10 [1.2 345]). Another account gives fuller details: 'Many atoms of manifold shapes cut off from the infinite are borne into a void, and there collecting set up a single vortex movement, in which they collide and are whirled in all directions. To this collision and the like atoms come together. And, as they become too numerous to revolve with equal velocity, those which are light, so to speak, lifted out, and fly off towards the outer void; and the rest remain together, and, becoming entangled, join their orbits with one another, and form in the first place a spherical mass. This becomes a sort of shell, including in itself atoms of all kinds; and, as these through repulsion from the centre are made to revolve as well as to be hurled outward. At last the adjacent atoms being attracted as soon as the vortex overtake them. In this way the earth was formed as the portions bore to the equator and enclosed. And, on the contrary, the outer shell grows larger by the influx of atoms from outside, and increases in density. Thus at the end of this world, portions are locked together and form a mass which was at first damp and grey, then dried as it revolved with the universal vortex, and finally took the substance of the stars' (Diog. Laert. ix. 32; Diels, 54 A, 7 [1.2 345]).

In this effort of the scientific imagination several points deserve notice. The doctrine of innumerable worlds or cosmical systems becomes clearer when we consider that matter and space are supposed to be infinite, and any place where atoms meet may become the kernel or nucleus of a world, so long as there is an unknown, and in consequence a sufficient agglomeration of matter crystallizes, so to speak, around a centre. As, moreover, the atoms are infinitely various in shape, the worlds formed from them will display the greatest diversity: each itself is infinitely vast, and some of them are absolutely alike. Again, the principle of 'like to like,' common to most of the Greek physicists, receives some sort of explanation from the assumption of a vortex. As, on the other hand, the revolutions of Anaxagoras and of Democritus, who postulated a rotary movement to effect separation of unlike and aggregation of like, Democritus can hardly be credited with original contributions to astronomy; but he welcomed the heliocentric hypothesis, and so startled his contemporaries. He held the sun to be a red-hot mass, but regarded it and also the moon as originally the nucleus of a separate system, which had been entangled in the vortex-motion of our world and subsequently ignited. The oceanic earth, when, under the influence of wind and solar heat, the smaller particles were forced out of the earth, and ran together as water into the hollows. In relative size the central earth exceeds the sun, the moon, and stars together, and are accorded considerable dimensions if Democritus accepted the Anaxagorean assumption of plains, mountains, and ravines upon the moon's face (Act. ii. 25; 9; Diels, 55 A, 90 [1.2 367]).

This cosmology is vitiated through and through by the undue importance it gives to our planet. The geocentric hypothesis still retained its sway over the philosophers, who tells us:

'There are infinite worlds, differing in size; and in some of them there is no sun and moon, in others the sun and moon are larger than in our world, or there are several suns and moons. The worlds are mutually distributed in space, so that there are more, there fewer; some are waxing, some are in their prime, some waning; coming into being in one part of the universe, ceasing to be elsewhere. The菀or of the sphere is collision with one another. And there are some worlds completely destitute of motion and of living creatures. In our world the earth was born before the stars; the moon is nearest to the earth, the sun comes next, fixed stars are furthest off. The planets themselves are not equal distances from us. A world is in its prime so long as it is able to absorb fresh matter from without' (Dippel. Ref. i. 13; Diels, 56 A, 8 [1.2 365]).

In the work of a Greek mathematician and deductive admirer (Gomperz, Griechische Denker, i. 235), we seem to be listening to a modern astronomer who has seen the moons of Jupiter, has recognized the lack of motion in that which we call the moon, and has even caught a glimpse of nebulae.

(c) Psychology.—All particular things, and amongst them the four so-called elements—earth, water, fire, air—are aggregates or atom-complexes;
and their character is determined by the shape, order, and position of their component atoms. Atmospheric air plays its part, but the most important is fire, because the most mobile, being composed of atoms exceedingly fine, smooth, and round, consists of matter of the same kind as organic bodies, the soul being a sort of fire or heat, while mental activity is identical with the motion of these fiery particles. Upon this foundation is constructed a materialistic psychology, which in turn determines the atomistic theory and ethics of Democritus. Such a doctrine invites comparison with the speculations of Heraclitus and Anaxagoras, the former of whom regarded soul as an exhalation fed by vapours from the warm earth, and which, according to him, fiery soul-atoms are taken in from outside. Owing to their great mobility, they are constantly liable to escape from the animate body, and it is this tendency is counteracted by the process of respiration, which checks the escape of imprisoned soul-atoms by a current of air, and continually renews them. In sleep or in a swoon there is less resistance: more of the fiery atoms escape and mental activity is consequently diminished; while death itself is the result of their entire dispersion in the surrounding air. Since all qualitative change in things is reduced to, and explained by, quantitative changes of atoms and atom-complexes, no exception can be made in dealing with psychical activities and the phenomena of mental life. Sensation, thought, and all other functions of the soul are in reality movements of the soul-atoms, produced in accordance with the mechanics of space, time, and pressure. This principle is rigorously carried out, and its consistent application is a characteristic feature of Atomistic psychology. It is most obvious in the theory of sensation, which Democritus in part inherited from Empedocles. Critical analysis of sense-perception and the psychology of sensation, so that all the various senses are in the last resort modes of one—viz. touch (Ar. de Sens., iv. 442a, 42). In the case of sight, hearing, and smell, the perceptible object is at a distance, Democritus, like Empedocles, supposed that particles of external things found their way into the pores of the sensory organs. It is true that, according to Empedocles, the pores or passages through which the particles travelled were never absolutely empty, for, on his view, the universe was a plexum; whereas Democritus supposed the particles thrown off move, like all atoms, through empty space; but this merely affects the general likeness between the two theories. The introduction of atoms in certain ways, through the organs, to the soul answers to the introduction of effluxes through the pores, which Empedocles maintained. The atom-complexes thus given off resemble the external objects themselves. Democritus called them ἔκλεια—an Ionic term for which Aristotle substituted εὐκλεία. What we perceive, then, is in a manner in the soul; but the soul itself must include matter which, being affected mechanically by it, that is, capable of the impact, reaction, movement, ᾠδηλον, which is the essence of perception.

The sensory organs thus become passages for incoming impressions. Take vision. There is a moist porous organ—seeing results when the image of an object is mirrored in the pupil. So much we are told on excellent authority; but how it comes about that the pupil receives, or, if it is a mirror, reflects, this image, is a point on which neither the criticisms of Aristotle and Theophrastus nor the later accounts of Aetius and Alexander Aphrodisiænus throw much light. In fact, it remains doubly difficult and even impossible to explain the emanation from the visible object or the air which has received a certain impression, comparable to that of a seal upon wax, from this emanation. The suggestion that in seeing nearer objects the former, in seeing distant objects the latter, is the prevailing agent, although ingenious, lacks all authority. Colour, the proper object of vision, as explained above, is not a primary quality of bodies, but is relative to the perceptor. The visible thing is reconstituted of colourless atom-complexes, given shape and arranged in a certain order and position, and, when it is said to have colour in virtue of its atomic structure and the movements of its atoms, this really means that it is capable of exciting a leading coloration. Democritus agreed in the main with his contemporaries. As emanations (ἐκλίψεις) from visible bodies are the stimulus of vision, so the sounds (φωναί) which stimulate the organ of hearing are particles or atom-complexes thrown off by the somant body, and conveyed by the air to the ear, and through it to the soul. The stream of atoms given off by a somant body sets the atoms of the air in motion, and, joining itself with these according to similarity of shapes and sizes, makes its way into the body. The gristle of the ear is the chief, but not the sole, entrance for such a current. In making the current affect not the ear alone, but other organs of the body, Democritus showed decided originality. He may have meant no more than that the whole body is sympathetic to the operation of hearing. Probably the purity of sound was made to depend on the similarity, the pitch and volume on the magnitude, of their constituent atoms. The process by which the sound-atoms themselves and the air borne up by them are, as it were, sorted so that similar shapes and sizes come together must be understood as purely mechanical.

If a theory of emanations from bodies at a distance be desired to explain seeing and hearing, no difficulty will be encountered in applying it to the sense of smelling. The rapid diffusion of perfume is a familiar fact, and it is easily inferred that a finer matter is given off by more dense bodies in the form of an attenuated cloud of atoms, which reaches the nostrils. Theophrastus complains of the omission to connect a distinctive quality of the various odours with the atomic
configuration of their particles; but Democritus probably regarded this connexion as easily deducible from the similar connexion between atomic configuration and distinctive quality in the kindred region of tastes, with which he dealt very fully. Thus, refer to shapes which are angular, winding, small, and thin; the sweet to shapes which are spherical and not too small; the astringent to shapes large and with many angles. The bitter is composed of shapes small, smooth, and spherical, with hooks attached to the spherical surface; the saline of large shapes, in many cases not spherical, but in some cases also not scalene, and therefore without many flexures; the pungent is small, spherical, and angular, but not scalene.

With this the theory of sensation is complete. All senses have been resolved into modes of touch, which must, therefore, have been for Democritus the primary sense, as it was for Aristotle. But of the external sense-perception there is no detailed investigation. Pressure, impact, and motion—purely physical conceptions—are employed by the Atomists without misgiving, as if they had not realized the true nature of the shaped, small, smooth, and spherical, with hooks attached to the spherical surface; the saline of large shapes, in many cases not spherical, but in some cases also not scalene, and therefore without many flexures; the pungent is small, spherical, and angular, but not scalene.

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The question arises whether this ethical teaching (of which, after all, we know so little) is intimately connected with the philosophical system of Democritus. As a disciple of Epicurus, he was an atomist, and his system differs from that of the other philosophers of the School of Athens by his belief in the immortality of the soul.

The views of Democritus about religion are very imperfectly known. A fortunate accident has preserved the pages of Sextus Empiricus (Adv. Math. ix. 19; Diels, B 5, 166 [i. 415]) his curious belief in superhuman beings, and from other sources he is known to maintain the possibility of divination from dreams and from the inspection of the liver and other organs of the sacrificial victim. There is nothing in these beliefs which is not in harmony with the principles of atomistic physics, and it is very possible that Democritus was at the same time a man of wealth and position, and that the belief of Democritus, to natural causes. Dreams, whether of the ordinary or of the prophetic kind, were, on the atomistic hypothesis, due to imaginations or dæmons presented in sleep. Emanations from all possible objects flit about continually; amongst them there may be some which reflect the mental condition or even the opinions and designs of other men. Information thus obtained in dreams of this sort is a matter of inference, just as when in waking hours the condition and intentions of others are inferred from their looks. The data, however, are less trustworthy, and hence the interpretation of dreams is open to many objections. Yet it would seem, can thus be satisfactorily employed to explain what is unusual and abnormal.

As to the popular theology, it could not be accepted by any of the early Greek thinkers, least of all by Democritus. The interference of Homer's deities in the course of natural events was utterly at variance with speculations which, if they agreed in nothing else, all tended to establish the reign of law and the inevitable sequence of phenomena. It being exists but atoms moving in void, it is evident, if every event is inexorably determined by natural necessity, Divine agency and design in Nature are alike excluded. Democritus was true to this principle, and incurred the censure of Aristotle because he refused to see in the beauty and order of the universe, and more especially in the adaptation of meanstends in the structure of animals and plants, any evidence of design. It remains, however, for the philosopher to explain how the belief in gods agrees with his theory that the universe is the result of a series of causes, and to make the terror at the awe-inspiring phenomena of Nature—thunder and lightning, eclipses of the sun and moon, comets, earthquakes, and the like. In the popular belief the gods were certainly regarded as the causes of these greater phenomena, who dispense their energy over a multitude of subjects, and lay the foundation of separate universes, and hence it is probable that the temptation of an infinite universal impressed Democritus with a just sense of the pettiness of man and the futility of the ends which ordinary men pursue. But this conception is just as improbable as the popular conception of him as the 'Laughing philosopher.' It is provoked to murmurment by the incongruity of all around him. Others, taking the distinction between genuine and obscure knowledge as their text, draw a parallel between the power of dreams and the power of senses, and the similar presence of tranquility over violent and exciting pleasure. As sensations are atomic movements, so also are feelings, whether pleasant or unpleasant, and the means of obtaining a smooth, and pain a rough or violent motion. To sensations as atomic movements, as qua antecedent; it is in minute and delicate movements of the finest matter, which are imperceptible to sense, that thought and the joys of thought consist.

The atomistic doctrine which, as mentioned above, supposed an entire dispersion of soul-atoms to take place at death, left no ground for inferring the survival of individual existence. The instinctive fear of death is once or twice referred to in the fragments, and grief about death is admitted, but there is no trace of the belief in a life hereafter. With the interest of a modern man of science, Democritus appears to have investigated cases of resuscitation of persons apparently dead, and to have decided that, however violent the injury received, life could not be restored; the conditions of life had been altogether extinct (Proc. in Remp. ii. 113, 6 [Kroll]; Diels, B 3, [1. 384]). We have no evidence that he or any of his school were active in denouncing and opposing superstition. One of his works bears the title Προς τον Άδαν, but the sole reference extant to belief in a future life is the passing allusion:

Some men do not understand that a mortal nature is subject to dissolution, and, being conscious of the evil in life, painfully spend all their days in troubles and fears, inventing lies about the time after death.

4. Historical importance.—The doctrine here presented in outline was never popular in antiquity, or rather it may be said to have fallen into disrepute. This was due in part to the fact that the philosophy of Democritus and his followers are not dear to the Greeks from the time of the Sophists. Yet Aristotle, his keenest critic, praised him for his empirical method of research, and agreed that it was better to deal with things in the concrete (συγκεκριμένα) than to reason from vague abstract premises to conclusions which did not exactly fit the facts of the case (λογικός γράμματες). The great prominence given after the time of Socrates to ethics and the practical side of life was another reason why Atomism failed to attract public attention. Few names of adherents have come down to us, hardly enough to be called a school. Epicurus (q.e.) absorbed in his own system what he thought fit, leaving one fundamental doctrine—that of natural necessity—to his rivals, the Stoics. Here the genuine doctrine of Democritus vanishes, or re-appears only in those criticisms of Aristotle's which, as Lasswitz has shown, formed, to some of the keener intellects among the schoolmen, a rallying point to question or even ultimately to undermine the authority of the Stagirite. The loss of Democritus' writings was, in Bacon's opinion, the greatest which antiquity had sustained; and, after Galileo's experiments had opened a new era in physical research, this appreciation of empirical methods was triumphantly vindicated.

The chief service which Democritus rendered to
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INTRODUCTORY

(A. C. PEARSON), p. 590

Indian (W. CREOKE), p. 601.

Jain (H. JACOB), p. 608.


Jewish (H. LEWY), p. 612.

Muslim (M. GAUDENFROY-DEMBEMYES), p. 615.


Roman (J. S. REID), p. 620.

Slavic (V. J. MANSKII), p. 622.


Tibetan (L. A. WADDEN), p. 635.

SOUL, ANCESTOR-WORSHIP, and the ‘EGYPTIAN’ section below). This comes out very clearly among the Melanesians, with whom

1 It is most important to distinguish between two kinds of soul or spirit: one that is embodied in a human body (a soul), and the disembodied spirits of men, which have become in the vulgar sense of the word ghosts. ... they [the Melanesians] themselves make a clear distinction between the two kinds, and the disembodied spirits of the dead, and other spiritual beings that have never been men at all' (Cordrington, Melanesians, Oxford, 1899, p. 1207).

The evi, or spirit, thus contrasted with the tindalo, or ghost, was defined as follows to Cordrington by a native of the Banks Islands:

"It lives, thinks, feels; it is more intelligent than a man; knows things which are secret without seeing; is supernaturally powerful with men; has no form to be seen; has no soul, because itself is like a soul; and in Omba, Lepers Island, the deftn of evi is as follows:

'2 Spirits are immortal; have bodies, but invisible; are like men, but do not eat and drink, and can be seen only by the dead' (Cordrington, 123, 179).

That, despite this assignment of a purely spiritual nature to the evi, they should often be regarded practically as in human form, and even as times dimly visible (ib. 131 f.), is by no means surprising when we remember that it is well-nigh impossible for a man at any stage of civilization to escape entirely from anthropomorphism (q.v.).

This distinction between spirits and ghosts is, however, much easier to make in theory than in practice, and the "Ts'ylor's words regarding the New Zealanders (Te A, Mew", London, 1870, p. 108)

A very similar distinction may be found in Greek between deus, daimon, and égaze, the two latter classes corresponding respectively to the Melanesian evi and tindalo (cf. Usener, Götternamen, Bonn, 1890, p. 246f.).
DEMONS AND SPIRITS

(Metaphysics)

Maori gods are so mixed up with the spirits of ancestors, whose worship entered largely into their religion, that it is difficult to distinguish one from the other—may be applied to more than one people (cf. also, for Africa, Schneider, 

But, if demons and spirits must be distinguished from ghosts or souls, an equally clear line must be drawn between them and gods—although it is true that confusion of demons and spirits with gods is frequent, exactly as demons and spirits are often confounded with souls or ghosts. There is, nevertheless, this difference between the two kinds of confusion, that, whereas demons and spirits are, strictly speaking, distinct from souls and ghosts in that the evil 'we never have, and have not the bodily nature of a man' (Codrington, 124), the difference between demons and spirits as contrasted with gods appears to be one degree rather than of kind, so that demons and spirits may be, and very often are, elevated to the rank of gods. On this point Jevons writes as follows (Intro. to the Hist. of Religion, London, 1901, pp. 175, 176):

'For the savage, supernatural beings are divided into three classes: spirits of their own kind, spirits of other tribes, and spirits which, unlike the first two classes, have never obtained a definite existence; the gods offer to sacrifice to them and in return receive protection from them. This last class, never having been taken into alliance by any clan, have never been consecrated into gods. On the one hand, the communistic tribes originally drew its god from the ranks of the immemorial spiritual beings by which primitive man was surrounded; and, on the other hand, the more splendid, unattached spirits, who were not at first taken into alliance, and so raised to the status of gods, had, until the gods were, so to speak, and make regular members of a pantheon.

The relations of demons and spirits to that phase of primitive religion properly known as Animism (q.v.) are peculiarly close, so that Tylor (1. 426) declares:

'It is habitually found that the theory of Animism divides into two great classes, forming parts of one consistent doctrine; first, concerning souls of individuals, human and animal; the second, concerning other spirits, upward to the rank of powerful deities.'

Whether, however, Animism actually furnishes, as was once fondly supposed, a complete explanation of the origin of religion, or whether it was even the earliest form of religion, seems open to grave doubts (cf. the views of various native races recorded by Schmidt, 'L'Origine de l'idée de Dieu, in Anthropos, iii. [1908]); and the theory is scarcely supported in Melanesia, where so accurate an observer as Codrington can say (p. 123):

'There does not seem to be anywhere in Melanesia a belief in a spirit which animates any natural object, a tree, waterfall, storm, or rock, so as to be to it what the soul is believed to be to the body of a man. Europeans, it is true, speak of the spirits of the sea or of the storm or of the forest; but the native idea which they represent is that ghosts haunt the sea and the forest, having power to raise storms and to strike a traveller with disease, or that supernatural beings, never men, do the same.'

It must also be borne in mind that, while spirits are very frequently believed to inhabit trees, rivers, rocks, and the like, there are many spirits to which no such specific habitat is assigned. In other cases the abode, even in a tree, river, or rock, may be but temporary—a phenomenon which is especially characteristic of dream-demons, disease-demons, and the like.

There is, furthermore, a close connexion of demons and spirits with the great type of religion known as 'fetishism,' of which may roughly be defined, with Tylor (ii. 141), as 'the doctrine of spirits embodied in, or attached to, or conveying influence through, certain material objects;' the fetish itself being a material, or even animal (e.g. serpent, beast, etc.), or natural (river, tree, etc.), object in which the spirit is believed to take up its abode, either temporarily or permanently. To quote Tylor (ii. 145) again:

'To class an object as a fetish, demands explicit statement that a spirit is considered as embodied in it or acting through it or communicating by it, or at least that the people it belongs to do habitually think of such objects; or it must be shown that the object is treated as having personal consciousness and power, is talked to, worshiped, prayed to, petted or ill-treated with reference to its past or future behavior to its votaries.'

On the other hand, the well-founded objection of Jevons, (ib., p. 109, to the use of the term 'fetish' at all, since it 'may mean one thing to one person and another to another, because it has no generally accepted scientific definition.

Nevertheless, however vague the term 'fetish' may be, it is at least clear that the idea of spirit-habitation which it conveys is closely connected, in its development, with the forms of religion associated with amulets (see CHARMS AND AMULETS, vol. iii. p. 389) and idols (see IMAGES AND IDOLS).

Generally speaking, a spirit is regarded, unless properly propitiated, as malevolent and maleficent more often than as benevolent and beneficent; in other words, to revert to the common, though lax, phraseology, demons are more numerous than spirits. At first sight this state of belief is analogous to that which gives more prominence to malignant than to benignant deities, because the benevolent gods are already good and need no propitiation, whereas the malevolent deities must appear to be well outlined by Jevons (p. 177), who finds the explanation in the fact, already noted, that the spirit is unattached to any clan or community, whereas a god is connected with one or another clan. The spirit is, therefore, placed in the position of an unattached ghost; and, as to the primitive mind, with its intense concept of kinship—who real or artificial—all that is not akin is hostile, a spirit thus unattached, and consequently unakin, would tend to be regarded as hostile and malevolent. It must be remembered, too, that the qualities ascribed to the spirits reflect in great measure the qualities of their worshipers (cf. Schneider, 108); for instance, the Kioko of the Portuguese West Africa, it is said, may have a spirit which is a kind of god, or possesses the attributes of a god, and which has its own district, which he jealously guards, being deeply alarmed by the intrusion of any neighboring spirit (ib. 150). Spirits also possess other traits still more human, such as, among the Aborigines of N. America, the belief that black-spirits take revenge on the black-spirits' names are the people who has passed among all those who have passed through the bank of the creek (Spencer-Gillen, p. 162, also p. 301).

It is comparatively seldom that the primitive mind makes a clear discrimination between good and evil spirits so far as to distinguish them by special epithets, as do the Africans of Benguela (Schneider, 153); and the very fact that the names applied by the Malays of Pasama Lobar to good spirits (debo) and to evil spirits (juh) are Skr. and Arah. (cf. also W. de Groot, Anthrop., der Naturvolker, Leipzig, 1835-70, v. i. 106) betrays the late date of this nomenclature (cf. also Tylor, ii. 319).

In the region under consideration, belief in demons and spirits is especially characteristic of Africa (as is shown at once by the fact that 'fetishism' is par excellence the type of African
spirits; see ANIMALS, vol. i, pp. 509 f., 520 f., and among the Mandingo the reverence is paid to spirits of the dead (cf. Tylor, ii, 194-200, and SETHI, Totemism). Yet here, too, as just noted, the difficulty of accurate distinction between spirits and ghosts confronts us, and the animal is more usually treated as the true animal-worship. (c) Water-spirits.—Attention has been called in art. BRIDGE to the wide-spread belief in deities and spirits believed to be resident in rivers, and the theory of the sacredness of streams is, of course, already noted; but a similar belief prevails in Melanesia (Cordinong, 186 f.)—"In the East, among the Wanika, every spring has its spirit, which obtains food for the villages. The walls, lakes, ponds, and rivers received worship as local deities. In the South, among the Kafrs, streams are regarded as personal beings, or the abodes of personal deities, as when a man crossing a river will ask leave of its spirit, or having crossed will throw in a stone; or when the dwellers by a stream will sacrifice a beast to it in time of drought, or, warned by illness in the tribe that their river is angry, will cast into it a few handfuls of millet or the entrails of a slaughtered ox."

(d) Mountains.—The African Melanite believe that the mountains are inhabited by the spirits of the dead (Brun, loc. cit.), and throughout Oceania there was an abundance of mountain- and rock-spirits, some of which must, however, be reckoned as ghosts (see Waitz-Gerland, vi, 265-267), where may be found a general survey of Nature-spirits in the Pacific islands). The extent to which mountain-spirits may be specialized is well illustrated in the list of the dread deities of the volcano Kiluan, in Hawaii, thus recorded by Ellis (i, 248 f.).

Kamehame-a ("King Moho") or "king vole", Termes-thablers ("explosion in the place of life"), Te-au-te-poe ("rain of night"), Hane-nitehi ("blindness of thunder"), Te-aft-aftana-taua ("fire-breathing child of wind")—all these belong to Makore-wawahi-awa ("fiery-eyed cance-breaker"), Hita-wawahi-lani ("fiery-eye of thunder-reader"). Hita-wawahi ("fire-eyed cloud-breaker"), Hita-tea-tea ("cloud-dwelling cloud-holder"), Hita-tea-tea ("cloud-dwelling cloud-breaker"), Hita-tea-tea ("cloud-dwelling cloud-breaker")—all these being sisters of the great goddess Pele. The prominence among the distinct good spirits are those whose special function it is to act as guardians. From this class we must, of course, exclude the "soul", such as the okena, or Eru, of the Tahi and the kereu of the Eve, which is the second soul, created together with the individual, whom it is to guard throughout his lifetime (see art. SOUL); and we must also once more essay the farther
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LESS EASY TASK OF DISTINGUISHING GUARDIAN SPIRITS FROM GHOSTS.

To the latter class seems to belong such supernatural guardians as the Zulu ama-tonjwa, the Kamba mati, and the gubbi of the Congo (Schröder, 139 ff.; 152); Hartland, art. Bantu, vol. ii. p. 360), and the Tahitian oramataua (Waitz-Gerland, vi. 316); yet there are also cases where the guardian is believed to be a spirit in the strict sense of the term. Such apparitions are the case in the Gold and Slave Coasts (Jeffons, 165 f.; see also his whole ch. xiv.), and in Samoa and other Polynesian islands the guardian spirit was expressly declared to be a god (a'itu), not a ghost (see especially the examples of Tylor, in Anthropos, vi. 131 ff.). For further details, see art. TOTEMISM, TUTELARY GODS.

Another important class of spirits is formed by those of prophecy, their functions being to a large extent that of diviners. As examples of this kind of beings we may refer to a spirit dwelling in an enormous stone near Kita (Brun, loc. cit.), the Mataheke Makalaka (Schneider, 144), and the seal of Blanche Bay (Meier, in Anthropos, v. 96 f.; cf. also Tylor, ii. 131 f.). These spirits may simply be consulted, as at Kita, or they may enter into an individual, producing a state of ecstasy, as at Blanche Bay (see art. POSSESSION). Again, it is to the agency of such spirits that primitive man attributes a large proportion of his dreams (Tylor, i. 189-191; see also art. DREAMS), especially those of an erotic or nightmare character, while ordinary dreams of persons, animals, and things would normally be ascribed rather to the action of souls, whether of the living or of the dead. That demons and spirits are important factors in causing disease has already been noted (above, p. 567).

The presences of demons and spirits is normally revealed solely by intangible manifestations which the primitive mode of thought can explain only through the agency of such supernatural beings, as in the case of disease, dreams, many natural phenomena, and the like; but a demon or spirit is also often regarded as sufficiently tangible to leave footprints in ashes or similar substances strewn where it may be thought likely that he will come; and animals are frequently believed to be able to perceive both the dullest vistas of men or to discern (Tylor, ii. 196-198). Beneficent spirits, when present, are, of course, gladly entertained, and are even constrained to remain; but there is, naturally enough, a determined effort to get rid of unbeneficent demons. All these processes of invitation or of expulsion are part of magic (q.v.), and come to the front especially in case of disease (see art. DISEASE AND MEDICINE), or, from the more ethical and ritual side, in the ceremonies associated, for example, with the sacrifices in ethnic religions (see AZEEL AND SCAPE ANIMALS).

There is one class of beings that may perhaps be regarded as on the border-line between spirits and ghosts, though inclining rather to the latter category. These are the lusus, which are the last remains of great primitive communities, and who have conquered their present territory by invasion and subjugation of a former tribe of entirely different nature, and are convinced that this vanquished tribe still survives in spirit form. It is generally held that we have here one of the sources of the folk-belief in fairies, brownies, kobolds, dwarfs, giants, and the like (cf. Tylor, i. 335 f.; cf. pp. 21 f., 429). To this class belong the Maori pukaha or pukeko, who lived chiefly on the tops of lofty hills, while the karearea or hedges in river-holes or under cliffs, etc., where they caused such calamities as land-slips and the like (Tylor, pp. 153-157). Similar beings, explicitly called ru, or spirits, are believed to dwell in the New Hebrides and Banks Islands, where they have been seen of late in human form, smaller than the native people, darker, and with long straight hair (Coddington, 152 f.).

The cult referred to demons and spirits may be discussed very briefly, for it differs in no matter of principle from that of the gods themselves. As Jeffons (p. 175 f.) says, 'The method by which the negro of Western Africa obtains a suhman [-a tutelary deity of an individual] is an exact copy of the legitimate ritual by which a family obtains a family god.'

All over the world these private cults are modelled on, derived from, and later than, the established worship of the gods of the community. The differences between the private cult of one of these following, unattached spirits and the domestic worship of the community's gods does not lie in the external acts and rites, for these are the same in both cases, or as nearly the same as the imitator can make them. . . . The difference lies first in the division which this species of private enterprise implies and encourages between the interests of the individual and of the community, at a time when identity of interest is essential to the maintenance of social order and the ultimate equilibrium of the small community requires the devotion of every member to prevent it from falling.' (For a detailed study of the spirit-cult of a specific African tribe, see Henry, 'Le Culte des esprits chez les Bambara,' in Anthropos, iii. 702-717.)

LITERATURE.—There seems to be no special treatise on this subject, so that the statements derived from the writings of missionaries and travellers in Africa and Oceania (in the older works much care is needed in distinguishing, where such distinction is possible, between spirits and ghosts) and those works on the regions under consideration (such as those of Waitz-Gerland and Schneider, quoted above) form the general studies on Comparative Religion. Particular interest still attaches to the chapters (xi.-xvii.) on 'Animism' in Tylor, although the animistic theory is subjected to criticism by many scholars of eminence.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Assyr.-Bab.),—Among the ancient Assyrians and Babylonians, as among the modern Arabs of Mesopotamia, superstition was rife, and a firm belief in all kinds of demons and jinn was current in every class of society. The apocalyptic element, when it entered Babylon, took over from the Semitic much of their folk-lore, and it is for this reason that so many of the Assyr. words for ghosts, hobgoblins, and vampires bear their Semitic origin patently; and out of this amalgamation sprang the ultimately developed system of magic in vogue during the later Assyr. and Bab. empires. This art provides the magician with all possible means for combating hostile devils and spirits.

The unseen spirits of mankind fall naturally into three classes. The simplest form—that of the disembodied spirit or ghost—is probably universal. The second—always supernatural—differs from gods by reason of its low order, and, as Robertson Smith says of the jinn, 'is merely an invasion of its class and not by a personal name, save in such cases as Namtar and the like, who are properly gods. Lastly, there is the half-human, half-supernatural creature, born of human and ghostly parentage, i.e., some awful monstrous fiend from a Succuba or Incubus. These, too, are known by a class-name and have no individual title, whereas the higher order of this element in religion, the demi-god, is always a personality.

r. Ghosts.—What may be examples of this, first in order the disembodied spirit, the ghost of a man or woman, which for some reason or other returns to this world. The Assyr. word in use is colinuma. 2

This colinuma was supposed to come back to earth for many reasons; it became hungry and restless, if its descendants ceased to pay it due rites or offer sacrifices on which it might feed; or it obtained no resting-place in the world of shades underground, if its earthly body remained unburied. The colinuma had the ideas of a person, and it was the same as those of the ancient Hebrews. When a man died, his body was duly buried in the earth, and the spirit then inhabited the under-world, the House of Darkness, the seat of the

1 Rot. Scat. 5, 1; 129, 12.
2 See Hunger, Bekehrungswesen bei den Babylonern, Leipzig, 1883.
gods Irkalla... the house from which none who enter come forth again. 1 Here its food was dust and mud, doubtless ejected by the libations and offerings which percolated through the earth from the mourners' sacrifices. The blood of animals slaughtered at the great sun-trickles through to reach the hungry spirit in the under world, and hence the belief in such sacrifices. But, if the attentions of descendants towards an ancestor should cease on earth, and the spirit thus was deprived of its food, it was then driven by stress of hunger to come back to earth to demand its due. How it succeeded in breaking loose from that bourn whence no traveller returns is difficult to understand, unless we suppose that there was a dual conception of ideas arising from a confusion between the grave as the actual habitation of the dead man, and Sheol as the place of shades; probably the primitive beliefs of savages in regard to spirits were never very definite in details, and ideas of such incorporate and invisible beings must necessarily have been indeterminate. For example, Ishtar, when she descends to the under world, threatens to break down the door of Hades:

'If open ye the door, I will shatter the arch.'

I will smite the threshold and tear down the doors,
I will raise up the dead, that they may devour the living,
And will destroy the descendants those as are after men.

Yet in another Assy. tablet the return of spirits from the grave is thus described:

'The dead men seizes (upon male) have come forth from the grave,
The evil vapours have come forth from the grave...'

The word 'vapours' or 'winds' here requires some explanation. The reference is probably to the transparency of the spirits: when the spirit of Ea-bar is raised from Hades at the instance of his friend, the Babylon hero Gilgamesh, his shade rises 'like the wind' through an opening in the earth made by the god Nergal.

Similarly, another incantation, although it confuses ghosts with demons, refers to the return of hostile spirits:

'The evil spirit, the evil demon, the evil ghost, the evil devil, from the earth have come forth; from the pure abode unto the earth they have come forth; in heaven they are unknown, on earth they are not understood.'

In the instance of the stutku-wraith of Ea-bar being raised, the Ev经过 death, the Ev comes up...

The text continues with a speech of the ghost, describing the under world to Gilgamesh:

'The man whose corpse lieth in the desert (thou and I have observed the corpse, but not the earth) the man whose spirit lieth none to care for (thou and I have often seen such an one), the dregs of the vessel, the leavings of the table, lieth. The feast passes out of the hand where his food.

The name of the necromancer in Assyrian—mušša adumma, 'raiser of the ghost'—is pertinent here, to show that the belief in such wizardry was accepted.

Besides the uncared ghost, however, there was also the spirit of the unburied body to haunt mankind. According to Assy. ideas, which tally in great measure with those of modern savages, if the bodies of the dead were not removed from the tombs, the spirit at once became restless, and was compelled to roam about the world. Ashurbanipal, giving full credence to this belief, in his invasion of Elam carries away the bones of the kings of Elam from the tombs, and causes the rites paid to them to cease, that their spirits may have no rest.

Furthermore, unless the body was buried, the spirit of the dead man never reached its resting-place in the under world; and there are long catalogues of all possible classes of ghosts to be exorcised, identified by the reason of their return to earth:

'Whether thou art a ghost that hath come from the earth... or that lieth dead in the desert, or one that lieth dead in the desert uncovered with earth... or a ghost unburiad, or a ghost that smite food, or a ghost that wilt make offerings (to it), or a ghost with none to pour libations (to it), or a ghost that hath no posterity' (or, 'that hath no name').

Or, if through some accident the man had died an untimely death and had not been given due burial, the same thing would happen:

'He that lieth in a ditch... be that no grave covered... be that lieth dead in the desert or in the ruins (or waste place), the hero whom they have slain with the sword. 2

Those who died prematurely became ghosts also, those who perished of hunger or thirst in prison, or had not 'smelt the smell of food,' dying of want, or had fallen into a river and been drowned, or had been overcome by storm in the plains, 3 those who died as virgins or bachelors of marriagable age, 4 and women who died in travail, or while their babies were yet at the breast.

This last ghost, 'in the breach of the mother dying in childbirth, is universal. Doughty relates that the Arab women explained the host of an owl as the cry of a woman seeking her lost child, she having been thrust into this bird. 

Alas, a woman who dies thus becomes a langursu, or flying demon, which the rest of the tribe prevent from wandering by putting grass beads in the mouth of the corpse, a horn set under the arm-pits, and needles in the palms of the hands. 5

The original drangur was said to be a kind of bird, according to the Like the Lillith of fabulous tradition, and is therefore similar to the ghost of which Doughty speaks.

Now, if any one of these disembodied spirits returned to earth, it was likely to attack any mortal who had been in some way connected with it on earth. To have shared food, water,235

urants, or clothes with any one in this world rendered a person 'liable to a visitation from the ghost of his dead beneficary, demanding similar attentions after death; nay, even to have eaten, drunk, anointed oneself, or dressed in company with another was reason enough for such a ghostly operation.

The living exorcist, through his priest, all these forms of ghost in the Assy. incantations, threatening them that no rites shall be paid them until they depart:

'Whatever spirit thou may be,' until they are removed,

Until thou departest from the man, the son of his god,

Thou shall have no food to eat,

Thou shall have no water to drink.'

Many of the medical tablets give elaborate prescriptions of drugs and ceremonies to be employed when a ghost seizes on a man. Others give the ritual for laying a ghost: the magician performs in these cases long formularies of all possible ghosts, thereby showing, as is necessary in this magic, that he knows the description of this spirit with which he is dealing:

'With a spirit of one's own, one is unable to visit the rites, or one slain by the sword, or one that hath died by fate of god or sin of king.'

The fear of the obsessed man is apparently that the ghost will draw him from this world to the other, for he states in his incantation:

'O ye-dead folk, whose eyes are keepe of earth, whose... pierce sobbing, why are you appear amongst my people? I will not come to Kutha the under world! Ye are a crowd of ghosts; why do ye cast your enchantments upon me?'

1 Thompson, Demois, vol. iv. col. l. 1 ff.
2 W. A. ii. 17, l. 1. 6 ff.; Haupt, Akkad. u. ass. Kest-

2 W. A. ii. 17, l. 52; Haupt, col. l. ii. 22 ff.

3 This is a probability rendering of the phrase; see Thompson, Semitic Magic, p. 19.

4 Thompson, Demois, vol. i. Tablet 'CO'.

5 Tablet 'CO'.

6 For other and parallel instances, see Thompson, Semitic Magic, p. 10 ff.
2. Unhuman spirits.—The second kind of demons, those entirely mnhuman, for whose creation mortals are not directly responsible, existed among the Assyrians, as among other Semites, in innumerable hordes.

The first of them is the utakku. This word is used, once at least, for the wraith of the dead man returning to earth (in the incident of Ea-lami quoted above from the Gilgamesh Epic), but elsewhere it applied to something more sinister than a simple ghost, and we shall probably not be far wrong in considering it for the most part as the equivalent for a devil. It lurked in the desert, the common home of many Semitic devils, lying in wait for the unwary mortal it might have as its home in the mountains, sea, or graveyard; and evil would befall him on whom it merely cast its eye. Another, less well known, is the gailit, apparently sexless,2 and this is used as a term of abuse in classical Assyrian, referring to the hostile Babylonians by such a name.3 The ralisu is a lurking demon, which sets the hair of the body on end.4 The labarta, labasi, and abhazu are a trio frequently found together, the first-named having a wife, the last a nest of female devils. She was a female demon, the daughter of Ann,6 making her home in the mountains or cane-brakes of the marshes; and children were particularly exposed to her attacks. To guard them from her, the tables inscribed with incantations against her include an amulet to be written on a stone and hung round their necks, and the inscription runs:

**"Labarta, [daughter of] Ann," is her first name;**

The second, "Sister, of the [gods of the] desert,"

The third, "Sword that spliteth the head;"

The fourth, "Wood-sinder;"

The fifth, "God of ass;"

The sixth, "The trusted and accepted of Irina,"

The seventh, "By the great gods mayst thou be exorcised; with the kind of heaven mayst thou be exorcised."7

Of the other two of this trial the abhazu is apparently combated in the medical texts.8 Of the labasi practically nothing is known.

Two others are mentioned in the caneform tablets—the ilû and the lamesa, the former being the name for either a guardian deity or an evil spirit. As evil, it is found in an exorcism which begins: Spirit [âûû] that misineth heaven and earth, that misineth the land, that spirit, of giant strength, of giant strength and giant tread.9 In this quality the demon surrounding Semitic nations borrowed the word from Assyria—the Hebrews under the form shelihan, the Aramaeans shel-hun, but it had also its import as thus approximating to the idea of a guardian angel. With the lamesa, which appears always as a kindly spirit, it is appealed to at the end of invocations, both being frequently called upon to be present after the evil spirit has been cast out.1

In addition to the Assyrian demons specified by separate class-names, there are the ‘Seven Spirits,’ now well known from the following incantation:

1. Seven are they: Seven are they!
   In the Ocean Deep, seven are they!
   Batting in heaven, seven are they!
   Brod in the depths of the Ocean;
   Nor male nor female are they,
   But as the running wind-blust,
   No wife have they, so no son can they beget.
   Knowing neither mercy nor pity,
   They hear not prayer or supplication.
   They are as horses reared amid the hills,
   The Evil One of Ea;
   Gisitu to the gods are they.
   They stand in the highway to bend the path.

   Evil are they, evil are they!
   Seven are they, seven are they,
   Twice seven are they.12

1. From land to land they roam,
   Driving the maid from her chamber,
   Sending the young girl forth from her home,
   Expelling the son from the house of his father,
   Making the devotions from their cave,
   Driving the bird from its nest,
   Making the swallow by forth from its hole,
   Shooting both man and sheep.
   They are the evil spirits that chase the great storms,
   Bringing a blight on the land.

   They creep like a snake on their bellies,
   They make the chamber to sink like mice,
   They give tongue like a pack of hounds.9

These seven spirits are undoubtedly the same as those mentioned in Lk 11:24, and in a Syriac charm. They are exorcized under the name of seven accursed brothers. They are described in this charm as saying: ‘We go on our hands, so that we may eat flesh, and we crawl along upon our hands and we may drink blood.’ Their predilection for blood is shown in the Assyrian incantation:

1. Knowing no mercy, they rage against mankind,
   They spill their blood like rain,
   Devouring their flesh (and) sucking their veins.6

   To them eclipses were due; just as the modern Semite believes that he must frighten away the evil spirits from the darkening sun or moon, so did the ancient Assyrian ascribe such a phenomenon to spirit influence. These seven spirits are said to have attacked the moon-god; and Bel, hearing that they had done so, sent his servant Nuzku to take counsel with Ea against them:

   ‘O my minister, Nuzku!
   Take me to the Ocean Deep.
   Tell unto Ea in the Ocean Deep
   The tidings of my son Sin, the Moon-god,
   Who in heaven hath been grievously damned.’

Ea heard the message which Nuzku brought, and bit his lip in grief; he summoned his son Marduk and conveyed to him the tidings of the moon-god. [After this the tablet becomes mutilated.] When an eclipse did occur, it was held that man might be susceptible to its concomitant evils; many, indeed, are the prayers made to avert the baneful influence.

’tis in the evil of an eclipse of the moon which in such and such a month on such and such a day has taken place, in the evil of the powers, of the portents, evil and not good, which are in my palace and in that region.

3. Semi-human demons.—The third class of spirit—a golem of semi-human parentage—must be reckoned the most interesting of the three; and the evidence for belief in such a monster is well

1. Thompson, Devils, I, Tablet II. 11. II. 82f., 86; Tablet V. 1, col. IV. 1. 24f.
2. A.H. Thompson, Devils, I, Tablet V. col. IV. 8 ff.
3. Thompson, Devils, I, Tablet V. col. IV. 8 ff.
4. A.H. Thompson, Devils, I, Tablet II. 11. II. 82f., 86; Tablet V. 1, col. IV. 1. 24f.
5. A.H. Thompson, Devils, I, Tablet V. col. IV. 8 ff.
DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Buddhist).—

Demon-worship enters largely into the daily life of Eastern peoples. In India, where Buddhism and Brahmanism, the popular religions, both Buddhism and Brahmanism, in common with that of Easterns generally, has concerned itself less with the prospects of happiness in a future life and the ‘higher truths’ of the religion than with the troubles in the present life supposed to arise from evil spirits, who everywhere infest the atmosphere and dwellings, and are regarded as the cause of all sickness and misfortune. The higher dogmatic religion and the popular arrangements for the future life are based over largely to the priests; but the people themselves take an active and anxious part in counteracting the machinations of the evil spirits, of whom they live in perpetual dread.

Buddhism from its very commencement appears to have accepted the Hindu mythology, with its evil and good spirits, as part of its theory of the universe. Sakymuni himself seems to have taken over from the Brahmanical teachers of his time, amongst other tenets, the current belief in evil gods and demons of the Indian pantheon, and he is represented in the more authentic early texts as referring to these beings as objects of fixed belief. He also accepted the current Brahmanical view that, like all other beings possessing happiness, the gods and demons were permanent and ultimately subject to death and endless re-birth, many of them having in previous existences been men. Thus, the gods and demons, being incapable of saving themselves from death and the misery of re-birth, might not be expected to save mankind; and so Buddha declared that their worship was one of the things which are not profitable and therefore unnecessary, and that he himself as ‘the Perfectly Enlightened One,’ or the Buddha, was superior to all deities. Nevertheless, as these gods and demons were still believed to be capable of doing harm as well as good to man, though they could not effect his spiritual salvation, they continued more or less to be objects of popular worship even in early Buddhism, as is seen in the most ancient monuments.

Whether Buddha himself seriously believed in these deities may be doubted. Yet the earliest texts agree in ascribing to him the statement that he descended to the abode of the beasts and demons in order to save mankind. Moreover, in the early Jātaka tales of his imaginary previous existences, he is said to have been one or other of the gods in former times, mentioning himself 4 times as Brahmā (the great Brahmā who is the creator of the world), 20 times as Sakra or Indra, 45 times as a tree-god, and once as a fairy. In his sūtras, or sermons, the god Brahmā is referred to as one of the most frequent of his auditors. And the culminating episode of Sakymuni’s career—the attainment of Buddhahood at Gaya—is universally represented as a personal struggle with Mara, the Satan of the Buddhist world, and his daughters, Desire, Unrest, and Pleasure. This event is regarded by Buddhists as an allegory, but as an actual bodily temptation and a conflict with manifested evil spirits.

The Buddhist pantheon thus had for its nucleus the polytheistic Brahmanical one, which embodied a physoiary, or worship of the personified forces of Nature. It soon, however, became much more extensive: (1) by the creation of new deities and spirits of a special Buddhist type, personifying abstract conceptions of that religion; and (2) by the wholesale incorporation of much of the contents of the aboriginal pantheons of those peoples outside India over which Buddhism extended its conquests as a ‘world-religion.’ In this way the Buddhist pantheon has become the largest in the world, especially in its array of demons and spirits.
The distinctively Buddhist demons and spirits of Indian Buddhism, while generally modelled on the type of the Brahmanical, are specifically different from these in their functions, in their appearance as pictured and sculptured, and in their outward symbols. They range from the modes of their presentation in the early Buddhist texts or figured in later Buddhist art. Some of these supernatural beings, although unknown to Brahmanical texts, may have been local Indian spirits, not necessarily Buddhist, e.g. the famous sky-ogre Hariti. In the course of the introduction of Buddhist texts, these names and figures entered later Buddhist art, and eventually were assimilated to the Brahmanical ideas with the result that they assumed the form already characteristic of the Brahmanical deities. The general rule was that the evil spirits were placed at the earliest stage of the evolution, but in the later Hindu texts they were assimilated to the Brahmanical deities.

A. Spirits—Demonolatry. The term roughly called *däkäs* (from *raksasas* and *pišchachas*, the most malignant fiends) may be illustrated by the statements that the raksasas, or ogres, were the antagonists of Buddha’s life and death. The most famous is the ogre of Kapilavastu, a mountainous region, which Buddha are said to have crossed on his way to Bodh Gaya. The ogre gave his name to the region, and later, when Mahavira and the Buddha were both born in the same month and in the same year, the Buddha’s name was taken as symbolic of the evil that the Later Buddha and his followers were to encounter. The ogre figure became a common symbol in the iconography of the Mahayana schools.

B. Human—Animal—Deity—Vegetal. This transformation of local superstition into worship is illustrated by the case of the evil god Mara, who was regarded as the demon of Mara, who was regarded as the demon of death, and who was later translated into its symbolic function in the Bhakti cult to the Buddha-god.

C. Asuras. They were the enemy of the Brahmanical gods, and throughout the early Buddhist developments, certain sections of the Buddhists kept pace with these by parallel movements which added to the Buddhist pantheon.

D. Demonolatry. Many of these beings are said to be carnivorous, and some of them to have the appearance of animals—bears, tigers, or dragons. These names and figures entered the Buddhist texts, and in later Buddhist art were assimilated to the Brahmanical deities, and eventually were assimilated to the Brahmanical deities.

Buddhism extended its range outside its original home of India, and the Brahmanical cults were greatly influenced by the introduction of Buddhist ideas. Thus, the Brahmanical deities were assimilated to the Buddhist religion, and the latter became the vehicle for the introduction of Buddhist ideas.

The introduction of Buddhism into the Indian subcontinent is a complex and multifaceted process. Buddhism spread from India to various regions, each of which developed its own unique form of Buddhism. This spread is evident in the diversity of Buddhist art and literature, which reflect the influence of indigenous cultures.

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Buddhism extended its range outside its original home of India, and the Brahmanical cults were greatly influenced by the introduction of Buddhist ideas. Thus, the Brahmanical deities were assimilated to the Buddhist religion, and the latter became the vehicle for the introduction of Buddhist ideas.

The introduction of Buddhism into the Indian subcontinent is a complex and multifaceted process. Buddhism spread from India to various regions, each of which developed its own unique form of Buddhism. This spread is evident in the diversity of Buddhist art and literature, which reflect the influence of indigenous cultures.
imaginary), or in some wild and inaccessible tract of land, or in the depths of a great forest. Further, the lives and actions of these imaginary beings are pictured as being governed by conditions that may be summarily described as normal—conditions such as are held to prevail for human experience, but which have, none the less, occasional points of resemblance to those of ordinary existence. Moreover, the beings which are imagined as living under these abnormal conditions are thought of as endowed, with a certain degree of freedom, in the Celtic world, they are viewed as equipped with various forms of magic skill, and are thereby specially associated with those human beings who are thought to have similar endowments. Nor is it always possible to note these beings of the Celtic Other-world, (a) those which may be regarded as survivals from primitive Animism, such as the animate 'spirits' of inanimate things; (b) those which are ancient spirits of vegetation; (c) those which are specially endowed with the power of persistence, necessary as dwellers in a hypothetical Other-world; and (d) those which are exclusively regarded as the souls of departed human beings. In all parts of the Celtic world, and in all countries, there are survivals of the views as to the nature and disposition of these beings, but very often the relationship of a ghost to an individual man or woman, whose soul it was, sinks into the background of the story, and the ghost is made to act like an ordinary supernatural being. The various types, both in form and character, often merge into one another. Again, one of the characteristics of the Other-world of the Celts, which may be said to follow as a natural from these circumstances of the world, is that the beings supposed to people it do not, like those of the actual world, keep their own forms, but undergo various transformations. Hence it is that we speak of 'being turned into a cat' by between those of animal and those of human form, inasmuch as those of one form may pass into a form that is usually characteristic of the other, and, along with the change of form, there may also be a change of character of the person. Consequently a being which might appear as a demon, in the English sense of the term, at one time, might at another conceivably be represented in some other form as a benign spirit. In some degrees,则在第十一种。Celtic character\(^1\) in question may be the reflection in Celtic folk-lore of certain human types, which are not unknown in Celtic experience, where qualities that are in the highest degree laudable are combined with others that are glaringly out of harmony with them, as, for example, the combination of a highly temperate and devout life with constant un punctuality or frequent in the keeping of promises and engagements. The inhabitants of Celtic society have not, as a rule, been sorted out, during a process of severe and relentless moral drilling, into distinct and fixed ethical classes to the same extent as the inhabitants of some Teutonic lands; and the prevalent ethical conditions in Celtic society are naturally in some degree reflected even in Celtic folk-lore.

Another point, again, which deserves consideration is that, in Celtic folk-lore, the beings whose normal home is the Other-world are far from being rigidly confined to that region, but are represented as coming to view in the actual world either by day or by night—in current folk-lore preferably by night. They are regarded as appearing either singly or in groups; and those to whom they appear may see them either as solitary spectators or in company with others. They are also represented as entering into various dealings with normal human beings, and among the relations of these beings are included in fact the institution of marriage. Further, just as the beings of the Other-world may enter this world, the men of this world may enter the Other-world, whether by invitation, accidental, or invasion. Many Celtic legends, such as that of the 'Two Sons of Etain,' in Irish, and the story of Pwyll, Penddef Dyfed ('Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed'), in Welsh, are largely based upon belief in inter-relations between the two worlds of the type in question. Christian teaching and the belief of other countries have done much to assimilate the Celtic consciousness, in the matter of belief in imaginary beings, to that of advanced civilization; yet enough of the ancient psychological attitude of the native Celtic mind still exists to cause these beings to be regarded as resembling beings that have had upon the mind in ages further back.

1. Celtic demons and spirits in antiquity.—A large number of the names of the Celtic deities that are not yet understood are names which occur but once, and consequently they may be regarded as probably the names of local deities or local tutelary spirits. Sometimes the name is clearly identical with that of some known, river, or mountain, and occasionally with a name of a race of spirits. Thus, the name 'Anychus,' in Irish, is a variant of 'Ancient Celtic Deities,' in Trans. Gaelic Soc. of Inverness, 1906; in other cases, the origin of the name is unknown. About two hundred and sixty names, which occur only once on inscriptions, have come down to us from the northern part of France, and doubtless, many more. Along with these individual names there existed other groups of supernatural beings, such as (a) the Bacuchi, of whom Cassan (ibid., vol. vii. p. 262) says, 'Aliis eis corum curas quoque eperant insanum quodam tumulus videmus intusca, quos etiam Bacucaus vulpus appellatus, ut semetipsa ultra prosperitas sui corporis cognoscit num quidem in quaedam fastus gestusque autellerem, nunc vero velut ad quorum temporibus suis religiones monstrat, nunc vero ad alia se credenter adorat et quae motus quibus vera officia aut superbe aut humiliter peragatur explicant.'

(b) The Castacei or Castacii are known to us only from an inscription in the city of La震荡ensiae, 1904: 'Reburinus lupidarius Castacea vi. [i. a. n.],' and similarly (c) the Iotici or Ioticei are mentioned on an inscription at Cruviers, Dép. Gard (CIL xii. 2902: 'Ioticiis'), while (d) the Duosi are mentioned by three writers, who all appear to view them as one of the Other-world, and suggest that, at one time, the character of these beings was regarded as beneficent or neutral.

The passages relating to the Duosi are the following: August. (De civ. Dei. xvi. 51) says, 'Quaedam enim Galli nuncupant, additae habe immunitatem et partem et officia, plures taleque adherent, ut locos securi impotenti visita.' Similarly, Isidore (Or. vol. xii. 103) says, 'Filios, qui Graece Panteis, Latine Incubi appellantur. ... Seppe inimici existant, etiam mulieribus, et earum pargant consuetudines, quos daemones Galli Duosi vocant, quas additae habe pargant inimmunitates.' 69. 104: 'Quem autem vulgo Incubus vocant, quem Romanos Fornacem, et anglos seseque, Priscum (de Divin. Letherian. i. 654, ed. Sim.) says: 'Quaedam etiam inferiora a Duossis, quae est in Pantic, sacris, iluminatos inveniunt, consuetudinem portisse inventa sunt.'

(c) The Iotici are a group of male gods, whose name occurs on an inscription at Dormagen, in that region of the Rhine, in the year 1906 (CIL xii. 292: 'Ihibus Marcus et Atius vs. s.l.m.').

That were clearly regarded as beneficent. (f) The Nerviti or Nervinae were probably a tribal group
of beneficent deities or spirits that were connected with the tribe of the Nervi. In one case we have, as the name of a group of deities that were regarded as deities, the plural one nos, the most widely diffused of Divine names in the Celtic world, namely (g) Lugoves, the plural of Lugus.

This plural term occurs on the following inscriptions: (1) at Omsa, in the territory of the Celtici (CIL ii. 245): 'Lug- 

vibus sacrum (Lugina) (Luginius?) Urko collegio sutorum din- 

duo' (CIL ii. 246); (2) in the territory of the Cori- 

vii (CIL iii. 366): 'Lugoves'; (3) at Born (CIL 469): 

'Domesticis Lugibis'...

Other beneficent spirits are (k) the Di Cassetae, 

who are mentioned on the inscriptions as follows: 

(1) At Lorsch (CIL 1386): 'Caetibus pro salutu domin- 

dorum duorum (m)estrenorum'; (2) at Ober-Ringen, in Hesse-

Darmstadt (CIL 1389): 'Caetibus voto fecerunt' Macce-

dus Fausstinius' (g) (regem) (Cernent); (3) at Landstuhl, Pfalz (CIL 

1779): 'Dias ete Caetibus Matutinus v.s.l.m.'; (4) at Neustadt, on the 

Hart: 'Di Casselis Cassetae'...

Another group of beings that corresponded to the type in question was that of (i) the Di Silvane, 

who are mentioned on the inscriptions as follows: 

(1) At Lorsch (CIL 1386): 'Caetibus pro salutu domin-

dorum duorum (m)estrenorum'; (2) at Ober-Ringen, in Hesse-

Darmstadt (CIL 1389): 'Caetibus voto fecerunt' Macce-

dus Fausstinius' (g) (regem) (Cernent); (3) at Landstuhl, Pfalz (CIL 

1779): 'Dias ete Caetibus Matutinus v.s.l.m.'; (4) at Neustadt, on the 

Hart: 'Di Casselis Cassetae'...

In Irish legend there are many allusions to the side (as, for instance, in Sorgoic Cnotaiala ('The Sick-bed of Ceolmain') 

(Windisch, Irischen Sagen, p. 366; Legten, 'Die glyce 

Tochnaene Eratina ('The Betrothal of Elain') ib. pp. 139, 141). 

In one passage of the latter a fairy domicile (sid) is definitely asso-

ciated with a malevolent spirit ('diaforon') and we have 

the following description of the Irish counterpart of the Welsh Lwyd, son of Kilcoed, a famous magician, twice mentioned under the name 

Lligwythron in Owain ap Cadfan, a Welsh 13th cent. poet, Daludy ah Gwilyn. In the Book of 

Armagh, the side are called 'de tenini,' and they appear to have been regarded as malevolent spirits, such as Mag Moll. In the latter case, one of the means of journeying to them was in a ship of glass. Some of the fairies were regarded as male ('feraid') and others as female 

('ban-sidhe'), the latter in the latter case, with the same meaning as in the Irish word for fairy, 'sidhe.'

In Irish legend there was one native term for a supernatural being, the female spirit of malignity, namely, sidhearn (Sidhchar na hUlidhe, 113° 41, 114° 12, 115° 32). This word is undoubtedly the phonetic equivalent of the Welsh hweir— a term no longer used except in the Welsh original, to describe the female spirit of malignity, a name which originally must have meant 'the white phantom.' This appellation would suggest that hweir did not originally in Welsh the connotative meaning of malignity, which sidhearn seems to have 

acquired in Irish.

In medieval Welsh the name hwd in the sense of 'fairy' is applied in the Black Book of Carmarthen (Poem xxxiii, l. 17) to 

Gwyn, son of Nudd (Gwich a rh. Fred; Nudd a rh. Nudd); and his mistress is said to be Creiddill, the daughter of Lludd 

(the Welsh original of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Cordula, daughter of King) in the story of Rhithauch and Gwyrmor by 

Gwyn is represented as fighting every first of May until the Day of Judgment (Caw, iy. 68); in the poem of Dafydd ab Gwilym, which reflects the current Welsh folk-lore of the 14th cent., Gwyn is regarded as in some sense the leader of the 'faires,' since in the popular 

footh Tofhith y Gwyn ('the family of Gwyn') in two passages. The Welsh picture of fairy-land given by the poet by no means represents it as a 'land of eternal youth,' since among its 

dwelling are mentioned gwarchad ('hags'), nor can it be said that the picture given of its inhabitants suggests its beneficent 

character. The expression y Tfojtht y Gwyn ('the fair family') for the fairies is found in the 13th cent. ymgyrchiad ('shadow'), for instance, was used for the soul. The more usual Welsh word, however, for the soul is 'ennid, a derivative of the root aen, to breathe.'

In medieval Welsh this term is constantly used in the sense of 'soul', but the meaning 'soul' is of frequent appearance, traces, too (Rhys, Celtic Folk-lore, iii. 601-604), of a belief that the soul might take on the bodily form of some animal, such as a lizard. In the Middle Ages, Chaucer introduced, both into Gothic and into Bythonic speech, certain terms of Greek and Latin origin, such as Ir. diabol, Welsh diawf (in a later form diawef), from daemona; together with such forms as Ir. demh, Welsh c'hafroot, the latter being derived from Lat. contrarius through carntilus (where l has been substituted for r by 

The spiror (older spirit), 'spirit,' and the Welsh ysgodri of the same meaning, both come from Lat. spiritus. In other terms of native origin for the supernatural beings of folk-lore, such as Ir. side and acs side, 'the fairies,' whence the term ban side ('banshe'), which means literally 'woman-fairy.'

The oldest term used in medieval Welsh for a fairy is hwd, together with its derivative hwdol, in the same sense, for a male fairy and hudoles for a female fairy. Hudoles also means 'magic,' and this use of the same term for both fairy-land and magic is well illustrated in the popular picture of the Celtic mind, of magic with the Other-world.
DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Celtic)

So beings from Annwn might make raids upon this world. Such a raid appears in medieval Welsh to have been called gormes (lit., 'an over-flow,' 'then oppression'). Certain raids of this kind are suggested in various parts of the Book of Taliesin, for example, in the song carrying away of the infant Pryderi, in the raid upon Tywyn's foals, in the narrative of Manawyddan and the mice, and in the story of Llud and Lleuad, as well as in the stealing of Merinedd, son of Modron, from his mother. In these raids certain fabulous packs of hounds took part, which are sometimes called Cenn Annwn ("the dogs of Annwn"), and, by Dafydd ab Gwilym, Gwnn gormes (Poem xliv.). There appears to be no epithet used of them among the supernatural beings of Irish and Welsh medieval legend, but in Breton stories the werewolf (bislaverre) seems to have played a part even in medieval times.

3. Demons and spirits in Celtic lands to-day.—In the remoter parts of Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Brittany there is still a considerable survival of the older psychological attitude, especially in the sphere of the emotions, towards the supernatural beings and pictures of the world. The teaching of Christianity, however, by Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians, or other religious denominations, for example, as to the lot of the dead, runs entirely counter to the belief in ghosts that are able to wander about during the living; nevertheless, the fear of ghosts is a very real terror to many people, after nightfall, in Celtic as in other countries. So far as the period of daylight is concerned, the older frame of mind may still be seen. And, indeed, even the inhabitants of the least progressive Celtic regions, be said to have been completely modified through education and experience. With the advent of darkness, however, this older frame of mind tends to assert itself in consciousness—not, perhaps, so as to produce beliefs which their holder would regard as justifiable, but to a sufficient extent to perturb the emotions, especially in the presence of some uncanny or weird-looking object. In Ireland and the more secluded parts of the Highlands and Islands, there has been, on the whole, less of a breach of continuity with medieval times than in Wales; and the same may be said of Brittany. Hence the beliefs of the Middle Ages, as they stand in the livid and morbid type of the 'Fairies' still, as in the Middle Ages, that are the chief supernatural beings of the type here considered; but, side by side with them, there subsist, in Ireland as elsewhere, the belief in the re-appearance of the ghosts of the departed, and also in the appearance of fabulous creatures, such as the Pucu, the Loprauch, the Water-bull, the Water-horse, and the like (see T. Crofton Croker, Fairy Legends). As to Gaelic Scotland, there is an abundant material for the study of the Celtic mind in Campbell's Tales of the W. Highlands.

These tales describe such beings as the ghlasan (the Marx glashlon), which was a bairne sprite that rebelled against clothing, and, in this respect, resembled the grampus, a household spirit from the Welsh lands, which sometimes describes an underground world of giants, and an earlier tale (no. 103) similarly points to a belief in gigantic beings. Another tale (no. 52) speaks of a monstrous being called Ethid MacColluin, who had one hand growing out of his chest, one leg out of his abdomen, and one eye out of the front of his face. Other tales describe fairies, sleeping giants, flying ladies, mermaids, brownies, and the like, while not a few of the stories speak of such beings as the Water-horse or the Water-bull, or other beings transformed into a man, the Water-bull, the Water-bird called the Looitie (said to be a monster of Argyllshire), dragons (thought to haunt Highland lochs), and the Water-spirit called the Phonya. The Water-bull is generally
DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Chineses)

There are several stories of demons appearing as goats and dogs. The Welsh demon Ywer ("the wolf") and the Irish píc géit ("the black goat") have been known to take on the form of a wolf or a dog. In the Welsh language, the demon is often described as a malevolent creature that preys on sheep and cattle.

In the folklore of the British Isles, the demon is often depicted as a shape-shifter, able to take on the form of any creature it desires. This ability is often used to confuse and terrify the people, making them feel uncertain and vulnerable.

The demon is also known to be associated with the supernatural, often appearing in the form of a spectral figure or a ghostly presence. In some tales, the demon is said to be able to communicate with the dead, and to take on the form of a ghostly figure in order to warn the living of danger.

In the folklore of the British Isles, the demon is often depicted as a malevolent creature that seeks to harm the living. It is often portrayed as a shape-shifter, able to take on the form of any creature it desires, and to use this ability to confuse and terrify the people. The demon is also known to be associated with the supernatural, often appearing in the form of a spectral figure or a ghostly presence. In some tales, the demon is said to be able to communicate with the dead, and to take on the form of a ghostly figure in order to warn the living of danger.
diffused religious conceptions. While it is possible that Chinese religion started from a pure mono-thelism, we have no record of any such time. In the most ancient books the worship of Shang-ti is accompanied by the worship of natural objects, of the spirits of ancestors, and of the worthies of former times. All these elements have been continued and developed.

In the popular religion of to-day, the worship of spirits immanent in, or in some vaguely conceived way connected with, natural objects, takes a much larger place than can possibly be taken by the worship of Shang-ti, confined as this is to the Emperors. This worship is, however, far more strictly impersonal, indefinite. In virtue of the spiritual efficacy connected with it, anything—rock, tree, living creature—may become an object of worship. No extraordinary feature in the object is necessary to call forth this religious observance—a whole town has been known to go after a common viper found in a bundle of firewood. Among the commonest signs of the recognition of such spiritual powers bound up with various objects is the practice of putting flat stones or figurines of ivories set on the roof of a house or in the branches of trees, and the small pillars which are erected alongside graves and inscribed to the spirit of the soil, in acknowledgment of his property in the site of the grave. The power of such a symbol is due to the belief in a local genius, on any interference with what is supposed to be under his control. It is a moot question whether the spirit of the soil is one only, identified with Hou-Tu, one of the ministers of Hsian Ti (2099 B.C.), or whether there are not, rather, at least in the popular mind, many local genii.

Alongside of such spirits, and at the lower end of the scale of spirits hardly to be distinguished from the genuine spirits, you kuei, ching ('fairies', 'elves', 'goblins', 'spirits'), of various kinds, harmless, or, more usually, mischievous and malevolent. Every locality has its own traditions with regard to such beings. In Swatow the morning watch is not sounded because of a 'kelpie' (yu-ching) in the harbour, which, on hearing the watch-drum was wont to carry off any early-stirring inhabitant. Of living creatures it is said that a serpent is worshipped, and in the north the fox, are those round belief in supernatural powers has mostly gathered. In general it is said that birds and animals when they grow old become spirits (ching). The fox, for instance, is said to grow in size with the increase of years, and possesses different powers at fifty years of age or a hundred or a thousand. Even of trees it is said that by long absorption of the subtle essences of heaven and earth they become possessed of supernatural qualities.

Besides these supernatural beings, and wholly impersonal, are the maleficient influences called sha. They move, like physical forces, in straight lines, and can bewarded off in various ways, as by earthenware figures of lions being set on the roof of a house or in other positions of vantage, or by a stone or tile placed at a road-end and inscribed with the 'Eight Diagrams' (see Cosmosomy, etc. (Chin.), or with words intimating that, as a stone from the Thirteen Provinces is unprovided with qi, the same is true of this one').

According to Chinese etymology, the word kuei, 'demons,' is connected with a word of similar sound meaning 'to return,' and a kuei is accordingly defined as the spirit of a man which has returned from this visible world to the world invisible. 'All of a man, dead a kuei is a proverbial saying. In such use of the word kuei we must remember that nothing derogatory is implied, and that 'departed spirit' rather than 'demon' is the proper translation. There was a possibility of making consistent with themselves the popular various Chinese views of the spiritual nature of man and his state after death; to determine, e.g., the relation of the kuei to the three souls each man possesses, according to Taoist teaching, or, according to another theory, to the twofold soul which dissolves at death into its component parts. In any case, existence in some fashion after death is assumed. Whether much existence is necessarily or in all cases immortal, it is not easy to determine. There may exist an eternity of punishment; but, on the other hand, there is a word chi, which means the death of a kuei. Kuei are to be honoured in the appropriate way; and, as other spirits may be expected from them, fear has a large place in Chinese worship. Each family worships the names of its own ancestors. Names otherwise unprovided for are placated by public rites, particularly by the sacrifice of an offering of the kuei feast, on the 15th of the 7th month. All kuei are more or less objects of dread; but in particular the kuei of a wronged person may be expected to seek revenge ('the wronged ghost impedes the murderer's steps'), and the kuei of a malicious person is feared. In the popular representation, the other world is for the Chinese of all at least a replica of the Chinese Empire with similar social gradations, however, allotted otherwise than in this world; and very common among Chinese is the sayer's assurance that the meritorious deceased has been appointed by Yu Ti a mandarin of such and such a grade in the shadowy double of this or that Chinese city. Moreover, however difficult to prove, it is possible that a work in consoling the spirit in the world of the dead. The doctrine of transmigration holds a large place in a Chinaman's theory of the relation between the unseen world and this.

While a kuei is, strictly speaking, a departed spirit, it is hardly to be supposed that all the innumerable kuei imagined to be active in this world or as retributive executors in the infernal regions are of this origin. Perhaps what we might distinguish as ghosts and demons are alike called kuei. The Chinese generally are obsessed by the fear of kuei. These are supposed to abound everywhere, and to be specially active at night. Any un-toward happening or uncanny sound—particularly any sound that is thin and shrill—is ascribed to them. Many serious cases are rectified by kuei because of misfortunes befalling their inmates. There are appropriate ceremonies for the placating of offended kuei, who in such cases are addressed in friendly manner (e.g. Shing yen, 'Sagey person'); and they can also be controlled by charms of Taoist origin.

The spiritual world is peopled from the human race not only by 'departed spirits' but by inhabitants of another grade called kuei. This name is applied not only to the fairy-like beings mentioned above, but also to those of mankind who 'by a process of physical or mental refinement' have raised themselves to the rank of immortals.

Finally, as in ancient times sages and worthies were worshipped as tutelary spirits (e.g. Hou-Tu), so has it been in later times. The gods (shen) of to-day are the men of ancient times' is a common proverb. Thus the Chinese pantheon has been filled with canonical names. The Taoist texts (A.D. 219), canonized as Kuan Ti, god of war; and the magician Chang, canonized as Yu Ti, who is practically the chief god of the Taoist religion; and not only with such, but also with an ever-increasing number of gods of all kinds and grades.

The pope does not canonize on so large a scale as the Emperor of China ('Legge, Ed. of Chinese, p. 184). These are the idols of China whose temples and images are everywhere to be seen.

While the multiplication of deities and the pervasive dread of demons are mainly connected with
DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Christian).

1. IN THE EARLY CHURCH TO COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON (A.D. 451).—It is stated by Origen (de Principiis, procem.) that the Primitive Church did not lay down any fixed doctrine concerning the nature of the angels. The Church, however, he tells us, asserts their existence and defines the nature of their service as ministers of God for the purpose of promoting the salvation of men (ib.). On the other hand, Origen is not equally reticent. Some information concerning good and evil spirits may be gained even from the earliest Christian writers.

1. Apostolic Fathers.—(a) Clement of Rome, exhorting those to whom he writes to zeal and well-doing, points his readers to the example of the whole host of God's angels who stand by, ministering to His will (Ep. i. ad Cor. xxxiv. 5).—(b) In Ignatius we find the statement that the heavenly beings (σατανα), including the δαίμον των αγγέλων, will receive judgment if they do not stand in Christ (Spanr. 6). There is a further reference in Trench, 5, where Ignatius claims to be able to understand the heavenly things, and the dispositions of the angels. In the Letter of the Smyrnaeans on the Martyrdom of Polycarp, it is stated that the martyrs 'gazed with the eyes of their heart on the good things reserved for them, but not in Christ (Spanr. 6). It has also been suggested that the martyrs 'gazed with the eyes of their heart on the good things reserved for them, but not in Christ (Spanr. 6). It has also been suggested that the martyrs 'gazed with the eyes of their heart on the good things reserved for them, but not in Christ (Spanr. 6). It has also been suggested that the martyrs 'gazed with the eyes of their heart on the good things reserved for them, but not in Christ (Spanr. 6). It has also been suggested that the martyrs 'gazed with the eyes of their heart on the good things reserved for them, but not in Christ (Spanr. 6). It has also been suggested that the martyrs 'gazed with the eyes of their heart on the good things reserved for them, but not in Christ (Spanr. 6). It is also said in the same chapter

1 It should be noted that in the longer recension the latter passage is amplified in a manner consistent with the more developed doctrine of Ignatius (e.g., Const. vii. 1). While the former passage is omitted as possibly inconsistent with his doctrine.

2. The Apologists.—We find a number of passages in the writings of Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, and Trenscens bearing on the subject.

(a) Justin.—The most important of these is the well-known passage in 1 Apol. 19, where, in refuting the charge of atheism, Justin says: 'But both Him (i.e. the Father) and the Son who came forth from Him and taught the men and the good angels, who follow and are made like unto Him, and the propitious Spirit we worship and adore.'

The insertion of the angels among the Persons of the Trinity is unique, and is possibly to be explained by the fact that we frequently find 'angels' as a title of the Son (Timon, Hist. des dogmes, i. 243). With this passage should be compared the Dial. c. Tryph. 128, in which the angels are asserted and their relation to the Logos discussed. In 2 Apol. § 3, Justin defines the functions of the angels, stating that 'God commissioned the care of men and all things under heaven to the angels whom He set over these.' He then accounts for the existence of evil in the world as the result of the transgression of angels, who had transgressed the Divine appointment (rāθiēς, and by sinial intercourse with women produced offspring who were regarded as belonging to the human race by themselves and made among men all manner of wickedness.' He proceeds to identify the demons who were the offspring of the fallen angels with the heathen gods. Justin is the earliest author to whom we can assign the passage quoted above, αὐθεντεῖται καὶ προκαταλαμβάνεται. To the passages already quoted may be added Dial. c. Tryph. § 88, in which the free will of the angels is asserted, and § 57, where it is said that, of the three men who appeared to Abraham, one was the Logos and the other two angels.

(b) Tatian denies the material nature of demons, asserting that their constitution (σαταναί) is spiritual, as that of fire or air. He also states that their nature was never made clear (Ort. 15, cf. 12. 20). The ministry of angels in the government of the universe is also alluded to by the writer of the Ep. to Diognetus, viii.

(c) Athenagoras defines by 'angels' the angels as being that of exercising the providence of God over things ordered and created by Him. God has the general providence of the whole; particular parts are assigned to angels (Apol. 24). In the same chapter he writes of certain of the angels, and identifies the giants mentioned by the Greek poets with their illicit offspring. He speaks of one angel in particular (Satyan) who is hostile to God, and discusses the difficulty of this belief. He states that Satan is
a created being like other angels, and is opposed to the good that is in God. In another passage he asserts that it is the demons who invite men to worship images, being eager for the blood of sacrifice, these images having no particular relation to the persons they represent (ib. 20; see further reference to the work of the angels at the end of ch. 10).

(d) The writings of Irenæus contain a large number of passages dealing with the angelology of the Gnostics, which he refutes. He is himself of opinion that the angels are beings divine (ad Th. ii. 31). He affirms in opposition to the Gnostics, that the Christian does (facit) nothing by their invocation (ii. 49. 3). He alludes to the fall of the angels, and refers to the dominations of angels (ad Th. iii. 21). But in other passages of power (iii. 8. 2; cf. also v. 21, § 3, and 21, §§ 3, 4).

3. Greek Fathers.—The doctrine of good and evil spirits was greatly developed by the Alexandrian writers Clement and Origen. In the writings of these two, and of the other Alexandrian Fathers, numerous references are to be found to the functions of angels and demons. The notion of the guardian angel, already noted in Hermas, is here especially developed. Origen agrees to each name a number of angels, who influence the soul and the conduct of men, even when they are not called upon to intercede for them. These angels are a part of the 'angels of the churches' of the Apocalypse; he boldly (auxductor) refers to the angels of churches as the invisible bishops (per singulas ecclesias ibi sunt episcopi, alius visibilis, alius invisibilis; ille nunquam; Sanct. ii. 13). In other passages he lays stress on their work of intercession for men (cf. Strom. v. 14, vii. 12, and iv. 18, vii. 13). Under the influence of Neo-Platonic ideas, the Alexandrian Fathers assert that there is a double activity in the higher dealing of angels, the one, lower with the material order; and that in both of these the angels of God are employed. Origen clearly expresses the view that the world has need of angels, which over against the brute world, plants, and animals, elementa (hom. xiv. 2 in Num.).

The following passages in Origen may also be consulted: de Princip. i. 3, 8, n. 6, c. Eus. iv. 29, v. 4, 5, 18, 28, viii. 31, 23, 34, de Orat. i. 38, 21, in Levit. hom. ii. 9, ex Num. hom. x. 4, xx. 3, in Esth. hom. xiii. 1, in Ps. xxxvii. hom. i. 7, in Luc. hom. xx. 6, in 1 Cor. hom. xii. 7, in Ps. hom. xiv. 2, in 1 Cor. hom. v. 5, in Levit. hom. iii. 6, in Hesd. hom. ii. 2, in Hier. hom. vii. 14, in Ps. hom. xxvii. 3, in Ps. hom. xiii. 7.

4. Later Greek writers.—There are a number of references in the Cappadocian Fathers to the nature and functions of angels. Concerning their nature there appears to have been some difference of opinion. (a) Basil held that their substance (sōkia) was ethereal spirit or immaterial fire (de Spirit. Sanct. § 38).—(b) Gregory Nazianzen is doubtful (Orat. xxxv. 16).—(c) Gregory of Nyssa declares them to be entirely spiritual (in Orat. Dom. hom. iv. 32).—(d) Many references are contained in the writings of Gregory of Nyssa. He asserts that their nature is superior to ours, but cannot be accurately comprehended by us (de incomprehensibili Dei Nature, v. 3). They are possessed of an incorporeal nature (de universis urbis), and he account the earlier interpretation of Gn 6 in (Gen. hom. xxii. 2). According to Basil, the sanctity of the angels is due to the activity of the Holy Spirit (op. cit., § 38). They are less liable to sin than we are (heteroepo), and they are able to reform sinners. This is proved by the fall of Lucifer, whose sin was envy and pride. These Fathers assign guardian angels to individuals, churches, and nations. Basil is, however, of opinion that the guardian angels are driven (αναλωται) from bees and a bad odour doves' (hom. in Ps. xxxiii. 5). Gregory of Nyssa is the only Greek Father who follows Hermas in the view that every man who has both a good and a bad angel as his constant companion (de Dict. ii. 17). But in other passages of power (iii. 8. 2; cf. also v. 21, § 3, and 21, §§ 3, 4).

5. Latin Fathers.—(a) We find in Tertullian a number of references to spirits, good and evil. Like Origen, he connects the ministry of angels with the sacrament of baptism. According to this writer, the baptismal water receives its healing properties from an angel (an angelus Bapt. 22). He adds, moreover, the actual purification effected in baptism is due to a spirit who is described as 'angels baptim abusive,' who prepares the way for the Holy Spirit (non quod in aquis spiritum sanctum sanctificat). This reference is a later allusion to the fall of the angels, corrupting their own free will, from whom sprung the race of the demons. Of the former, Satan is the chief. They are the source of diseases and all disasters. They delude men into evil things, and are the cause of the disorder in the universe (cf. Strom. v. 14, vii. 12, and iv. 18, vii. 13).

(b) The concern of the angels in human affairs is referred to by Firmilian in a letter to Cyprian (Ep. lxx. inter Cyprian. 1; cf. Euseb. HE v. 28).—(c) The doctrine of Lactantius is peculiar. Before the creation of the world, God produced a spirit like to Himself (the Logos); then He made another being in whom the disposition of the Divine origin did not remain. This being, of his own will, was infected with evil, and acquired for himself another name. He is called by the Greeks ἀδάμας, but we call him eriminator, because he reports to God the faults to which he
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entices us' (cf. the Jewish apocrypha, Sap. 7:20, 'the accuser'; Lactant., Div. Inst. ii. 9). In this passage of Lactantius insert a passage which is regarded by the best authorities as spurious, and in which the origin of the term of the "dei" angels is treated in a Manichea fashion. Here it is stated that, before the creation of the world, God made two spirits, them only, as the source of the world, made two spirits, them with the right hand of God, the other, as it were, His left hand, and eternally opposed to each other. These two spirits are said to be the angels of the demi-urge, who, divided into two classes, are described in ii. 16, and in the same passage later, in Deor., i. 29, ii. 8; and, on the devil, ii. 29, vii. 24-29.

(d) Later Latin Fathers, such as Ambrose and Jerome, were of opinion that the demi-urge angels were created for the material world (cf. Ambrose, de Incarnat. Dom. Sacr. 16; Jerome, in Ep. ad Tit. 1). Some difference of opinion exists among them about the interpretation of Gn 6, 5. Jerome, appearing to regard the spirits as possessed bodies (cf. in Esch. 238v), Ambrose, on the other hand, agrees with Hilary in the statement that they are 'spirituales et incorporeae' (cf. Ambrose, in Lec. vii. 120; Hilary, in Ps. cxxxxvii.). The sin of Satan, according to Jerome and Ambrose, was pride.

The views of the Latin Fathers with regard to guardian angels are similar to those which we have already encountered in the writings of the Greek Fathers. Thus, for instance, we find in this subject where it is stated of nations, churches, and communities that each possesses its guardian angel.

See esp. Jerome in his Comm. on Ec. xi. 21, 22, and in Dei, viii. 14. Jerome is among the earliest of Latin writers to call attention to the diversity in the orders of spirits, comparing the angelic hierarchy with the organization of the officials of the Empire (esp. ad loc. Iuv. vi. 28, adv. Ref. ii. 23). Ambrose has a passage which bears upon the cult of the angels, whom he appears to place on a level with the martyrs, and whose invocation he warmly recommends (cf. in Eccl. xxi. 55).—(e) Already in Eusebius a distinction is found between the worship of (αισθήτορα) due to God alone and the honour (τρέφεται) paid to the angels (Prop. Ec. vii. 15; cf. also Dei Ec. iii. 3, Prop. Ec. xiii. 13).—(f) Finally, for this period of Augustine, we must consult, especially, the of Civ. Dei, in which the angels play no small part. They form the heavenly City of God, and this part of the Holy City assists that other part here below: 'hanc [sic. Civitatem Dei] angelorum sancti annuntiaverunt qui ad se societatem invitaverunt cives suos in illa esse voluerunt' (xii. 25). The angels minister alike to Christ, the Divine Head of the mystical Body, who is in heaven, and to the members of the Body who are on earth. Thus it is in the Church that the angels ascend and descend according to the words of Scripture. ‘This is what happens in the Church: the angels of God ascend and descend upon the Son of Man because the Son of Man to whom they ascend in heart is above, namely, the Head, and below is the Son of Man, namely, the Body. His members, the Head ascends to the Head, they descend to the members' (Enarr. in Ps. xlvii. 20).

Augustine states that the angels are spirits of an incorporeal substance, 'invisible, immaterial, rational spirits' (cf. ps.-August. de Cognit. vera vitae 6). The designation 'angel' refers to the office, not to the nature, of these spirits (Enarr. in Ps. cxxi. sermon. i. § 13). Angels received at their creation, from the Holy Spirit, a twofold gift, and it is possible that, in the case of those who did not fall, they received also the assurance of perseverance (de Civ. Dei, xii. 9. 2; xi. 13). Augustine refuses to identify the 'sons of God' (Gen 6) with the angels (ib. xx. 23). The sin of the fallen angels was pride. The fall of Satan occurred at the very beginning of his existence, and the good angels have enjoyed the vision of the Word from the moment of their creation (de Gen. ad Lit. ii. 17, xi. 21, 26, 30). The office of the evil angels is to deceive men and to bring them to perdition (in Ioan. tract. cxxv. 7). They occupy themselves with the practice of magic (c. Acc. i. 19, 20). But the power of these evil spirits is limited; God employs them for the chastisement of the wicked, for the punishment of these good for their faults, or even for the purpose of testing men (de Trin. iii. 21, ad loc. de Gen. ad Lit., xii. 23). Augustine asserts that the good angels announce to us the will of God, offer to Him our prayers, watch over us, love us, and help us (de Civ. Dei, vii. 30, x. 23; Ex. cxxix. 69). They are even entrusted with the care of creation (cf. Gen. i. 26).—(g) Augustine deems it familiar any cultus of the angels: 'honoramus eos caritate non servitute' (de Vera Relig. lv. 110). They do not desire our worship, but rather that with them we should worship their God and our own. With regard to the order of the angelic hierarchy and the signification of the titles attributed to the angels, Augustine declares himself to be entirely ignorant, and appears to discourage speculation on this subject (Enarr. 15; ad Oros. 14). See also Augustine, de Civ. Dei, xii. 378-376; Kirsch, op. cit. pt. iii. ch. 5.

Conclusion.—The evidence of the passages cited above may be summarized as follows. The earlier Fathers of the Church, acquiescing with the Jewish apocalyptic literature, all affirm or imply the existence of spirits good and evil. At a very early period, as we can see from the writings of Hermas, the doctrine of good and evil angels was already adopted, and we may trace a steady development of this doctrine in the writings of the Greek and the Latin Fathers, while it is probable that later speculations on this subject were greatly influenced by the writings of Origen. Opposition to Gnostic speculation led earlier writers to insist on the fact that angels and demons were created beings, while some writers refuse to allow to the former any part in the work of creation. Difference of opinion seems to have existed as to the nature and constitution of angels and demons, though the majority of writers appear to have regarded them as incorporeal spirits. A distinction is seen in the teachings of Gen 6:2. The earlier writers more usually identify the 'sons of God' with angels; later writers frequently reject this interpretation. The legend of the fall of the angels, and the person of Satan, is an especially early problem in evil and the relation of evil spirits to God. It would appear that the majority at least of later writers held the view that angels were capable of sinning, being possessed, like men of free will. There are some traces of the beginnings
of a cultus of the angels which, according to some authorities, may be traced before or as far as Justin Martyr, and which appears to be clearly taught in the writings of Ambrose. It is probable, as may be gathered from Irenæus, that the dangers of the cultus became apparent during the Church's struggles with paganism. This period we find very little about orders or numbers of angels. This subject, as well as the dedication of a church by Constantine to the archangel Michael, will be best discussed in the next section.

1. ORDER OF ANGELS. DURING THE SECOND COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE (A.D. 553).—During this period we have especially to observe two points: (1) the development of both invocation and worship, and a writer so late as Augustine explicitly teaches that they should find no part in Christian worship. The statements of Origen have led some authorities to form suspicions of God, the heavens, and angelic orders, which are passages in his writings where the cultus is explicitly condemned. To the authorities cited we may add canons 33 of the 4th cent. Council of Laodicea, in which Christians are forbidden to form 'speculations of God, the heavens, and angelic orders' and to form assemblies, which is unlawful' (Hefele, Hist. Conc., Eng. tr. i. 317). But the passage is of doubtful meaning, and it should be observed that Dionysius Exiguus renders ἡμῖν ἀρχαῖον προσφέρειν as 'to give offerings to angels'. This canonic, which was known to Theodoret, who refers to it twice (Ep. ad Col. 2nd 370). In the former of these passages he states that this disease (παθήσεις) is still to be found in Phrygia and Pisidia. This view is supported by certain inscriptions discovered in that neighbourhood, among which may be included the following: 'Αγία Μοίρα Ἀρχαία ἐνίκητα σιωπήνων ἁμάρτων τῷ ἐν Πηγᾷ ἱερῷ άναδιούσῳ αὐτῷ αἰώνιον ζωήν. This canonic was known to Theodoret, who refers to it twice (Ep. ad Col. 2nd 370). In the former of these passages he states that this disease (παθήσεις) is still to be found in Phrygia and Pisidia.

In the latter passage, Theodoret again quotes the canonic of Laodicea, as forbidding prayer (εὐχασθαι) to angels. One other passage in this writer may be referred to. Greek, I. 3, 3, in answer to the pagan objection that Christians also worship other spiritual beings besides God, he answers that Christians do indeed believe in invisible, and they do not regard these beings as incorporeal and, unlike the pagan deities, sexless, and that they are employed in worshipping God and furthering the salvation of man. The evidence of Theodoret with regard to the cultus of angels and churches dedicated to them is supported by Didymus (De Trin. ii. 7-8), who says that churches are to be found in both towns and villages, under the patronage of angels, and that men are willing to make long pilgrimages to gain their intercessions. The earliest historians refer to the dedication of a church to an angel is to be found in Sozomen (HE ii. 3), where it is stated that Constantine erected a church, called the Μυχαήλ, not far from Constantinople. The reason of the dedication was that the archangel Michael was believed to have appeared there. In the West we find instances of the dedication of churches to the archangel Michael at least as early as the 5th cent. (see DACL, vol. i. col. 2147). St. Michael is the only archangel who is mentioned in the calendar before the 9th century. Various festivals of this angel are to be found in different calendars, but they appear in all cases to be the anniversaries of dedicated buildings. In the case with the festival of the 29th of September, still observed in the West, which commemorated a church, long since destroyed, in the suburbs of Rome on the Via Salaria (Duchesne, Christian Worship, 127). The earliest cases kept on the 30th, not the 29th) are found in the earliest Roman service-book, the Leontine Sacramentary (ed. Feltoe, pp. 106-108). In the prayers contained herein are found clear references to the invocation and veneration (generatio) of angels.

In the Second Council of Nicæa (A.D. 787), which dealt with the iconoclastic controversy, the question of the nature of the angels was discussed. At this Council a book, written by John, bishop of Thessalonica, was read, in which the opinion was advanced that angels were not altogether incorporeal and invisible, but endowed with a thin and ethereal or fiery body. In support of this view John quotes Basil, Athanasius, and other Greek Fathers. He expresses the same view with regard to demons, and states that Christians both depict and venerate angels. These views appear to have met, on the whole, with the approval of the Council, which sanctioned the custom of depicting angels and venerated them, though there are passages in his writings where the cultus is explicitly condemned. To the authorities cited we may add canons 33 of the 4th cent. Council of Laodicea, in which Christians are forbidden to form 'speculations of God, the heavens, and angelic orders' and to form assemblies, which is unlawful' (Hefele, Hist. Conc., Eng. tr. i. 317). But the passage is of doubtful meaning, and it should be observed that Dionysius Exiguus renders ἡμῖν ἀρχαῖον προσφέρειν as 'to give offerings to angels'. This canonic, which was known to Theodoret, who refers to it twice (Ep. ad Col. 2nd 370). In the former of these passages he states that this disease (παθήσεις) is still to be found in Phrygia and Pisidia. This view is supported by certain inscriptions discovered in that neighbourhood, among which may be included the following: 'Αγία Μοίρα Ἀρχαία ἐνίκητα σιωπήνων ἁμάρτων τῷ ἐν Πηγᾷ ἱερῷ άναδιούσῳ αὐτῷ αἰώνιον ζωήν. This canonic was known to Theodoret, who refers to it twice (Ep. ad Col. 2nd 370). In the former of these passages he states that this disease (παθήσεις) is still to be found in Phrygia and Pisidia.
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the names and the offices of the different orders of angels, and the manner in which we may profit by the imitation of the angels, together with certain other points of lesser interest. References to evil spirits will be found in the same author (cf. Moral, iil pass).

Finally, John of Damascus, who in his writings so frequently shows traces of the teaching of the Areopagite, follows the latter in his classification of the celestial hierarchy (de Fid. Orth. ii. 3). In the same passages he gives a description of the angels, in which he defines a number of points which, as we have seen, had been matters of controversy, both before and during the period under discussion. The definition is as follows:

'An angel, then, is an intellectual substance, always mobile, endowed with free will, incorporeal, serving God, having received, according to grace, immortality in its nature, the form and character of whose substance God alone, who created it, knows.'

It may be said that at the close of this period something like a general agreement had been reached about the nature and functions of spirits, good and evil, and it remains only to discuss some further elaborations which we encounter in the medieval period.

III. FROM 800 TO THE REFORMATION.

During the medieval period, speculations concerning the nature of good and evil spirits are constantly to be found in the writings of the schoolmen. These, for the most part, consisted in the application of medieval dialectical techniques to the statements of Scripture, the opinions of Augustine, and the schematization of the Areopagite, whose works had been translated by John Scottus Eriegena, and obtained great popularity throughout the West (in Ordinatio, Eng. tr. 1938, p. 588). It is impossible here to enter into details about the nature of these speculations, and it seems most convenient to illustrate their general trend from the writings of certain representative theologians. In spite of the diversity of opinion, it should be observed that the first canon of the Fourth Lateran Council (A.D. 1215) made certain clear and definite statements with regard to spiritual beings, and their relation to God, without apparently, however, terminating the disputes of later theologians on this matter. It is stated that

'God is the Creator of all things, visible and invisible, spiritual and corporeal, made either in the beginning or after the flood and into the temporary terrestrial by which mankind continues, spiritual and corporeal, angelic and human, and from Adam, as spirits and as incorporeals. The devil and other demons were created, indeed, good by God, and from the consent of himself (suum et), of his own accord (per se). Man burned by suggestion of the Devil.'

As we have said, this decree appears to have failed to produce unanimity of opinion among the schoolmen, and the subject remained, as Harnack remarks, 'the fencing and wrestling ground of the theologians, who had here more freedom than elsewhere' (Hist. of Doqua, Eng. tr. vi. 186). But on many points we discern a general agreement.

Thus, with regard to guardian angels, all held that each man from his being partakes of a spiritual nature, and that this applied also to sinners, while some asserted this even of Antichrist himself. Evil spirits, on the other hand, tempt and incite men to sin, though it should be observed that even the power of the devil was held to be subject to the limitation that he cannot affect the free will or spiritual knowledge of man, but can approach him only through his lower nature (so Albertus Magnus, Summa Specul. theol. 12 B. tract. 6; see also Bonaventura, in Sent. 2. dist. 13, Alm. Mag. lib. 9, tract. 9). But the question of the substance, essence, endowments of grace, parrability, modes of cognition, and individuality of the angels, as well as certain other problems, still remained in dispute.

(a) Peter Lombard (d. 1160), the first systematic theologian of the West, devotes ten sections of the second book of the Sententiae (dist. ii.-xi.) to the subject of good and evil spirits. In his teaching he follows the Areopagite, and deals, among other things, with the questions of the nature, creation, free will, fall, and peculiarity of angels; their relation to demons to magical arts; he also discusses the question whether Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel are the names of orders or of individual spirits, and whether each man has a good and bad angel. The latter notion is developed with a discussion as to the possibility of progress of the angels in virtue.

(b) In the numerous references to good and evil spirits contained in the writings of Bernard, two passages are especially worthy of notice. The first is contained in the De Consideratione (v. 4), where the angels are described as

'...vires (Jerusalem matrix nostrae) ... distinctae in personas, dispositos in dignitatis, in individuos, dominus liubens et oblivescens debitum, honesta legum concinnatissimum, fullo tenamen.'

In the long passage which follows we find a disquisition on the angelic hierarchy, which closely follows that of the Areopagite. In the second passage (serm. viii. in Cont. v. 19), Bernard states some points which he feels unable to resolve:

'The Fathers appear to have held various opinions on such matters, and it is clear to me on what ground I should teach either opinion, and not the others: neither do I consider a knowledge of these things to conduce to your progress.'

The points in dispute refer to the nature of the bodies of the angels: it is asked whether their bodies are part of themselves, as is the case with men, or assumed for purposes of revelation. On guardian angels, see in Ps. 'qui habitat,' serm. xii. 2; serm. vii. in Cont. v. 4; on the devil and evil angels, see in Ps. 'qui habitat,' serm. xiii. de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio, cap. vi. § 18.

(c) Anselm, who may justly be regarded as the pioneer of speculative theology in the Middle Ages, is probably the first Western writer to apply with any fullness the processes of the Aristotelian dialectic to the traditional teaching of the Church about good and evil spirits. These play a somewhat important part in his remarkable system, especially in the elaboration of the Ora Deo Homo, where it is suggested that man was created for the purpose of completing the number of the angels, which had been diminished by the fall of the devil and his companions. This opinion Anselm’s friends, such as Albertus Magnus, made use of for himself: the human race is made for itself and not merely to replace individuals of another nature (Ora Deo Homo, i. 18). In the long discussion which follows concerning the number of the angels, and whether the number of the elect will exactly correspond with the number of those that fell, Anselm admits a diversity of opinion, and concludes that it is permissible to hold any view that is not disproved by Scripture. Cf. also de Casa Dioeholi, cap. vi, where the cause and manner of the Fall are discussed. On the angels, cf. de Fide Trin. 3.

(d) In order to present a clearer view of the Scholastic doctrine of good and evil spirits, it will be best to give here a brief summary of the teaching of this subject, where we probably find it in its most developed form. This is contained in the ‘Tractatus de Angelis’ which is comprised in Questions i. to liv. of Parva prima of the Summa theologica of Thomas Aquinas. Angels are altogether incorporeal, not composed of matter and form; exceed corporeal beings in number just as they exceed them in perfection; differ in species since they differ in rank; and are incorruptible because they are immortals. Angels can assume an aerial body but do not exercise
the functions of life. Thus they do not eat propric, as Christ did after His resurrection. Angels can be localized, but cannot be in more than one place at the same time. The substance of angels is not pure thought, because, in a created being, activity and substance are never identical. Similarly, the pure act of thought is not pure intellect. They have no sensory cognition. Their cognition is objective—not, however, through determinations in the object, but through innate categories. The cognition of the higher angels is affected by simper and place, whereas that of the lower angels is affected by simper alone. Angels by their natural powers have knowledge of God far greater than men can have, but imperfect in itself. They have a limited knowledge of future events. The angels are possessed of will, which differs from the intellect in that, while they have knowledge of good and evil, their will is only in the direction of the good. Their will is free, and they are devoid of passion. The angels are co-eternal with God, but were created by Him ex nihilo at a point in time (this is strictly de fide); their creation was not prior to that of the material world (the contrary opinion is here permitted). The angels were created in a state of natural, not supernatural, beatitude. All angels were created by God as their Creator, they were incapable of the beatific vision except by Divine grace. They are capable of acquiring merit, whereby perfect beatitude is attained; subsequently to its attainment, they can lose the beatitude being perfected, they are incapable of progress.

Concerning evil spirits, Aquinas’ teaching is briefly as follows. Their sin is only pride and envy. The devil desired to be as God. No demons are under natural evil, all fell by the exercise of their free will. The fall of the devil was not simultaneous with his creation, otherwise God would be the cause of evil. Hence there was some kind of interval between the creation and the fall of the demons. The devil was originally the greatest of all the angels: his sin was the cause of that of the other fallen angels, by incitement but not by compulsion. The number of the fallen angels is smaller than that of those who have persevered. The minds of demons are obscured by the deprivation of the knowledge of ultimate truth; they possess, however, natural knowledge. Just as the good angels, after their beatification, are determined in their goodness, so the will of the devil angels is determined to evil. The demons suffer pain, which, however, is not of a sensory character. They have a double abode—hell, where they torture the damned, and the air, where they incite evil.

The foregoing will give some idea of the teaching of the scholastics on the nature of spirits in its developed form. Many other questions were raised which is impossible to discuss here; but one further instance may be given, viz., the speculations as to the manner in which angels hold communion with each other. This matter is treated by Albertus Magnus and Alexander of Hales. This communication is effected immediately, and the spiritual vision of the angels is described by Albertus Magnus as 'inmutis,' by Alexander of Hales as 'mutus' (cf. Alb. Magn. Sum. Theol. 2, tr. 9, quast. 35, m. 2; Alex. Hal. Summa, pt. ii. quast. 27, m. 6). Finally, we may quote one 14th century authority, namely, Tractier (1361), who, though, like his contemporaries, he follows the Dionysian classification of spirits, yet expresses himself with much reserve about the nature and character of angels. The following passage is contained in his sermon on Michaelmas Day:

With what words we may and ought to speak of these pure spirits I do not know, for they have neither hands nor feet, neither shape nor form nor matter; and what shall we say of a being which has none of three things, and which cannot be apprehended by our senses? What they are is unknown to us, nor should this surprise us, for we do not know ourselves, viz., our spirit, by which we are made men, and from which we receive all the good which passes. Hence it is not strange that we cannot apprehend this exceeding great spirit, whose dignity far surpasses all the dignity which the world can possess. Therefore we speak of the works which they perform towards us, but not of their nature.

With regard to the development of the cultus of the angels during this period, the following observations may be made. Dedication of churches to angels and especially to St. Michael became far more common, both in the East and in the West. With regard to festivals of angels we find special offices in the medieval breviaries by which the unconfessed cultus of the angels obtained formal recognition. The names of individual angels are encountered in many litanies, and, finally, the cultus of the guardian angels received official sanction when a feast in their honour was instituted (October 2nd) after the Reformation. No doubt the introduction into the formal liturgy of the Church lingered behind the practice of popular devotion, in this as in other matters.

In conclusion, we may remark that, at the Reformation, Protestant theologians, especially those who held to a formal worship of good and evil spirits, even maintaining that the former intercede for mankind, but prohibiting any invocation. This belief, based on Scripture, underwent considerable modification in the 18th cent., and many of which we witnessed the beatitude of rationalization in different directions. The beginning of the 19th cent. was marked by a revival among Protestants of the belief in angels expressed 'in a philosophic and idealizing sense' (Hagenbuch, Hist. of the English Church, vol. ii., p. 281). A word should be said that among modern writers of this school the whole subject has ceased to excite any interest either speculative or practical. In the Roman Church we cannot detect any change in belief or practice concerning the existence of good and evil spirits, though we may point to certain indications of a tendency to discount the sabbathism of medieval speculation on the subject (Liebmann, Instit. Theol., lib. ii. cap. 2, art. 1, in vol. iii. p. 259). In the Anglican Church the belief in angels has the fullest liturgical recognition, though the subject is hardly dealt with in her formularies. The invocation of angels was defended by some of the Caroline divines: the practice of dedicating churches to angels remains unbroken. In the Book of Common Prayer the 29th of Sept., still known in the Roman calendar as the 'Dedico Sancti Michaelis Archangeli,' has become the feast of St. Michael and All Angels.

The comparative lack of interest felt in the whole question of the existence and nature of good and evil spirits may be explained by reference to the fact that, while belief in the existence of such spirits is generally accepted by Catholic theologians, there is still to be found a strong reaction from the excessive speculation of scholasticism.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Coptic).—The beliefs of the Coptic Christians on the subject of demons and spirits were derived from those of their pagan predecessors in the Egyptian-Roman period (see 'Egyptian' art. below), and show interesting traces of Gnostic influence. In spells to ward off the attacks of devils the designations of the demons are given, and the mysterious magical names of the gods are invoked, confused in true Gnostic fashion with the Hebrew appellations of the Deity. Here is a typical invocation:

'Pantokrator Ia6 Saba6th Moneous Somonc Usrktou (7) see 'Egyptian' art. below. He appears in the Seventh Heaven and judgest the evil: I conjure thee to-day, thus that ye be vanished to-day for me the twenty thousand demons which stand at the river Egypt, beseeching the Father twelve times, hour by hour, that He give rest unto all the dead.'

Here we have the Gnostic spirit Ia6 confused (naturally enough) with the Deity (Jahweh), but invoked in prayer against evil. The name 'the Father.' However, Ia6 Saba6th in Coptic spells is hardly to be distinguished from the Deity. Good spirits are invoked as 'ye who are upon the northern and eastern sides of Antioch. These spirits, being released from the nether regions of the earth, have the power of vanquishing the souls of the living, and of performing in every place, in the name of the Deity, and of the angels, all kinds of good and evil. The names of the angels are often confused: Emmanouel appears as the name of an angel, by Tremouel and Abraxiel; the last has a very Gnostic sound.

Chief among the good spirits were, of course, the archangels—sometimes four, sometimes seven: 'those who are within the veil' (kara6patripouma). Each man had a guardian angel, who protected him against evil. The angels are invoked also the cherubim and seraphim, and the four-and-twenty elders, and even the four beasts that uphold the throne of the Father. These were all conceived as objective spiritual beings, to be invoked in prayer against evil. The names of the spirits had to be known, or they could not be invoked: some appear named after the letters of the alphabet, others are merely 'those who come up with the great stars that shine.' The latter is a passing touch, and reminds us of the ancient dead who were thought to walk among the stars, the akhenu-sek.

Among the evil spirits we find, of course, Satan, whose name in our case is Zis—often cited. The survival of the name of the old Egyptian Typhonic god Set. Fate (Mepo) seems to occur as an evil demon. Disease was thought to be largely due to the attacks of devils, and especially in the case of epilepsy. If has been conjectured, with probability, by Crum ('Catalogue of the Coptic MSS in the British Museum, 1905, p. 253, n. 9) that the name ethekhe has been corrupted into the name of a female demon, Abersela, Berselil, or Bersonil, who appears in an Ethiopic transcription as Werczyli. Berselila was apparently regarded as a flying vampire, and classified in Coptic vocabularies as a kind of bird. A demon of the midday heat appears in the Ethiopic versions of the 'Prayer of S. Siemus,' with the 'Werczyli,' mentioned above (references in Crum, loc. cit.).

Magical charms (pndtukt) against the attack of demons were common enough. They were usually written on slips of parchment and enclosed in a little leather box, generally tied to the arm or, no doubt, hung about the body just as the modern charm of the Egyptian feldhud is worn. The contents are usually vague invocations, as has been seen. One of the finest is the MS Or. 5897 of the British Museum (published by Crum, op. cit. 1908), from which excerpts have been given above. Cf. art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Abyssinian).

The usual Coptic word for a demon or spirit, good or evil, is ty, which is the Old Egyptian for a good spirit. The term ki6, for an evil spirit, which is the same as Old Egypt. hekau, 'magic' or 'enchantment,' occurs occasionally. The appellation referau, 'sunderer,' 'diviner,' is a tr. of the Gr. diaphoros, which is itself often used in Coptic. For 'angel' the Gr. aggelos is used.

LITERATURE.—In addition to that cited in the text, see list of authorities appended to art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Abyssinian).

H. HALL.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Egyptian).—1. Scope of the article.—The delineation of an investigation on the subject of demons and spirits presents no little difficulty in religions which are so distinctly animistic. The earliest texts (numerous chapters of the Book of the Dead), some of them going back even to pre-historic times (as the funerary chapters of the proto-Hebrew collins, certain parts of the 'Delivered man, the Egyptian Book of the Dead,' and especially the Pyramid Texts), the chief demons and spirits in these are called sometimes biu, sometimes haunless (see below). The meaning of the special terms by which they are designated is very difficult. The significances of such terms as aferu, utenus, and ashenu, we must admit that as yet we have no precise knowledge. The passing allusions in a very few texts seem to indicate that they were conceived under the form of devouring spirits, troops of monkeys, lizards, and hawks. These are, in any case, survivals of the most ancient periods. The same is true of the jackal-demons (Pyramid of Pepy II., line 849). The higher and lower 'Beings of S' led us to designate a classification of spirits into heavenly and earthly. The rohkitu are, according to the texts, both spirits full of wisdom and personifications of the powers opposed to (and vanquished by) Egypt or the gods of Egypt.

2. Pre-historic demons and spirits.—Our information of the earliest period is preserved in the earliest texts (numerous chapters of the Book of the Dead), some of them going back even to pre-historic times (as the funerary chapters of the proto-Hebrew collins, certain parts of the 'Delivered man, the Egyptian Book of the Dead,' and especially the Pyramid Texts). The chief demons and spirits in these are called sometimes biu, sometimes haunless (see below). The meaning of the special terms by which they are designated is very difficult. The significances of such terms as aferu, utenus, and ashenu, we must admit that as yet we have no precise knowledge. The passing allusions in a very few texts seem to indicate that they were conceived under the form of devouring spirits, troops of monkeys, lizards, and hawks. These are, in any case, survivals of the most ancient periods. The same is true of the jackal-demons (Pyramid of Pepy II., line 849). The higher and lower 'Beings of S' led us to designate a classification of spirits into heavenly and earthly. The rohkitu are, according to the texts, both spirits full of wisdom and personifications of the powers opposed to (and vanquished by) Egypt or the gods of Egypt.
it has become a protective function of a specially determined group of men or a locality, heavenly or earthly. The humait of the primitive cults seem often mentioned; they even figure in a number of representations that have not yet been noticed—if, as the present writer suggests, it is indeed figures of these spirits that are seen on the ornamented furniture (tabernacles, shrines of the sacred barque, supports for vases or utensils of worship), represented in a number of temple base-reliefs and in frontispieces of Theban tombs. They have hardly ever been noticed, except by Budge (Gods of the Egyptians, i. 159), who quotes, without approving, the view that they are the great flock of souls of future generations. This view does not seem sufficiently borne out by the texts. The humain of the primitive cults seem rather to have been swarms of spirits of a beneficent character, in the sense that they watched over the safety of the sun, at the time when the religious world consisted of innumerable bodies of spirits and an impersonal sky-god with no precise attributes, and when the various heavenly bodies (even the most important ones, like the sun) were entrusted to the care of spirits, who directed their movements and defended them. Sometimes, of course, these spirits were also demons, etc., determined it is true, to become the patrons of man or of the lower classes, represented in the texts, as protective in some measure, though perhaps not of the earthy.

These demons were once the guardian genii of the geometrical divisions (two or four) of the universe; they supported the mass of the firmament at its extremities, and welcomed or destroyed the souls of the dead as they arrived at the borders of the earth. Their stellar role also seems to have been considerable; they inhabit certain constellations, or the sanctuaries on earth that are the magical counterparts of these regions on the heavens. Sometimes they are the guardians of a special region of the firmament (e.g. the bis of stars in the territory of Heliopolis, the 'Abode of the Celestial Abode,' the magical representation of this celestial abode); sometimes they escort certain heavenly objects to the planets; sometimes they are, across the vault of heaven. Polytheism makes these bodies divine persons, and reduces them to the position of deities of the sun. Finally, theology confuses them more and more with the various 'souls' of the gods, employing the evolution in meaning of the word bis itself. A great number of these spirits are classed together under the vague title of 'followers of Hor,' whence the priesthood deduced more and more lofty funerary meanings in relation to the lot of the dead.

The historic period, however, preserves a fugitive rôle for them on certain occasions of immemorial tradition, just as the material part of the dead continues to receive immediate sanctity. The spirits of the North and South become a sort of heraldic representation of the forces of the world considered as composed of two halves, or they are transformed into genii guardians of the income of the universe. They play a part also in several incidents in the coronation of the king. Other spirits, as the 'demons' of one of the Anubis, regarded as a constellation of the Northern world (cf. Brugsch, Red. and new Relig. in Egypt, 1884-1888, p. 671), perhaps the Great Bear (cf. the jackal-demons mentioned above), or as the genii of other parts of the astral world, reappear as figures in the mysterious ceremonies of the royal coronation or the jubilee (see Naville, Festical Hall, London, 1892, pl. ix—xi., for specimens of these figures, whose mystical value has been very much exaggerated by modern writers). As a general rule, however, their rôle is a purely traditional one, and their significance as demoniac does not seem to have been early understood.

Besides the innumerable representations of bis and rohit on in statues, stelae, base-reliefs, frescoes, etc., several other spirits have left marks on traces of their activity on certain sacred furniture, on which they are seen as traditional figures, symbolic or even magical. They are also represented, in certain texts, as certain animal figures on sacred vessels and in some of the stelae, traditionally placed on the sacred barques used in procession, which convey the Egyptian gods in their representations of their journeys in the other world. Thus the 'griffin,' which is found on the bow of all the barques of solar gods, seems to have been the form of the celestial genii confused with the 'warlike soul' of the god; and the same may be said of the birds that are placed in rows on the bow of the bark (cf. the hosts of el-herheh), or those on the strange boat of Sokar (a good example in the temple of Boit el-Medineh). Their functions, interpretations and significations are, or were in the 'followers' of the gods of the time of date, and represent two attempts to adapt them to developed beliefs. They seem really to be a survival of the time when these groups of 'demons' had an active share in the general direction of elementary forces. The predominance of 'functional epithets' serving as collective names for the majority of these demons is perhaps one of the most significant facts in this connexion.

The whole question of these groups of spirits calls for an exhaustive study, which would yield the results of Egyptian religions thought that could be attained, and would also explain the development of forms of this kind similar to those of other primitive religions and the evolution of the bis into polytheism proper. Such a study should be joined closely with an attention to Egyptian religion, comprising both the anachronistic manifestations of all kinds of 'spirits' and the existence of a sky-god similar to the god postulated in so many parts of the old religious tradition. The vague, primordial god—who, however, has no demigodological function whatsoever—is found in Egypt in two parallel forms, proceeding from two great local systems of mythology: (1) the sky-god Hor, and (2) the sky-goddesst Nut (subdivided even earlier into the day-sky, Nun, and the night-sky, Nuit). A foundation might be found in the data supplied for one part in the very remarkable work of Budge in his Gods of the Egyptians (see Lit.).

3. Historic period: number, aspects, forms.—The Egyptian terrestrial and ultra-terrestrial worlds are naturally peopled with an infinite number of demons and spirits. But, if we look closely, we find that this is by no means so great as that of many other religions. It shows neither the abundance of the Chaldeo-Assyrian religions or of Mycenean demonology (see Pottier, BCH, 1907, p. 239), nor even the crowd of devils and spirits of Venetian religion. The number of 4,601,990 demons, given in ch. lxv. of the Book of the Dead, is an exaggeration which does not correspond with any teaching or fact of any importance. As a matter of fact, ancient Egypt has not, to our present knowledge, left any record of the name of the countless and very evil spirits which we find in so many other countries.

These legions of beings, generally invisible, but always provided with material bodies, are per-
ceptible to men at certain times, or to those who can fortify themselves with the necessary charms and formulæ. Their size does not seem ever to have been a question of interest to the Egyptians. No text mentions giants, though one passage in the Book of the Dead speaks of demons 'twelve foot high.' This, however, is evidently the summanum. None of the numerous paintings of demons of the under world make them any larger than the men or beasts of the terrestrial world, except in the case of a certain number of serpents (when they are not, as a rule, they are dealing with allegorical or symbolical serpents). Nor do any of the ancient texts make allusion to extraordinary dimensions. The difference between Egyptian and Oriental religions in this respect is thus marked. 1

The material world, as well as the spirits and others of the same type were carried to the under worlds in the sun's journey is a simple artifice of Theban theology, and Maspero (Myth. archéol. ii. 34 f.) has shown that these different under worlds, compiled in actual geographical order, are a product of local mythologies which really describe the world of night and the celestial world.

The groups of very feeble demons and spirits which are devoted by the Egyptian ones (Pyramids arc especially mentioned in the texts or drawings of the historical period. No doubt the whole conception was thought barbarous (see below).

(b) The celestial world.—The celestial and uncalled, of the ancient world, the universe of Egyptian religion is full of all kinds of demons, closely resembling those found in the religions mentioned above or among the savages of to-day. But in Egypt there is no proper classification of spirits belonging to water, to rocks, woods, marshes, etc. Furthermore, their multiple roles in dreams, or in illnesses of man or beast, seem to belong rather to the popular domain than to official beliefs.

It would appear that there are two kinds, that historic Egypt had already, to a great extent, got rid of that naivete which is the characteristic of polydaemonism in primitive Animism, and which persists so strikingly in Chaldæo-Assyria in the organisation of the distinction between official and popular religion, however, is still a delicate question of the appreciation of facts, and especially of the period. It is, nevertheless, certain that phenomena such as storms, floods, and epidemics are attributed in historic Egypt, and not to the demons, as in Chaldæo-Assyrian belief. On the other hand, the inscriptions from the temple of Abydos prove that the priesthood frankly admitted that demons were continually present, not to do harm, and that it was necessary to purify the king's retinue with charms, as it proceeded to the temple. The funerary and incantations that took place at funerals bear witness to the same practice. While the famous inscription of the Princess possessed of Bakhan proves the official belief in demoniacal possession. The literature shows us that the demons, as in all other countries, inhabited by preference desert places, the borders of marshes, and cemeteries (in the sense in which they become confused with ghosts properly so called); and it is a certain fact that their power was greatest at night. They were also most powerful on certain days of ill omen, on which the influence of the good gods was diminished, as is proved by the horoscope papyri of Leyden and London. The light of the sun put them to flight. They were combated, according to varying circumstances, by means of talismans, amulets, incantations, etc., and in all these innumerable details various representations of demons in a material way only, and not in doctrine. It is also very difficult to see a specially Egyptian characteristic in the almost complete confusion that exists, in all these attributes of the earthly demons, that were demons proper to Egypt, and, as the latter have the same name of khuy: in a number of cases, it is sometimes almost impossible.
to distinguish whether such and such a case of illness be due to the work of a demon or of the dead. Sometimes the Egyptian text is quite clear, e.g. in the formulation relating to 'the imprisoning of the shades of the dead that can do harm' (Book of the Dead, ch. xxvii., line 20), which was written graduated to certain classifications by variants.

When well considered, Egyptian ordinary life does not seem to have been so much overshadowed and tormented by the constant fear in the case of under-world religions of civilized and semi-civilized peoples. While the official cult elevated the demons to the tone of gods, we do not find it going the length of constantly trying to despise them, during the performance of duties, at the opening of the tabernacle, or, again, at the time of sacrificing. (It may be, however, that the priests went the air with the wings by which the demons to flight (Ibid. ex oraculis hierarchiae, ed. Wolff, 1855, p. 181.).) The Egyptians do not, like the Indians, trace terrors round their offering. (Notice, however, in the foundation-rites of a temple, the purification of the ground by means of a mock of evil spirits, performed by the king and figures dressed as gods.) Nor does any Egyptian text ever say that demons are specially dangerous at the time of death, as is right, e.g. in the Avesta. The dead, it is true, are protected against demons during the preparations for the banzil; they are surrounded, on their way to the grave, by every kind of magical protection; at the grave itself, talismans and phylacteries of every description protect the coffin and mummy (note that these precautions are meant both to ward off the demons of this earth as they proceed to the next world, and to compel the demons to stay, by magic, on his journey to the other world); mystic emblems are painted on the prest-Isen sarcophagus, and other precautions of the same kind are found in other countries that all these precautions are not amount to so much as we find, in this connexion, in civilized religions of the highest organization; and we may say that the dying Egyptian was as well prepared for the demoniacal world as he was for the next life. In other words, demons are given an order so much as most races with systems of organized beliefs. We must not be misled by the messages of the demoniacal world into a misunderstanding, and the demons of the literature. In the other world, it would be natural to imagine that the thought of Satan and his demons was a continual weight on the conscience, in the form of our European Middle Ages; and yet the popular tales, processes of justice, legends, and even theological thought, were filled with the demons, and, the more often we find a, material diversity, and a constant aggressiveness which are very much in excess of anything that we learn of ancient Egypt in this respect.

c. The other world (this term including the various classes of regions separating Egypt from the abodes of the dead, under whatever form they may be conceived, and these abodes themselves; paradise, Elysian fields, caverns, passages, rosetites, etc.).—In account of all the demons of the other world, a very good idea of them may be obtained from the indexes in the various editions of Budge's *Book of the Dead*, or from Maspero's *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptienne*, ii.180 (for the royal tombs). These demoniacal spirits are as numerous as the devils of the under-world in all other religions. They are the inhabitants of night. It is worthy of remark that none of them has any symbolic value; the majority are simply the repetitions of beings like the mischievous or terrifying beings of the earth. In the group of books of the Book of the Dead type we have tree-spirits, monkeys, crocodiles, a considerable variety of serpents, lions, etc., and the vignettes of the Theban epoch employ all the precision that could be desired on the subject. In the series of the type 'Book of Hours,' 'Book of Hell,' 'Book of the Gates,' etc., we have a more sombre view of the demons, yet still of the same specific character; a great number of these demons, in the shape of men, of animals, or of mixed form, are armed with weapons of various kinds, but are not fantastic. These are far oftener functional epithets than true proper names: the majority of the names are used by the historians of religions. The onomastic list, however, is quite short, and shows the poverty of Egyptian thought on this point: 'the Archer,' 'the Fokam,' 'the Lancet,' the 'Cutter,' the 'Ripper,' 'the Bounder,' etc. These different demons have the same names, or are called 'the Lady of Terror,' 'the Lady of the Sword-thrusts,' 'the Brave,' 'the Violent.' The serpent demons are called 'Life of the Earth,' 'He who lives on gods' (= enter of gods[?]). The guardian serpents Akalu, Seth, Thoth, and Tokhres, etc. are the spirits of the dead or of the dead. Sometimes the Egyptian text is quite clear, e.g. in the formulation relating to 'the imprisoning of the shades of the dead that can do harm' (Book of the Dead, ch. xxvii., line 20), which was written graduated to certain classifications by variants.

Generally speaking (without distinguishing the various classes of under-world literature), the original Animism of Egypt is reflected in the number of demons that can and cannot harm. As the body is split into three spiritual objects: a thread and its different parts (ch. chii.), a boat, each part of which has its genius (ch. xxviii.), posts, doors, parts of a building, boxes, etc. This process is all the more logical from the fact that Egyptian belief did not think of the spiritual object; natural or manufactured, on this earth possessed a spirit or a demon—rocks and trees as well as houses, pillars, sceptres, clubs, etc.; and iconography sometimes shows these spirits with their heads appearing out of the objects they inhabit. The evolution of belief consisted mainly, here as elsewhere, in gradually 'detaching' the 'spirits' from their objects; and the demons of our present discussion were transformed step by step into *guardians*, and, in the case of some of them, into *masters*, of these objects. The latter privileged members have contributed to the number of the gods.

5. Nature.—By means of a large number of accurate texts, we can form an estimate of the constitutional character of the demons and spirits of Egypt, and by the aid of the ancient texts we can get back to the very beginning of their formation. All our rites and ideas are connected with the general animistic character of the primitive religions of the Nil Valley. The universality of 'spirits' in Egypt is well known, and we have just seen that there is not a single being or object, natural or manufactured, that has no demon. The different names of *bin* and *khau* did not imply any difference of nature originally, and the ancient texts show, by variants, that the two terms are frequently interchanged. They merely signify the different degrees of materiality of these souls or spirits—which are always material (see BODY [Egypt.]). The word *bin* seems later to have tended to belong to demons and spirits of a beneficent character, while the name *khau* was given by preference to malevolent spirits; but this indefinite classification has arisen purely from later dualistic thought (see DUALISM [Egypt.]).

Now, these texts clearly prove that the demons are absolutely the same in the essentials of their nature and attributes as the most ancient Egyptian gods. The formulae confuse them constantly. Demons and gods have the same 'determinative' in hieroglyphic script (the three signs of the 'axe' [really a mace with two pennants], or the archaic sign of three hawks perched on a sort of gibbet). At first, the strongest devoured the weakest impartially; and later, the dead, assimilated by magic to these strongest members (cf. Pyramid of Unas, line 506 ff.), are shown devouring the *notrus* (gods) as well as the *khau* (demons).

A single characteristic will serve to distinguish them, and to indicate the process by which the god gradually emerged from the dense crowd of demons. The demons, or genii, or spirits, are *anonymus* groups, with only a collective name, and confined to a special activity or settled function. As they rise in importance or the same importance, certain groups of them rose by a slow process of elaboration to higher dignity. The others remained for ever a few millions of obscure spirits, whose mode of life was of no importance; or they furnished the troops of spirits of which examples are given in § 2. In the groups with important functions, the characteristics led to fusion with a more individual being provided with a proper name. Difficult as it is to
draw the line of demarcation between a god and a demon in such a conception, a careful examination of the texts leads to the conclusion that the mark of a god is possession of a name. A demon possesses no name at all. The end of the line is incontestable for well-established gods like Sorku (the crocodile) and Ririt (the hippopotamus); it is equally incontestable for demons like Apopi and the twenty-three great serpents of the Pyramid formula, or the other reptiles named in the rest of the sacred literature; it can be demonstrated for demons like the cat of the sacred tree ahaflu in the famous ch. xvii. of the Book of the Dead, and for all the principal demons in the descriptions of the satellite catbodies of the world-forces. Each is a god from the time that it has a name, both for its life and for its aspect. Power, the amount of reverence inspired, and the importance of functions are only questions of degree, insufficient to separate, in this religion, a number of humble gods from demons. Even specialization in a unique or monitory action is not a criterion. Napiri, demon of harvests, Rammin, Maskhoni, the ‘Seven Hathors,’ and many others of this type are more, or less than the very fact that they have names; and, if the cult they receive is humbler than that of other gods, it is identical in conception and form. (Here there is a noteworthy difference from what is said of Semitic spirituals in the Bible, Gen. xxi. 4). One might add, however, that the rate at which the names are given them by all, and confirms what we have seen of the stellar character of numbers of these groups of spirits before polytheism. The texts show, further, that a number of those spirits, mapping the secondary and character of the mass, were treated exactly as true gods by the Egyptian. The gods whom they are assimilated to the principal great gods. It will be observed also that the demons remaining in the men of anonymous groups still remain some worship on certain occasions in the historic epoch. Under the Semitic names, for example, there are priests of the ‘spirits’ of Helopollis, Ruto, and Nebkhenn (el-Kah).

The fact that demons become gods by a process of ‘emergence’ goes a long way to explain why there are not in Egyptian religion, as in other aologies, lists and hierarchies of demons and angels. Not only is there nothing resembling the sort of ladder aologies of other races, but there are not even chiefs of groups or protagonists, like, e.g., the Chaldean demon of the south-west wind. The fact is that, as soon as a primitive group attained to importance in the general cohabitation of the world-forces, it reattached a god from itself, who absorbed his group entirely or became a chief; so that the demons, good and bad, always arise directly from a god, and naturally share his character and attributes.

6. Role and character. — Just as the demons have at first no hierarchy, so they have no general characteristic role, no functions of general cosmogony, directed for or against the harmony of the kosmos. The distribution of their activities into functions that are always very limited and highly specialized is a strong proof of the antiquity of their formation. Their power does not go the length of raising a scourge like a tempest (see above), or, like the Indian demons, of preventing rain. This paucity of attributes, in a character otherwise always material, and this distribution of groups of spirits without classification, make it quite comprehensible how their final rôle and their good or bad aspect depended, in the era of polytheistic formations, upon the relative character of the gods round whom they were grouped, since such a god was simply the synthesis of the activities of which the demons were the analysis. The god himself was at first of vague significance as regards his general rôle in the progress of the world; it was only when he had acquired a more precise energy that he brought along with him his troop of demons — good or bad for man. It would thus be precocious to attempt a moral geography of the demons. The necessarily un-moral character of the spirits does not allow of any classification which would arrange them by ‘angeloele’ and ‘demonology’ — these terms being used with a moral signification. Even in the historic period their original character remained ineffaceable: the demons were, first of all, the inhabitants of a place or an object, the guardians of a locality, of a door, a passage; they ended, more or less, by having a god as sovereign; while they modelled themselves on his nature and tendencies.

But one point is clear, that they are subject to their god, and consequently favourable and subject to his relatives and friends, and hostile to others. They are, then, good spirits for the living or dead man who is assimilated by worship or magic to the congregation of their master, bad spirits to all others; and the whole Book of the Dead, which has not the least moral character (even the famous ch. xxvii. of Confession), is essentially neither more or less than a treatise of the very fact that they are capable of winning over the demons of the other world, and making them defenders of the dead, or at least submissive spirits. Nothing shows the persistence of these conceptions so well as certain passages, p. 844, 845, 846, 847; e.g., the demon, ‘the serpent who devours souls,’ is considered dangerous to the sun itself, which has to take great care when passing over its back (Tomb of Seti I., third hour of hell; theology invented in mythological explanations, but the primitive fact is clear).

7. Final organization. — The organization of all these incoherent spirits, unified by chance facts (and by nothing but facts) around multiple gods of early polytheism, was the result of great labour. It must have taken local theologians a long tale of centuries; nevertheless it always presented great gaps. It can be partly reconstructed by the help of the texts of the Memphite and prophet-Theban collars. The unifying of provincial eschatologies under the form of the Theban Book of the Dead, or of the various Books of the Under World (‘Hours,’ ‘Doors,’ etc., of the royal hypogees, etc.) has been observed by many conceptions of other races, the harmonization, which adjusted the demons more or less successfully to the gradual conception of the kosmos.

This formation of armies of good and evil, being the final characteristic of united religious, is the most important fact to be studied in connection with demons alone. It will be treated in the last article, Deaemi (Egypt). For the understanding of the present article we may note here only the following facts: the grouping around the sun and his companions of former aduate demons of the stars, or vassals of Thoth, Hermes, Abrish; the inverse grouping, around the Great Serpent Apopi and his officers, of the chief demons opposed to the sun. Finally, a god of order and light, Osiris-Ra, is opposed, with all his allies, to a Sit-Apoip, the prince of evil and darkness, and the enemy of order; this struggle continues without truce and with its fixed dates (see Calendar [Egypt]), until, in the last period, Sit-Apoip becomes confused in Osric religion with Osiris, and all these gods that single alone throw light upon the representations of the under world of this period, in which armies of demons, under command of Ra, Tean, Set, and divapeta, slayer, and bars legends of the damned.

The damned are not sinners in the moral sense, but adversaries of Ra, now enemies. This task was reserved for the last centuries — to transform hostility to the sun, Ra, into hostility to the moral law of Fia-Osiris; but the task was accomplished (see Dualism [Egypt]). Even the forty-two judges, two of Osiris, the only silent demons with no moral role, and quite artificial; and Shait, the demon who devours the souls rejected by Osiris, is only an entity with no moral character.
The absence of a part in the good or evil of the moral world appears still more clearly in the conception of the rôle of demons in connexion with the living. There is not a single Egyptian text in which they have any part in the sins of men, or in suggesting evil thoughts, or even, as in Assyria, in procreation of evil, misunderstanding, and family quarrels. They are restricted exclusively to physiological evil.

Patrie's remarkable book, Personal Religion in Egypt before Christianity (London, 1906), shows, however, a clue to demons in the hermetic literature who play a part never (see pp. 42, 49, 54, 60, 115, 166). But, in spite of the author's efforts to associate demons with all actions in a very early period, the earliest date he can reach (6th cent.) merely succeeds in showing the coincidence of these new ideas with the Persian domination; this emphasizes the resemblance between these non-Egyptian characters and the teaching of the Persian religion. We may add that at this time, and so recent, the sexual sins ever seen increasing its ranks by the soul of a single sinner.

8. Popular demonography. The phase of demons which has attracted the keenest attention of Egyptologists is their rôle in popular life and literature and in current magic. The causes of this are the abundance of information furnished by papyrology, the picturesqueness and precision with which the literary texts give the knowledge of Egyptian life, and the data they supply for the study of magic. From a comparative point of view, however, such a study does not exhibit many of the characteristic traits. An account—ever-changing—of the various demotic demons in Egyptian life or superstition would require considerable space (see CHARMS AND AMULETS [Egy.], MAGIC [Egy.]). As everywhere, here the demons are at the command of the magician, to whom they are also the devotionals—either by voluntary or involuntary—of the living or animal; or else they themselves cause these phenomena, just as they cause madness and epilepsy (see DISEASE AND MEDICINE [Egy.]).

The horoscope or simply superstitious influence of the fates, the fortunes, the ephemeral—of demons to the earrmen, the chant, are facts that apply to all popular religions. The purely Egyptian traditions are not many; the demons have sex (see Hierarchic Papyri); there are none of the sexless demons of Assyria. The popular literature (see the Story of Satni-Khamois) seems to indicate the possibility of belief in incubi or succubæ, but the passages, which are very numerous, require to be examined carefully. The threatening aspect of demons in literature is perhaps, the most strikingly presented (see CHILDREN [Egy.]; also Berlin Papyrus, 3027) is also the same as appears elsewhere. On the other hand, we must remember the restrictions made elsewhere about the interference of demons in the magic and literary papyri is not to be taken as a faithful picture of the actual life of the Egyptians.

It will be noticed, further, that the Egyptians never mention demons who are wantonly cruel, or thirsting for blood, death, and carnage, as in Chaldean-Assyria, or demons who dare to attack the gods (the combats between Ra and the demons of Apopi are antagonism, which is a different thing). The purely animistic character of these demons, struggling to live on their own account and interests, to the societies of the savages of modern Africa, and (2) somewhat similar to the classical Mediterrenean civilizations of the Europe of the Middle Ages or of the Renaissance.

As in all religions during decline, we observe at later epochs the growth of demonicial beliefs in connexion with black magic, and in opposition to the official cults. The combination of Egyptian with other Asiatic or Mediterranean demonologies shows itself in the demotic papyri, and particularly in the tabellae devotionis (see MAGIC [Egy.] and, provisionally, Budge, Egyptian Magic, or Erman, Die ägypt. Rel., ch. vii.).

9. Ghosts. The complexity of the Egyptian notion of personality is an initial difficulty in the way of classifying the phenomena relating to ghosts. The eight or nine elements which, in the historic period, constitute a person (see BODY [Egy.]), have each a formal, and habitat in the second existence. The outcome of these that concerns our present purpose is the khu.

The etymology of the word khu is still very doubtful, and we cannot deduce a connexion whatever of the khu with the form; the khu is, as it were, the role from the radical meaning of the word. The sense of 'luminous,' 'brilliant,' has suggested to several authorities the explanation based on the photophoric character of the willo'-the-wisp. But, these phenomena are not seen parts of Egypt on the skirts of the desert, supposed to be the favourite haunts of ghosts. A later interpretation has been proposed, taking the word khu as a brilliant spark, a part of the solar substance. But this seems to involve the theological speculations which played upon the anthropological meaning of the word when solar theories held the first rank in exogogical doctrine. The signification 'enclosure,' 'circle,' or 'certain encircling,' as the complimentary meaning of 'resplendent' or 'glorious' to the epithet khu given to the ghosts of the dead, seems more probable, but has never been definitively settled.

The present writer would suggest, finally, a connexion between these notions and the khepri, the sun in the intrinsic meaning of khu, and the special soul 'which shines in the eyes,' and to which a great many peoples accord a particular personal.ascription. The observation that the connexion between the breath of the living eye and the thinness of the dead eye suggests the relation between a kind of daemon, a part of a soul 'forever' having magic virtues of its own (which would justify, besides, all the magic relating to the power of the soul), and continuing to live after death with the various attributes which we accord to ghosts. There is, however, no formal proof by texts of this explanation.

The khepri is known as a living being. It has never been credited with a lofty rôle. It is a priori a wandering, unhappy, hungry being, a sort of outcast from the great crowd of the dead and other 'spirits'—such as a dead man, e.g., whose grave has been desecrated, and whose soul, double etc., has perished by privation or by the attacks of monsters. Accordingly, we never find the khu of a king or a nobleman appearing in the texts in the rôle of 'ghost, as this rôle is always a humble and inefficient one. The attributes of the Egyptian ghost, then, reduce themselves finally to those of harmful demons, and agree very largely with what is believed on the subject in all religions. Ghosts affright people with 'demonic possession' in all its varieties; they possess infants (see CHILDREN [Egy.]) and, by a strange way into the interior of the body of living people, and cause innumerable ills (see DISEASE AND MEDICINE [Egy.]): they appear suddenly to terrify the living, especially at certain hours of the night, and preferably in the neighborhood of cemeteries, or in places reputed to be their favourite haunts (cf. Maspero, Contes populaires, passim); they attempt to violate any woman they can take by surprise in a lonely place (e.g. one of the chapters of the Book of the Two Ways, in which a magic power is accorded the khu 'of taking by force any woman he wants'); or, in order to devour living substance, they throw themselves into the body of children, excite them to frenzy, and cause them to die; the khepri of women dying in child-birth aim especially at causing infants to die (cf. the curious formula of the papyrus Zauberspruche für Mutter und Kind, published by Erman, 1901; see also Erman, Religionsgeschichte, ch. 2); and Harland's examples of the part played by ghosts; this belief is analogous to numerous beliefs throughout all Africa. The khepri of suicides, executed criminals, unburied dead, and shipwrecked sailors are particularly tormented. It is miserable to think that the magician of the later centuries applied by preference—conjurating, invoking, and putting them at his service for his thousand and one evil's
tormenting in sleep, causing death by enchantment or by fever, assisting lovers to exact vengeance, or helping those who wished to attract or recall an unfaithful husband. For all these reasons, the Doublets', or Double souls, the struggling demons, is nevertheless tinged with magic of Asiatic or North African origin. The baleful activity of all these ghosts is naturally specially excited at certain unfavourable times in the calendar (see Calendar [Egypt]), and they come in their hordes at these times to join the troops of evil 'spirits' struggling against order (see Dualism [Egypt]), just like a band of plunderers accompanying the real combatants. Very seldom do we hear said that the spirits of the dead were confused with the demons as to habitat, needs, functions, character, and powers. This double assertion would require a more detailed demonstration than is here possible. It may be doubted whether it seems to lead, by syllogism, to an equating of the spirits of the dead with the first gods, in whole or in part. But, as a matter of fact, no theory of Egyptian religion could be more contrary to truth or more contradictory of all religious teaching. Never at any time or under any form did the Egyptians believe that the dead become gods. The case of the sons or heirs of gods (chiefs and kings) belongs to an entirely different category, and the confusion of the dead with Osiris, or some other of the gods of the dead, by magic or by religious process is either an erroneous assimilation or an absorption of the dead man's personality by an already existing god. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to insist on the fact that the demons and spirits, the original forms of the Egyptian gods, have nothing to do with the spirits of the dead in their essential nature, but merely resemble them in the respects of their activity (see STATE OF THE DEAD [Egypt]).

LITERATURE.—The provisional state of the sources and evidence regarding demonology has been noted in the course of this article. The whole theory of spirits has never been gathered together in one work, although various fragments of it are scattered through all the works that discuss Egyptian religion. No attempt has here been made, amongst others, in which information is more specially grouped, the following: E. Amelineau, Prolegomenes, Paris, 1905 (where an exactly opposite ethnographic theory is supported at length); E. A. W. Budge, Egyptian Magic, London, 1905, Gods of the Egyptians, 1904, Liturgy of Funerary Offerings, 1904, Opening of the Mouth, 1900, and Book of the Dead, 1908; A. Erman, Die egypt. Relig., Berlin, 1905; G. Maspero, Studies of the Egyptian dead, vol 2. Paris, 1900; P. Landais, La divinité et le sacré, Paris, 1909; G. Maspero, Les anciens Egyptiens, Paris, 1909; the monuments of the dead, naturally fill the whole series of Egyptian monuments of all periods, a special mention, E. Lacroix, Hypogeos regnes de Thebes, Paris, 1883; and P. Lacan, Sarcophages anciens au musée du Louvre, Index, Cairo, 1903-1906. 

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where the Greek 

**daimon** is employed, like the Latin *mones*, to denote the spirits of the departed (Lucian, *de Lictis*, 24; for the evidence of inscriptions, *Dea parens = dea monea*, see Roescher, i. 929; Frazer, *Pausan.* 1890, iv. 24).

826. The word is not less conclusive when we find Darius and Alcesias described as demons in reference to their condition after death (Esch. *Pers.* 623; Eur. *Ap. * 1063), and when the Muse prophecies that Thespians, though dead, shall rest hidden in a man with the face of a man (Plato's *Phaedr.* 971). See, further, Usener, *Gotternamen*, p. 248ff.; a somewhat different view is taken by Rohde, *Psyche*, i. 95, 153. As the shining, once incarnate, so the shining personages, with due respect, are expected to show favour, a reference to the 'good demon' sometimes implies nothing more than this (Vasay, in Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 2912). But the good demon also appears in circumstances which made him the ancestor-worship. In Boeotia a sacrifice to the good demon was made the occasion for the first tossing of the new must (Plut. *Qu. Conv.* iii. 7, 1, p. 655 E); and at Athens it was the custom after dinner to pour wine into a hollow shell in his honour (Aristoph. *Eq.* 83, etc.). At other times he is the personification of good fortune, as the protecting spirit of a community, a family, or an individual; in this sense, Nero arrogated to himself the right of being the chief god of the world (Cic. *Deo tert. * 4598. See Rohde, i. 254ff.

With the various manifestations of the good demon we may contrast cases where the influence of the spirit was pernicious. An evil spirit was often associated with a class of human beings.

A good illustration is afforded by the story of Euthymus the box-tamer, who fought with a 'hero' enthroned at Tenea in Italy. The story is told of the kindred of Odysseus' brother Ortelus or Aleyon, who had been slain by the people of Tenea, for resisting a sacrifice. According to the tradition of the ghost, his relatives were destined to be killed by the same people who were his wife, which was yielded by the townsfolk in order to save themselves from his wrath. The practice was of immemorial antiquity at the time when Euthymus chanced to come to Tenea, and, having entered the temple, saw the maiden, and fell in love with her. So Euthymus put on his armour, and, when the ghost appeared, without his assault and vanquished him; and the hero, driven from the land, plunged into the sea, and was never seen again. Pauly, who tells the story (vi. 6, 7, 11), as well as other authorities (Strabo, p. 252; *Suid.* s. v. *Euthymos*), had seen a picture illustrating the event which he records, and, in the course of describing it, he quaintly remarks: 'The ghost was a horrid being, and the whole appearance was most dreadful, and he wore a wolfskin.' The ghost-idea is less prominent in the story of the demon of Anagryus, one of the Athenian demons, who destroyed a child and of a neighbourhood peasant for trespasses committed on his command (Suid. s. v. *Anagryios daimon*).

Yoshio (Op. 159, 172) distinguished between 'heroes' and 'demons,' and later philosophical speculation treated demons as belonging to a higher grade of dignity (Plut. *de Def. Or.* 10, p. 415 B). But in stories like the above the two terms are used without distinction; and heroes as ghostly beings were considered so dangerous that persons passing by their shrines were warned to keep silence, lest they should suffer injury (Herodotus, x. 96). It is clear then that a hero is incapable of conferring blessings, and is only powerful to work ill, is enwrapped by Babrius, *Fab.* 63.

Other evil demons are represented as specially attached to an individual. Thus, the dread and strange vision of monstrous and pernicious shape, which appeared to M. Brutus in his last campaign announced itself to him as his evil demon (Plut. *Brut.* 26). Or an avenging demon may be the inspiration behind a plot to apply public crimes or a particular family, as when, in the *Agrapha* of *Eschylus* (1477), after the murder of her husband, Clytemnestra boasts that she herself is the incarnate demon of the Pelopids, 'so gross with over-grown flesh.' In such capacity the evil demon often bore the special title of 'Alastor;' and in the *Pers.* (357) the slave Simeus, who entrapped Xerxes into a fatal manoeuvre, so that he lost the battle of Salamis, is described by the Persians as the Simeus of their ·literary' demon. In the same manner the Chaldean *sorcerer* is employed as an *alecto*. Sophocles, in referring to an actual case, was not possible for any one but a madman, does not hesitate to say: 'Who would choose this, unless madamid by *aegis* (v. 684) and *daimon* (v. 954) *Partheniac varit* (Evel. *253).* It would be easy to multiply instances where demonic agencies are made responsible for good or evil fortune; and it is not surprising that the prevalence of such opinions opened the door to chicanery and imposture. And so the demons of Nero and his companions became the ventriloquist (Tit. 1475, *Sertorius*), who, by giving utterance to his oracles in a feigned voice, persuaded his hearers that they were the pronouncements of a demon lodged within his own breast. (Aristoph. *Eq.* 1189; Plut. *Def.* 247 C, and the scholi.) This proceeding corresponds exactly with the methods of savage magicians, as reported by E. B. Tylor in his article on 'Demonology' (*EB* vii. 63).

The notion of the tribal or guardian spirit, which watches over a man from his birth, directs his actions, and may be either friendly or hostile, was widely entertained among the Greeks. It is best expressed in the famous fragment of Menander (550 K.). 'To every man at Athenian birth a demon is assigned to initiate him in the mysteries of life.' This is not a literary fancy, but a popular opinion: 'There are many who have a crean soul, but a good demon,' says Theognis (161). Or e may appeal to Findar, a witness of a very different type (Pyth. v. 122). 'The mighty purpose of Zeus directs the demon of those whom he loves' (see W. Headlam, in *JTh.* xxxii, 1903, 204; Rohde, i. 316; Usener, 256). But, in regard to the force of particular passages, there is room for disagreement. The word *daimon* is used in such a way that it is often difficult to seize its exact significance in a particular context. Thus, besides bearing the special meaning with which we are now concerned, it may be employed either (i) in a sense a little more restricted so that it is distinguishable, if at all, as expressing the Divine power manifested in action rather than the Divine personality as an object of worship; or (2) in the abstract sense of 'demonizing.' Thus, the abstract and the concrete meaning, with a view to the selection of an English equivalent, is unlikely that to a Greek the word ever became so colourless as the tr. 'fate' or 'destiny.' Such that this was the original sense, as has been suggested in recent times (Gruppe, *Gr. Mythol.* 901, n. 4; see, however, Usener, 292), is hardly credible.

We have seen that the belief in the separate existence of the soul after death leads to the assumption that the souls of the dead are powerful over the living, and that other potencies of a similar character, spirit-like but not souls, exist independently, they are identified with the earth. A further step is taken when these demons are regarded as capable of entering into and possessing human bodies (Gomperz, Greek Thinkers [*Eng. tr.* 1901], ch. i. §§ 5, 6). This may be illustrated by the various instances in which the human soul is represented as permanently or temporarily identified with the Divine being whose power he assumes. Hermes became incarnate in the ministrants at the oracle of Tophonians at Lebadea (Pausan. ix. 39, 7), Buceches in the mystic (school,
on Aristoph. Eq. 408). Similar is the inspiration drawn from the chewing or eating of magic substances, such as the laurel leaves sacred to Apollo (Soph. frag. 811, etc.), or the honey which inspired Thryse on Parnassus (Soph. frag. 172), and Zephyrus (Soph. frag. 888, with the present writer's note). The demon which took possession of a man's body was sometimes conceived as a fiery spirit, which raised the dead from their beds of fever. Homer's fiery emblems of love (Iliad, 840, 9, 7), which perpetuates the names of its victims with a feverish ecstasy. Hippocrates found it necessary to combat the superstition that epilepsy is due to some god—Poseidon, Apollo, Orcus, or Hecate—having taken possession of the sick man (I. I. 1, 592 F). Phaedra's wasting sickness is attributed to the chorns in the Hyppolytus of Euripides to possession by Pan, Hecate, the Corybantes, Cylene, or Dictynna (141—147); and the then illness of Glauce, described in the Medea, was thought by those present to have been caused by the anger of Pan (1172). See also Usener, 294.

2. In the classical age.—The Olympian religion, in which the possession which we receive from Greek literature about the ordinary beliefs of the classical age, is a composite structure, largely built up by the transference from past generations of elements on which time had worked, an essential change. The demon passed into gods; the shadowy gods became definitely conceived personalities. A good illustration of this process may be taken from the development which can be traced in the notions entertained of the Naiads, Dryads, and Nymphs. Dryads and Naiads owe their origin to the fetishism which believes that every natural object is endowed with a living spirit. In course of time the spirit is separated from its environment: the Dryad, for example, inhabits the oak, but the oak itself is no longer animate. But the indwelling spirit has not yet become immortal; the Dieydad cannot live the oak (Hom. h. Aphrod. 257; Apoll. Rhod. ii. 481). A later stage has been reached when the ideas are more personal. Dryads were summoned by Zeus to join the concave of the immortals (II. xx. 7 ff.). We need not pause to illustrate the process by which a tribal deity has been elevated to national dignity, or a god with limited powers has merged his identity in the attributes of an Olympian. Other demons have taken subaltern rank in the celestial hierarchy, as when the Corybantes are classed as the attendants (περιθανομε) of Rheia (Strabo, 472), and the Satyri attach themselves to Dionysus. Euryonymus, a grisly demon who ate the flesh of corpses, was painted by Polygnotus among the inhabitants of the lower world; he was blue-black in colour like a carrion-fly, his teeth were bared, and he was sitting on the skin of a bull (Pausan. i. 28. 7). Dionysus was sometimes attended by Akrotos, the potent spirit of the unmixed wine (Pausan. i. 2. 5); and Aphrodite by Typhon, perhaps the spirit of good luck, not unlike our Puck or Robin Goodfellow (Gruppe, 533, n. 2). Even the hell-hounds of Hecate are recognized as evil demons (Euseb. Prep. Evang. iv. 23, 7, 8).

It has recently been contended (Farnell, CGS v. 1909 444) that the personification of abstract ideas and of the spirits claiming our veneration and worship is to be explained as due to the development of mankind into a primitive habitat of mind to any outbreak of excessive emotion. Typical cases are quoted from the ceremoinal observances paid in various parts of Crete. (W. C. 10, 17. 1; Plut. Cleomen, 9). If the suggestion is correct, it throws a remarkable light upon the development of Greek psychology. It is easier to recognize primitive ideas in the delification of Madocas (Pausan. vii. 24. 1) and Hunger (Plut. Qu. Conn. vi. 1, p. 404 A). The Madocas is supposed by Farnell to be a god under another title, as producing frenzy in their victims. But Hunger is hardly to be explained as the concrete embodiment given to the abstract idea of the deities in the Aetos. It is extraordinary that the failure of the crops through drought, and the wasting of the flocks and herds through disease, should have given rise to the fragible testimony to the operation of a malignant and supernatural power. In order to avert such a calamity, an annual sacrifice of a demon with the hero in the character of a slave, who was beaten with rods of willow to the words of the chant, 'Out of the fire and blazing flame, and out of fever and health!' took place at the town of Chersones in Bosporus. Phalaris, in the passage quoted above, tells us that he had himself performed the ceremony when holding the office of the chief magistrate. For its significance, see Frazer, GB 7, 1900, ill. 1916.

Again, as the crude fancies of primitive superstition ceased to correspond with advancing enlightenment, they tended to gather round them the details of legendary adventures, and to become associated, in the record of a mythical past, with particular localities or heroic figures. Thus, the ravening monster, compact of indigenons stories of a destructive dragon fused with Oriental or Egyptian elements, was localized in Boeotia and connected with the story of Clytemnestra. The Harpies or 'Snatchers' (Hom. Od. xiv. 571), another composite notion in the evolution of which wind-demons and death-angels had taken part, survived ultimately for their share in the punishment of Pandare, and the story of their descent from the voyage of the Argonauts. They are nearly related to the Erinyes and the Sirens—both chthonic agencies; but, whereas the belief in an avenging spirit punishing homicide survived longer, and has preserved itself as a potent spiritual force, the Sirens soon passed into the region of fairy-land, and were remembered chiefly from Homer's description of them in the Odyssey. The Gorgons—also under-world powers and storm-spirits, and in the tradition except through the adventures of Perseus.

Besides these, there was a whole host of sprites, bogeys, and hobbgoblins which remained nearer to their primitive associations. Their names are generic rather than personal, and they were rarely dignified by a connexion with some heroic tale. Such was Eunpasia, a demonic apparition that appeared sometimes at mid-day and sometimes by night. She had the power of continually changing her shape, but the children who met her were turned to stone by the donkey's leg which was her constant attribute (see Dem. xviii. 130; Aristoph. Ran. 289 ff.). Gello—a name which has been compared with the Arabic ghol—was a spectre which kidnapped children. Almost unknown to literature, the name lasted through the Middle Ages, and survives in some localities down to the present day (Maas, in Pauly-Wissowa, vi. 1060). Somewhat more familiar to us is Mormo, a bogey of the nursery, invoked to frighten children (Theor. xiv. 40; Xen. Hell. iv. 4. 17)—perhaps a hypocoristic form of Mormolyske—a werewolf (μορμολυκα, Plut. Phaedo, 77 E, etc.). Another bogey-name is that of Lamia, who was said to have the remarkable power of taking out her eyes and putting them back at pleasure. She was also a kidnapper and murderer of children, and is sometimes identified with Mormo and Gello, as if these were different names of the same monster. But in Lamia there are more traces of a definite personality; and she has almost become a mythical heroine, as a Libyan queen beloved by Zeus, whose children were killed by Hera, and who in consequence revenged herself by killing other children (see Dalynwys ap. school. Aristoph. Pera, 1397, 435, 14). The name Acro and Alphito—words of doubtful meaning which perhaps signify 'booby' and 'grey-head' (Chrysipp. ap. Plut. de Stoic. rep. 15, p. 1040 B). Elphitides was the name given to the spectre in-
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Early Greek Philosophy, 1892, p. 571; Rolfe, ii. 178 ff.

Socrates was in the habit of asserting that he was frequently impeded by a Divine sign from taking a particular course of action. This customary sign was imparted through the medium of a warning voice, and was manifested on trifling as well as on important occasions (Plat. Apol. 31 D, 40 A). The deduction that Socrates intended to imply is that he was guided throughout his life by a familiar spirit, though at one time he held, has in recent years fallen into disfavour (see Zeller, Socrates (Eng. tr. 1865), p. 82 ff.; H. Jackson, in JHS v. (1875) 222 ff.). But, whatever may have been the real intention of the sign, it can hardly be denied that, in a society where the belief in the existence of demons was widely prevalent, many of his hearers the Divine sign must have supposed it was sent by an agency.

Plato, in this sphere as elsewhere, has gathered up the threads of previous speculations and woven them into new combinations by the play of his philosophic fancy. In accordance with popular tradition, he seems to have regarded the demons and the deities of the ancient religion of Greece as the same and that the demons are the bastard sons of gods by nymphs or sires of some other sort (Apol. 27 D). The demons are of an airy substance, inferior to the heavenly ether, and serve as interlocutors between gods and men (Epinom. 984 E). Love is a great demon: like all spirits, he is intermediate between the Divine and men. He conveys to the gods the prayers and sacrifices of men, and to men the commands and replies of the gods (Symp. 202 E). This recalls the Pythagorean doctrine as previously quoted, and Proclus says it is also Orphic: modern critics have generally held that it is a mode of reconciliation between the old theology and the new conception of an inaccessible god (Gruppe, 1054). Plato accepts the popular view of demons as identical with the souls of the dead: when a good man dies, he is honoured by being enrolled as a demon, which is only another form of the same, 'the wise one' (Cratyl. 398 B). Every man has a distinct demon which attends him during life and after death (Phaedo, 167 D, Rep. 617 D). Each demon has his own allotted sphere of operation, and watches over his appointed charge like a shepherd over his flock (Poli. 271 D, 272 E). The recapitulated passages are drawn from the narratives of the myths with which Plato diversified his more formal arguments, and only the true mind is to be sought rather in a passage of the Timaeus (90 A) in which, with a reminiscence of Heraclitus, he declares that God has given to each man, as a guiding genius, the personification of his soul within us, the rational faculty which dwells in the summit of our body and lifts us towards our celestial kindred.

Aristotle is reported to have assented to the belief that all men have demons which accompany them during the whole period of their material existence (frag. 193 (Rose)); but it is impossible to say whether he attached to it any philosophical importance. Xenocrates agreed with the statement in the Timaeus, that the soul is the guardian spirit (Arist. Top. ii. 6. 1122, 37); and he also maintained the existence of a number of good and bad demons (Zeller, Plato, et al. (Eng. tr. 1876), p. 593). But, the school which did most to establish a belief in demons as a part of the material equipment of its students was unquestionably the Stoic. The Stoics sought with unwearyed industry to bring every conception of popular religion into connexion with their own theology and their doctrine of pantheism enabled them without difficulty to find a place for the demons within their system. They were firmly convinced of the existence of demons, which, having like passions with men, and responding to their desires and fears,
DEMONS and SPIRITS (Hebrew)

LITERATURE.—The main facts are summarized in the articles, e.g. 'Dulamon,' by von Sybel, in Roscher, i. 355, and by Waser, in Pauly-Wissowa, v. 270, where references are made to less accessible of the special treatises. See also R. Heinze, ' Xenocrates,' Leipzig, 1877, pp. 207-216; Tamburini, de Antiquorum Demonomicon, Ossea, 1899. Much useful information will be found in O. Gruppe, Gr. Mythol. und Religionsthiere, Munich, 1897; J. E. Harrison, Homeric Gods, and O. Gr. Religion, Cambridge, 1899; A. Dieterich, Nekyia, Leipzig, 1899, esp. pp. 46-62; H. Usser, Gotzschatzen, Bonn, 1896, esp. p. 392 ff; E. Rolinde, Psyche, Tubingen, 1905.

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DEMONS and SPIRITS (Hebrew).—It will be most convenient to divide the material into three periods: pre-exilic, exilic and post-exilic, and Apocryphal.

I. THE PRE-EXILIC PERIOD.—1. In the early Heb. poems there is but one allusion to an angel, and none to spirits or demons. The 'holy ones' in Dt 33, later supposed to be angels (cf. Acts 7, v. 59; Gal 3, v. 29), were probably not a part of the original text (cf. Driver, Dendrocriny, Edinburgh, 1895, p. 392 ff). In Jg 5 v. 20 we read: 'Curse ye Meroz, saith the angel of Jahweh.' Probably the angel was a manifestation of Jahweh, as in the J document.

2. Our next earliest evidence is in the J document. In Gn 33, v. 15, cherubim are said to have been the guardians of Eden's entrance. There is reason to believe that these cherubim were the same beings which we have enumerated, and partly by the contact with Oriental civilizations, which had become continually more intimate since the beginning of the Hellenistic period (Robude, ii. 384; Gruppe, i. 1460). Since the demons were regarded as an unceasingly active in the service of the gods, they were assigned a definite place in the celestial hierarchy of the Neo-Platonists, as subordinate to angels and archangels. Prophecy, Eph. ii. 20, the demons are first associated with αγγελος by Philo, according to Dieterich, Nekyia, 61). Hence, as part of the machinery by which the apologists of paganism sought to shore up their tottering edifice against the assaults of the Christians, they appear with considerable frequency in the controversial writings of the early Fathers of the Church.

It is not within the scope of this article to examine the various methods employed by Greek mythology, and particularly those of the Milesian school, in the composition of the ritual drama, which might be at hand on important or ceremonial occasions; similarly, the use of iron was effective against demonic influence (Kies, in Pauly-Whip). Whether this is not so however, the desire to be on good terms with evil demons is held to be the leading motive in such various rites as sword-dances, the ploughing with magic animals, the shaving of the face with chalk or meal, or the dressing of a boy in girl's clothes (cf. Orph. viii. (1895) 243), it must be remembered that such hypotheses are far removed from certainty. The debatable evidence will be found collected in Gruppe, 894 ff.

3. Vom deuten in connexion with the Orphic cults, see ORPHISM.
Jehovah Himself, who has come upon some special mission. Perhaps it was regarded as a kind of partial manifestation of Jehovah, but at all events there was no clear line of distinction between Jehovah and His angel. These manifestations of Jehovah also regard as beautiful things, so that, when it was desired especially to praise a man, one said to him: 'Thou art good in my sight as an angel of God' (cf. I S 9:29, 2 S 14:17-20 19:7). At the same time, the term melak of the Talmud, to designate a kind of apparition (see I S 14:16-19, 14-16, 18, and cf. I K 29:2, Jer 27:3). In the J document other beings of the Divine order besides Jehovah are represented as real. These are called 'sons of God' (נָחַלְתָה) in Gn 6:4 and E. In both of them to have taken human wives and to have begotten the heroes who lived in olden days. These beings are not called angels, and do not appear again in pre-exilic literature.

3. In the E document the same conditions of things prevail, though here angels appear at times in numbers. In Gn 21:1 an angel called Abraham out of heaven to prevent the sacrifice of Isaac. The present text calls him the 'angel of Jehovah.' It is thought that in the original form of the text he was called the 'angel of God,' as in Gn 21:17 Jehovah moved forth the angel of God. The question of the 'angel of God' is also of considerable interest. It may be that he was an attendant of the Deity, and so closely associated with God that he said: 'This is none other than the house of God.' In Gn 31:11 the servant of Laban was also called his 'angel,' but we are told that he said: 'I am the God of Bethel.' The angel was, therefore, not represented as a personal messenger of God, but as an attendant of Jehovah, as Jacob met Jehovah and he said: This is God's host.' Here apparently the angels were a manifestation of God and of His attendant company of spirits. In Ex 13:14 the 'angel of God' who had gone before the camp of Israel removed and went behind. This angel performed the same function as the pillar of cloud in the J document (cf. Nu 14:10). That the 'angel of God' of Gn 31:11 practically identical with God is shown in Ex 23:20, where God declared that His 'name' was in the angel that should go before Israel.

There is, then, no radical difference of conception between the J and E. In both of them the angel of the Deity is usually a manifestation of the Deity Himself, though in one instance (Gn 22:14) the angels are apparently the spirits who accompany God. In Jg 2:2 (a passage which G. F. Moore [JBD, New York, 1895] attributes to E), God is said to have sent an evil spirit against Abimelech and the men of Shechem; and similarly in I S 16:16-19 19:18 (a passage which Budde attributes to J) an evil spirit from God is said to have come upon Saul. The 'spirits' of the Hebrews were, therefore, like the 'angels' of the Egyptians, who were placed in the tomb of Israel's dead (Isa 44:22). In Jg 13:3, where Jehovah is thought of as surrounded by a host of spirits. These spirits were as yet undifferentiated; they had no moral character; they were neither angels nor demons, but took on their character from the nature of the tasks which they were given to perform. Jehovah Himself was responsible for whatever was done; He rewarded Ahab to his death; it was at His bidding that one of the spirits became a lying spirit in the mouth of Ahab's prophets to accomplish this end. The spirits of Jahweh's court were not the only spirits in which the Hebrews of the period believed. In 2 K 20:13 and 6 reference is made to a kind of horsemen who addressed the king, who were regarded as spirit defenders of Israel, for one passage relates that, when the chariot of fire took Elijah away, Elisha exclaimed: 'The chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof!' and the other represents them as the defenders of Elisha from a foreign army.

5. There are few other references to angels or spirits before the Exile. An early Epiphramite narrative (I K 19:19) tells us that an angel touched Elijah and awakened him. Later apocryphal narrative tells us twice that an angel of Jahweh spoke to Elijah (2 K 1:15, 18), while another, also late (I K 18:9), tells that an angel spoke to another prophet. In 2 K 19:11-15 13-17 we are told that an angel of Jehovah smote the Assyrians. Pre-exilic prophets make almost no reference to angels, although Hosea (12) declares that Jacob 'had power over the angel.' This is a reference to the 'man' of Gn 32:28, and is the only occurrence of 'angel' in a pre-exilic prophecy. The literary form of angels. One Deut. editor refers to the 'angel of Jehovah' (Ex 33), but he was influenced by E.

6. One other class of supernatural beings of the time before the Exile are the spirits, viz. the seraphim. Our knowledge of them is gained from one passage only, Is 6:1-7: In his vision, Isaiah saw Jehovah, above whom the seraphim were standing. Each one had six wings, and they constantly uttered the tripling. At the sound of their voices 'the foundations of the threshold were moved.' Finally, it was one of these who took from the altar a live coal and touched the prophet's lips. It is clear that, like the cherubim, the seraphim were not angels (i.e., messengers), but were attendants of Jehovah. Like the cherubim, they are composite figures, and later Jewish thought placed them with the cherubim in Paradise (cf. En. 61:17, Targ. En. 29:21). Various explanations have been given of the form of the seraphim which have been offered. (1) An old explanation, now generally abandoned, derived seraph from the Arab. sarrīfī, 'to em- blish, to beautify.' This derivation is probably preferable. (2) Delitzsch and Hommel have connected it with the Assyrian seriš, 'serpent,' the 'serpents' of the angels of Jehovah, the name of Nergal, a sun-deity; but, although an old syllable says that this was the epithet of Nergal in the 'Westcoast,' so such deity has appeared in any real Canaanite source, and is consequently improbable. (3) Cheyne (EBI, art. 'Demons') has, under the influence of the previous suggestion, attempted to connect the name of the god Beləf, whose name occurs in a Phoen. inscription (CTIN 258). This he equates with sārāph, supposing that a word for 'serpents' was in use in Hebrew from a very early period, and that this word was connected with the seraphim with the Egyptian crepis found, for example, in a 13th dynasty tomb at Abydos. These crepis were winged, were guardians of the grave, and in denotive were called še'el (cf. R. Friedmann, Gesch. der Phöniz. Berlin, 1889, p. 177 f.). (4) Probably the true explanation connects the seraphim with the fiery (šerāpāh) serpents of Nu 21:9, and supposes that the seraphim were primarily serpents. This view is supported by the fact that Heh. tradition gave the serpent a prominent role in Paradise (cf. Gn 3), that they worshipped a serpent-god down to the time of Henoch (H 15:4), that this serpent was at Jerusalem a well called the 'Dragon's fountain' (Neh 2:12), probably the modern Efrîn, that a brazen serpent was found at Gehenna, the pre-exilic Hebrew hesed. T. Macalister, Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer, London, 1896, p. 70), and that on the vase of Neubronner there is a serpent associated with the cherubim in Paradise, as in the Enoch passages cited above serpents are associated with the cherubim. (5) In course of time the scars of Paradise became more prominent as the attendants or guards of Jehovah, and were given wings, etc. to make them more powerful.

In pre-exilic Hebrew thought, then, Jehovah had three classes of attendants—cherubim, spirits, and seraphim. The cherubim and seraphim were guards of Paradise and attendants of Jehovah. The spirits were His couriers, and might be sent on missions by Him. They played, however, a very small part. Jehovah Himself was thought to appear in special manifestations to accomplish His purposes. Such manifestations were called the 'angel of Jehovah.' They have been connected with the , and the smited Leviathan as a great dragon or demon. In Dt 32:9 Hebrews are said to have sacrificed to šēdēn, not to Eloah (God). Shēdēm was understood by the translators of the Septuagint as
demons, but, as it is made parallel with 'foreign gods' (cf. v.9), and is the equivalent of the Assyr. šedu, or bull-deity, it is probable that it is used here as the name of a foreign deity. The fact that the root ṣēdī became in later Judaism the general term for 'demon' (cf. Jastrow, Dict. of the Targ., Talmud, and Mid., New York, 1903, p. 1539ff) does not prove this inference wrong. If this view is correct, Hebrews no difficulties whether we date Dt 32, with Ewald and Dillmann, in the reign of Jeroboam II; with Kuenen and Driver, about 630 b.c; or, with Steuerangel, in the Exile.

There are no clear references in pre-exilic literature to other demons, but it is probable that the Hebrews of the period believed that demons inhabited waste places, and that they endeavoured to propitiate them. The sacrifice to the wilderness demon Azzaz (q.v.) (Lv 16) is clearly a survival from pre-exilic days, and it is probable that Lilith (Is 31:4) was an old wilderness demon.

11. EXILIC AND POST-EXILIC CANONICAL MATERIAL. In Ex 27, Ezekiel's temple does not occur, though in 9th. aft. and in 40th. a supernatural man appears who performs the functions of an angel. In the former passage he directs the marking of isolaters for destruction; in the latter he bears Jehovah's command which is the new sanctuary. The elder belief in spirits survives to some extent in Ezekiel. In 22:3-7 4th. a spirit' is said to have come upon Ezekiel and filled him with ecstatic inspiration. This spirit was one of the members of the angelic court, who is given such a vivid description (cf. Toy, SBO, New York, 1899). This usage of 'spirit' is found only in the earlier chapters of Ezekiel, and in 8th. is made synonymous with 'the hand of Jehovah. In 11:25, the prophet for the first time, in the division of angels, describes more nearly the spirit of Jehovah, and does not seem to denote a separate entity of a lower order. It inspires the prophet to refexion rather than ecstasy. In other parts of Ezekiel 'spirits' do not occur.

2. In Deutero-Isaiah angels are not mentioned, and in Trito-Isaiah only one reference to an angel or spirit is found, viz. the 'angel of [Jehovah's] presence' (cf. v.1). The term occurs in a poetical reference to the angel mentioned in Ex 23:20, of whom it was said, 'My name is in him.' The term 'presence' or 'face' seems to be borrowed from Ex 33:20, where Jehovah says to Moses, 'I will be with thee... and I will set my face against them.' The reference in Isaiah really betokens a post-exilic literary survival of a pre-exilic idea.

3. In Zechariah the 'angel' in the function of messenger appears as a fixed idea. The angel talked with the prophet, and in this way Zechariah received all his prophetic messages (cf. Zec 1:12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 25. 36. 4-5). The angel is here clearly an intermediary between God and man. Zechariah never is said to have seen God. In Zechariah, too, we meet for the first time, in the division of angels into ranks. In 2:4 one angel is clearly the commander of another, and sends him on a mission. The 'angel of Jehovah' appears here also as a kind of guardian of Israel, since he protects the nation, the representative of the nation. In 11th. and 4th. the angel of Jehovah appears as a kind of Grand Vizier among the other angels. Possibly this early differentiation of angels into ranks was due to Persian influence, though this seems improbable, for, when this property was supposed only twenty years had elapsed since Cyrus's conquest of Babylonia and Palestine.

4. In the Book of Job we have different strata. The prologue is older than the poem, and may have been composed before the Exile. In it Jehovah is represented as surrounded by a court of supernatural beings. These are called brĕn ha-šâ'elôthim, or beings of the Divine order—the old name employed in Gn 6:4. These beings are pictured as free to walk through the earth wherever they will, but upon appointed days they gather to pay their court to Jehovah. Satan is still a member of this group, though he has become offended and has lost his faith in the existence of disinterested virtue. He is permitted to angels upon a mission of experiment—an action which proves most painful to his victim. The whole conception is quite akin to that of 1 K 22. In the poem, which is later than the prologue, little is said about angels, and that little is of interest. In 5 the possibility of angelic intercessors is referred to. The angelic beings are here called 'holy ones.' In 4:8 and 15 these 'holy ones' are said to be less than Jehovah's wisdom, and this little is of interest. In 5 the possibility of angelic intercessors is referred to. The angelic beings are here called 'holy ones.' In 4:8 and 15 these 'holy ones' are said to be less than Jehovah, but much holier than men. The 'angel' of 33:8 (RV) is better rendered, with the margin 'messenger,' since Kiliub is referring to himself and not to a heavenly messenger (cf. Barton, Com., on Job, N.Y., 1911). In 38 the 'sons of God' of the prologue are termed 'angels,' and are identified with the morning stars.

5. In the Psalter, angels are messengers of either good or evil. Ps 34:7 declares: 'The angel of Jehovah encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivers them.' Ps 91:11 mentions the angel that lets His angel chase and persecute the wicked. Similarly, Ps 78:48 declares that God cast upon the Egyptians 'the fierceness of his anger, wrath, indignation, and trouble, a band of evil angels.' Hps 1 K 22:22 gives an instance of the wrath and indignation of Jehovah. Ps 104 reverses in a way the process, declaring: 'He makes his angels winds.' The angels as guards are again referred to in Ps 91:11: 'He shall give his angels charge concerning thee, to keep thee in all thy ways.' They will hear thee up in their hands.' Ps 105:12 and 148 call upon angels as well as men to praise God. Ps 89:7 implies that God is surrounded in heaven by a council of angels. This is also implied in Ps 103:21 and 148, where the angels are spoken of as the 'ministers who do God's pleasure,' and as 'his host.' In Ps 8, where the present text, in speaking of man, reads: 'Thou hast made him little less than God (elōhim), the reference is probably to angels, and in the parallel text, there was, perhaps, 'sons of God' (brĕn ha-šâ'elôthim).

6. The Priestly document contains no reference to angels. It conceives of God as far away, as an 'Everlasting Father.' Also as so powerful that 'his will shall prevail with thee.' The reference in Isaiah really betokens a post-exilic literary survival of a pre-exilic idea.

7. The same is true of the Books of Chronicles, which are closely dependent upon P for their point of view. The Chronicler mentions angels in two passages only, 1 Ch 21 and 2 Ch 32:2. The former passage is dependent on 2 S 24, and has taken over the angel who inflicted the punishment for David's census (see vv. 8-11. 12. 13. 14. 15); the latter is dependent upon 2 K 19, and has taken over the story of the angel who destroyed Sennacherib's army.

8. Angels do not really appear in the Book of Ecclesiastes. The word 'angel' is found, it is true, in 5:2 (Heb. 5), but it is probably a reverent way of referring to God Himself (cf. Barton, Ecclesiastes, in ICC, 1909). The Chronicler had set the example for this practice, as written, 1 K 20:19, the will of Jehovah is, and has taken over the story of the angel who destroyed Sennacherib's army.

9. In the Book of Daniel the belief in angels re-appears, and they are thought to be exalted far above man (see 3:28 10:6). In 3:28 an angel comes in human form to deliver the three children from the fiery furnace (cf. v.28), and in 6:22 God's angel
is said to have stopped the mouths of the lions.

The conception of the division of angels into ranks, which was found in Zechariah, re-appears in an accentuated form in Daniel. Each nation apparently has a 'prince' or archangel detailed to look after its interests, so that there is a 'prince of the kingdom of Persia' (10:12), a 'prince of Greece' (10:20), a 'prince of Israel' (11:1). The last-mentioned is Michael, who was 'one of the chief princes' (10:12). Possibly this conception is also found in Is 37:35, which dates from about 335-333 B.C. In Daniel, too, we come upon a new feature of the archangelic period: the angels, or at least the archangels, begin to have names. In addition to Michael, already mentioned, 'the man Gabriel' (Gabriel means 'hero of man') appeared to impart with Daniel (3:28; 2:18). The giving of definite proper names to angels—a feature very common in some of the apocryphal books—marks another step forward in the evolution of the conception.

10. Taking the post-exilic time as a whole, some interesting general facts with reference to angels may be gathered. They are called by a variety of names: 'sons of God' (Is 44:4, Jb 38:7, Ps 80:5); 'angels of the mighty' (Ps 3:1); 'reiim', i.e. 'watchers' (Dn 4:28); 'Holy ones' (Zoe 14, Ps 80:5); and 'princes' (Dn 10:30, 32). Although angels are once identified with stars (Job 38:7), there is no attempt in the canonical books, such as appears in some of the apocryphal angels, to define the nature of angels or to tell the substance of which they are composed. The term 'host of the height' applied to them in Is 24:20 is, no doubt, a modification of the pre-exilic phrase 'host of heaven,' which was applied to the stars. During the last years of the Jewish monarchy these had been worshipped (see Jer 8:2, Zeph 1, Dl 49); they were then considered as gods, and the prophets opposed their worship. As the close of the Exile drew near, Jahweh was declared to be supreme over them (Is 45:12; cf. 40:29), and in Neh 9 they are said to worship Jahweh. Apparently it was believed that this host was not subordinated to the position of subordinates and worshippers without a struggle (see Job 36:7). It is probably in 27 the dragon Leviathan, which, as shown below, is a name for the Bab. dragon Tiamat, suggests that the idea of a struggle was borrowed from the Babylonian Creation Epic.

It has been held by some that the division of angels into ranks and the belief in archangels point to the fact that the angels originated in the subjugation of other gods to Jahweh. The argument in favour of this view is strong. It would seem improbable that the development of archangels was due in the first place to Persian influence, for they appear already in Zechariah, when Persian influence was too new. The fact that in Daniel the different archangels are each the prince or guardian of a special nation is in favour of the origin suggested, for it assigns to them just the role that the national gods of the heathen world had performed.

The names of angels were various. They acted as Jahweh's court (Job 1:2) and as his council (Ps 89): they might be intercessors for men (Job 5), or guardians of the righteous (Ps 34), whom they bear up in their hands (Ps 90:14), Nu 20:21 (Ps). The archangelic role also pointed to their differences in the peculiar relationship of vocation to prophets (Zec 1:10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, Dn 8:10-12); they inflict punishment on the wicked (Ps 78); some of them guard the nations (Dn 10:24); and in general they do whatever Jahweh wishes them to have done.

Angels during this period were for the most part without names. There are only three exceptions to this: the 'angel of his presence' (Is 63), which, as pointed out above, is a poetic way of referring to a pre-exilic idea; and the individual angels Michael and Gabriel. These last appear in Daniel only, the latest book of the canon to contain any reference to angels. They are canonical examples of a tendency which is abundantly illustrated in the apocryphal books, to give names to angels and to attribute permanent characteristics to them. The name Michael, meaning 'Who is like God?', was a natural one to apply to an angel, though it had previously been borne by a number of men (see 2 Sam 20:12; 1 Ch 13:18; 2 Ch 21:1, and Ezr 8). Gabriel, as already noted, signifies 'man of God,' and was also a natural name to give an angel.

II. The Hebrew belief in demons belongs especially to the time of good—Satan—who has since held a large place in the world's thought. Some of these demons were believed to inhabit the deserts and to roam about at night (cf. Is 34:14). Like the fiqum of the Arabs, they were supposed to take on the form of wild animals. Wild animals and their pains had been taken to provoke some of these by sacrifices, and such unfriendly spirits now became demons in the commonly accepted view. Then, too, the old mythology had preserved the memory of ha-eltbim. It kept alive the memory of how some of these spirits had been commissioned in the olden time to bring men to destruction, and from this circle of ideas there was born a belief in an arch-enemy of good—Satan—who has since held a large place in the world's thought. Some of these demons were believed to inhabit the deserts and to roam about at night (cf. Is 34:14). Like the fiqum of the Arabs, they were supposed to take on the form of wild animals. Wild animals and their pains had been taken to provoke some of these by sacrifices, and such unfriendly spirits now became demons in the commonly accepted view. Then, too, the old mythology had preserved the memory of ha-eltbim. It kept alive the memory of how some of these spirits had been commissioned in the olden time to bring men to destruction, and from this circle of ideas there was born a belief in an arch-enemy of good—Satan—who has since held a large place in the world's thought.
Jahweh's permission, but his state of mind is thought to be a cause of regret to Jahweh. In consequence of Jahweh's concern for Satan and His desire to win him once more to a proper attitude, He permits him to make investigations in the heavenly court. But since Jahweh is by nature an adversary (cf. Gen. 3:1), in this narrative Jahweh is represented as ultimately responsible for the evil, but it is permitted for a good end—the scattering of the doubts which had invaded the angelic circle and embittered one of the controversial demons.

(b) In Zec 3 5 Satan appears to oppose the high priest Joshua before the 'angel of Jahweh.' The 'Adversary' (for such is the meaning of the name Satan) stands in the court of Jahweh as a public enemy, and the book of Hab. 2 20 shows how much the people of heaven thought of him, both in the universe of the God. Satan is here brought under a personal curse, and if He sees the glory of God, He may be destroyed by the word of God.

(c) The only other OT passage where Satan is mentioned is 1 Ch 21, where there is a further witness to the fact that Satan was now held to be responsible for the murder of Abel. The chapter gives an account of David's census of the people, and the punishment for it, and is dependent on 2 S 24; but, whereas it is said in Samnel that Jahweh said to David, 'Go, number Israel,' because He was angry with the people, it is said in Chronicles that Satan 'moved David to number Israel.'

Satan is clearly a development out of the group of spirits which in earlier days thought to form Jahweh's court, members of which were sent upon errand to mankind. Another demon who appears in one post-exilic canonical passage (Lv 16) is Azzazel (q.v.). The ritual of the Day of Atonement it is prescribed that a goat shall be chosen for Azzazel, that the sins of the people shall be confessed over him, and that then he shall be sent into the wilderness by a special messenger and turned loose (cf. Lv 16:10, 30). The goat is in reality a sacrifice to Azzazel. The ritual of this chapter is clearly a substitute for the sacrifice which was made in Azzazel was a wilderness demon, and probably the sacrifice was originally offered to him to propitiate him. It is, accordingly, a survival from a kind of worship of fear. The name 'Azzazel signifies 'entire removal.'

Another class of demons were so'irim, lit. 'airy ones' (RV 'satyrs'; marg. 'he-goats'), who, like Azzazel, were thought to inhabit wastes and ruins. Is 34:4, in a picture of the future desolation of Edom, says that 'satyr shall dwell there'; and Is 13:21, an exile passage, in portraying the desolation of Babylon, declares that 'satyrs shall dance there.' Just as the Arabs degraded the gods of the heathen to jinn and attributed to them some of the hairy characteristics of animals, so these satyrs appear to have been originally heathen deities (cf. W. E. Smith, Rel. Sem. 120 ff.). It is for this reason that Lv 17 prohibits, for the future, sacrifice to satyrs, implying in the statement that they were of sacrifice in the past. Similarly 2 Ch 11:15, in reproducing 1 K 12:26—the statement concerning Jeroboam's arrangements of priests for the high places—amplifies it by saying that he appointed 'priests for the satyrs and the ashchatim, the goat enchanter.'

The shédim which are mentioned in Dt 32:27 are once referred to in a post-exilic canonical writing, Ps 106:7, where shédim is a synonym for demons, the word really, as the parallelism shows, refers to the heathen deities of the Canaanites, whom some of the post-exilic writers made satyrs, as just noted. That it was the intention of the Psalmist to call them demons here is confirmed by the fact that both Talmud and Talmud shēdīn is the root used to designate demons in general (cf. Jastrow, Dict. p. 155s).

Is 34:14 mentions Lilith (RV 'night-monster') in connection with satyrs. It is probable that the name is connected with the Heb. root for night, and that Lilith was a night-monster or demon which was thought to lurk in desolate places.

The 'horse-leech' (adonig) of Pr 30:22 was perhaps a demon. While there was a large leech to which the name may be applied, it was also regarded by the Jews of later time as the name of a demon. This seems to be the case in the Targ. to Ps 12, which says: 'The wicked go round in circles like adonig, who suck the blood of men.'

In Ca 27:3 the Shammumei adjures the daughters of Jerusalem 'by the roes and hinds of the field.' These are here probably not simple animals, but faun-like spirits by whom, as by other supernatural beings, adoration could be paid.

In four passages (all exilic or post-exilic) a great demon or dragon called Rahab appears. She was surrounded by a host of helpers, but after a severe struggle she and her helpers were overcome by Jahweh. Then he who heeded Rahab in pieces, who pierced through the dragon?; Job 38:1 'The helpers of Rahab do stoop under him; how much less shall I answer him?'; Job 20:7, 9 He quelled the men with his understanding he smitteth through Rahab; by his breath the heavens are bright, etc.; Ps 89:40 'Thou hast broken Rahab in pieces as one that is slain; thou hast scattered thine enemies with the arm of thy strength.' It is long been accepted that the book of Job was applied, probably by the writer's art, 'Tiamat' in JAOS xv. (1890) that Rahab in those passages is simply another name for the Bab, primeval sea-monster Tiamat. She is, accordingly, here not a native Heb. demon. For the original picture of her and her helpers, see L. W. King, Seven Tablets of Creation, London, 1902, Tablets ii. and iv. Although Rahab is not native to Heb. soil, she plays a considerable part in post-exilic thought. Jahweh was naturally substituted for her, and was adopted among the Hebrews, and His worshippers magnified His power as they thought of the might of this terrible dragon of a demon.

In at least two passages this primitive Bab. monster was known among the Hebrews as Leviathan. In Job 38 Leviathan is evidently a mythical dragon capable of darkening the day, while in Ps 74:14 we read, 'Thou brakest the heads of Leviathan in pieces.' and vv. 10-17 go on to speak of the creation of the sun, the fixing of earth's bounds, and the making of summer and winter. In the psalm, therefore, we clearly have a reference to the Bab. Creation Epic, and it is probable that the passage from Job refers to the same monster. In Job 41 the crocodile is described under the name Leviathan, but in vv. 3-21 the description of the natural animal is mingled with elements drawn from a mythical fire-breathing dragon. It is probable, therefore, that Leviathan, like Rahab, was the Bab. Tiamat under another name.
demons which appear in the canonical literature were continued and heightened. There is, however, a great difference between them in this respect. Some of them, like Sirach and Maccabees, make almost no reference to angels. Sirach mentions only the angelic names, and in the Assyrian army (456), the writer of 1 Mac mentions angels only in referring to this event (78), while the author of 2 Mac refers to them only in saying that the Jews of the Maccabean time prayed that all calamities be sent to the Greeks, and one was sent to smite the Assyrians (cf. 11 15 16c). Similarly, the Wisdom of Solomon makes no reference to angels except that in describing the Exodus it declares that the word of God was an active angel of vengeance (cf. Wi 16 1). In some of the Enoch apocalypses, on the other hand, belief in angelic and demoniacal agency is carried to great length. This is especially true of the oldest Enoch apocalypse (Eth. En. 1 36), of the Parables (Eth. En. 37 71), and of the Sin of Enoch. Other works make a more moderate use of this belief, although it clearly underlies all their thinking. This is true of Tobit, the Testament of Buddha, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Greek additions to Daniel, 2 Esdras, and the Book of Jubilees. The beliefs continued and were in some respects intensified, but, in proportion as the writers came under the sway of Greek rationalism, they found it necessary to give the need for such supernatural agencies. The author of Jubilees, in re-telling the story of Genesis, employs angels only where they appear in that book.

In certain writers the old tendency to attribute a spirit to everything still manifests itself. The author of the Enoch Parables speaks of a spirit of the sea, of hoar-frost, of hail, of snow, of fog, of dew, and of rain (Eth. En. 69 92), while another spirit is said of stalks (38 4 39 2 and passion). The author of Jubilees speaks of the spirits of fire, wind, darkness, hail, snow, frost, thunder, cold and heat, winter and summer (Jub 2), but he calls them angels at the same time, and he also terms the ‘pitchers’ (an older name for angels) the ‘fathers of spirits’ (106). These two agree in making spirits of the phenomena of Nature. In a different vein from that, in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, we find an entirely different set of spirits. These spirits are in reality demons, and are under the direction of Beliar, the prince of demons (see art. BELIAL). Thus, we are told that there are seven spirits of darkness (Hez. 29). These seven are said to be the spirit of fermentation, of insatiability (resident in the belly), of fighting (resident in the liver and gall), of obsessionalness and chicanery, of pride, of lying and fraud, and of injustice with which are the acts and acts of rapacity (cf. Reuben 3 24, Simeon 6, Judah 29, Dan 5, Gad 4). Later, additions make the senses and sleep spirits of wickedness (Reuben 2 3). The function of these spirits was to lead men into various sins, and, after they the done so, to take vengeance on them (Levi 3). The evil spirit which a man had served was said to await his soul as it left his body at death in order to torment it (Asher 6). In most of the Apocryphal books the spirits have passed over, and rationalistic thought, that central idea of the 1 2.

Through literary influence there is a slight survival of the Cherubim and Seraphim of an earlier time. They, together with the Ophanim (serpent-beings developed out of the original Seraphim), are said to be holy angels (cf. Eth. En. 61 17 17, Slav. En. 20 21); but these beings play no important part in the thought of the period.

3. It is far otherwise with the angels, who are declared to be immemorial (Apoc. Bar. 59 1). This clearly represents the view of several of these writers. Thus the author of the Enoch Parables declares that the Most High is accompanied by 1000 x 1000 and 10000 x 10000 angels (Eth. En. 68 72). Angels were destroyed by the angel of fire (En. 68 72), which everything was performed. Thus, it is said that myriads of angels accompany the sun on his course (Slav. En. 11 24), and that 400 take the sun’s crown to God at sunset, and return to it at the end of the day (En. 68 72). How it has been, then, the number of all the angels!

These numerous angelic hosts were believed to be divided into ranks. Distinguished from the common mass, the archangels commanded and directed others. This division appears most clearly in the evil angels or demons, a long list of whose leaders is given in the earliest Enoch apocalypse and in the Enoch parables (cf. Eth. En. 6 9 and 69). This list will be further considered in discussing demons below. Thus, in the Book of Enoch it is said (cf. Eth. En. 9 40 and Slav. Or. ii. 215), though two passages (40 71) substitute Penuel (i.e. Penuel) for Uriel. Just as human hosts had human commanders, so the archangels were the commanders of the others. Thus in the Testament of Levi 28, the angel of the Presence is counted an archangel, to whom angels below make an announcement of what is transpiring. This development of the angelic hosts into ranks was to some extent reflected in the canonical Bible, and perhaps even the development may have been influenced by contact with Persian thought.

As to the nature of angels, the conception was not uniform. At first they were considered a kind of supernatural men or Gods, in all the books that speak of them, they are frequently called ‘men’ (see, e.g., Slav. En. 1 7). They are, like men, said to possess bodies and spirits (Eth. En. 67). They intermarried at one time with human women (Eth. En. 7, Slav. En. 18). Enoch’s archangel Michael (Slav. En. 22), showing that they were considered in many ways kindred to men. This view is a survival of the old conception reflected in Gn 6 22. Gradually another view developed, according to which the constitution of angels was quite different from that of men. They are, accordingly, said to have a nature like that of fire (Slav. En. 29 2), and to have been made at the beginning of flame and fire (Apoc. Bar. 21 9); their splendour is said to be equal to that of the stars (31). This view was, in some cases where tradition perpetuated the crasser view, blended with the other. Thus Enoch was thought to have been put through a process of purification and glorification before he became an angel (Slav. En. 22); and later, when he was permitted to return to the earth for thirty days, an angel chilled his face, apparently to dim the lustre of its angelic glory, before he descended to mingle with men (cf. Apoc. Bar. 2 36). Whether the nature of Nature were at times regarded as angels. Thus frost, hail, and fog are so designated in Eth. En. 60 9, and the author of Jubilees calls these and similar forces of Nature indifferently ‘spirits’ and ‘angels’ (Jub. 10 3 22). At the same time angels were thought to have definite limitations. They were not able to hinder the work of God (Eth. En. 41); they were ignorant of their own origin (Slav. En. 24); fallen angels could not see the glory of God
The conception of demons which appear in the Apocryphal literature are of four distinct types. Two of these regard the arch-demons as fallen angels, but in one type this angelic genesis of demons is much more slurred up than in the other. In the canonical literature discussed above, Satan was regarded as one of the number of the Divine beings who formed Jahweh's court (Job I. 2). The steps by which in the canonical literature he became the great opposer of good had already been sketched. In one type of Apocryphal thought he became the arch-demon, who tempted man and led him astray (see Wis 2:14 and Slav. En. 39). These writers simply took Satan over from the canonical literature, and his various titles as Divine or satanic entity was forgotten. The author of Wisdom moved in an atmosphere of philosophic thought in which neither angels nor demons played any considerable part. The author of Slavonic Enoch, though he speaks of great archangels and arch-demons, probably believed in them, but the interest of his narrative led him to place the emphasis elsewhere. These writers call Satan by the Tr. of his name, diabolos, or 'devil.' They identify him with the god of heaven, and account for the origin of sin by his agency in leading man astray. (c) The Book of Tobit represents a third type of thought. In it one demon appears,—Asmodeus, and he is clearly, as his name implies, of Persian
origin (but see Ginzberg, JF ii. 217-219). The author of this legend, as is well known, is a Persian
poet, and it is probable that he was living in the East, that its
fragmentary and poetical nature is forced on him more than that of the canonical, or even the
apocryphal, writings of his people.

(1895, 1896) referred to in his Miscellaneous Writings of the
Twelve Patriarchs and the Ascension of Isaiah. In these works the
demonology, while very real and all-pervasive, is made up in
a rational way, and such contact as it has with those human
thoughts is at quite a different point from that thought. As mentioned above, the world is
thought to be pervaded by evil spirits, but these are
simply the personification of the evil propen-
sities of man—jealousy, lust, pride, chicanery,
infernal capacity, etc., etc. Writers have to
emulate the influence of the devil to take the place of
Beliar presided. Beliar to them takes the place of the
devil in Wisdom and the Secrets of Enoch, of
Semyaza in the other Enoch books, and of Azma
Wisdom of man is the name of a great evil power.
Possibly Beliar was an old name for Sheol, though that is
uncertain. It is true that writers like to use the
name of the prince and leader of all evil and destructive spirits.

To most Jews of the period, as indeed to most
men of that time, the world was full of supernatural
agents. As there were angels to accomplish every
good act, so there were demons or evil spirits to perpetrate
every evil deed or to prompt every sinful
impulse. Some of the writers, however, manifest
no trace of this demonology; such are Ben Sira and the
author of the Books of Maccabees. The sub-
ject-matter of Sirach as well as the philosophical
point of view of its author excluded any reference
to them, while the author of I Mac had probably
come so far under the influence of incipient Saddu-
ceanism that demons had little or no place in his
thought. To most men, however, demons in one
form or another were very real, and played an
important part in life.

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GEORGE A. BARTON.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Indian).—1. Pre-
valeinve of the belief in spirit influence.
The people of India, particularly the four main tribes and
the lower castes, from the cradle to the grave
burning-ground, are oppressed with a feeling best
described as demonophobia—the belief that they are
haunted by evil spirits of all kinds, some
malignant beings, others beneficent, to whose
agency are attributed all kinds of sickness and mis-
fortune. Their worship is a worship of fear, the
higher gods, particularly in the opinion of the less
intelligent classes, being regarded as otiose and in-
dispensable to the evils which attack the human race,
while demons are habitually active and malignant.

Among the Tharí of the Himalayan Tharí, 'the bhataé, or
demons lurking in the forest trees, especially the weird cotton
tree (Bombax ceiba phyllid), and the prada, or spirits of the
trees, lead them a very miserable life. When the last ray
of light leaves the forest, and the darkness settles down upon their
villages, all the Tharí men, women, and children, get
inside their fast-closed huts, in mortal dread of those
malevolent beings, morose and cruel throughout the
night, and bears that now prevail for their prey. Only
the terrible cry of Fire' will bring these poor fear-stricken creatures
to open the doors to remove the heavy weight of these
defileful demons. They form at the entrance of deep woods, to save them from
the many diseases and accidents the godly and malignant spirits of the
trees have long been and cause them damage. One of the worst, The
Gospel in Gonds, 1889, pp. 214).

In S. India, where this belief is even more widely spread
than in the N., every village is believed by the people to be
surrounded by evil spirits, who are always on the watch
to infect disease and misfortune, of all kinds on the unhappy villager.

Thy lurk everywhere, on the tops of palm trees, in caves and rocks, in ravines and chasms.

They flit about in the air, like birds of prey, ready to pounce down on any
unprotected victim, and the Indian villagers pass through life
in constant dread of these invisible enemies. So they turn for
protection to the guardian deities of their village, whose
function it is to ward off these evil spirits and protect the
village from epidemics of cholera, small pox, puerperal fever,
catarrh disease, failure of crops, childlessness, fire, and all the
manifestillojus that beset them to injure their lands and
flocks. (W. H. Whitehead, Bull. Madr. Mus., v. 120 ff.). Traili, who took
over charge of Kurnool in 1850, reported that the population
had been divided into two classes, human beings,
and the nanoparticles, S. Oakley, Holy Himalaya, 1868, p. 217)

For other testimony to the reality of the small
effect of demons, see the article Sir W. S. Stewart, Rambles and Recollections, 1853, I. 285 ff.;
Bishop B. Caldwell, 'The TUndersly Shanara,' in B. Ziegenbalg,
'Gospel of the Nativity,' 1825, p. 60; Barn, 'A. E.' Siddons, The
Lambeth Guild, 1823, p. 432; Bishop B. Caldwell, 'The TUndersly Shamo,' in B. Ziegenbalg,
'B. E.' Siddons, The

2. Origin and character of the demon of
evil spirits. Among the belief in demons,
evil demons, is a form of belief in its origin
independent of Brāhmanism or the orthodox form of
Hinduism, though the latter has in many cases
annexed and absorbed it (see § 12).

The cultus is in true form one of the
ancient gods of the Vedas, who are deities
of pessimism, due partly to racial idiosyncrasy, partly
the rigour of their environment, has prevailed among
the races of India from the very earliest times (see H. O. O. Het., des
Veda, 1894, p. 217; Atharvaveda, SBE xiii, passim).

The so-called Asuras, Dánavas, Dayitias, and Rákṣasas belong to
this group, 'all personations of the hostile powers of Nature, or of mighty human foes, both
evil spirits and actually converted into superhuman beings.' This group as a whole seems to be de-

erived from pre-Anaimistic beliefs, the worship or
dread of 'powers' (náma, not náma), the vague
impressions of the terror of night, hill, evergreen
trees; they are clear in the belief in evil and
devout beings hostile to the orthodox gods (A. Macdowell,
Vedic Mythology, 1897, p. 156 ff). Max Müller
and J. Muir agree in denying that all these Vedic
gods are equivalent of evil spirits which were
are still.

The aborigines of India (Contributions to the Science of
Mythology, 1897, p. 212; Original Sanskrit Texts, 1880, pt. ii. 380 ff.). It is
to be derived that among

both Aryans and non-Aryans they were the result
of pre-Anaimistic beliefs of both races. At the same
time, it is probable that the Aryan
view of the demon world was coloured by their
association with the indigenous races,
The black complexion, ferocious aspect, barbarous habits, rude speech, and savage yells of the Dayans, and the snarls and howls of the Bengal bear, the terrors of the wood, the tempests and the tempest, and the obscurity of night, would make on the coarse savage an impression, and may perhaps make one speak of them, in the highly figurative language of an imaginative people in the first stage of civilization, as ghosts or demons; or as the inhuman spirits of the most sedentary races more than of the last; and of the latter it was the custom among the Dayans to say that they lived in the Danus, into the remotest corners of the country, or lead to their partial incorporation with the congers as the lowest grade of supernatural beings, and more particularly of the ghosts. The Pindōs, by a sort of moral or physical similarity, are represented as being in any and every way, by violence, accident, suicide, or sentence of law; or who have been robbed, notorious evildoers, or dream-wasted persons. The Aryan, or any well-known bad character is a source of terror to all his neighbourhood, or to the object of such as these, for so powerful and malignant as he was in life (J. M. Wallhouse, JAI v. 406 f). They are represented with small thick bodies, of a red colour, with long, wide, and pointed ears, and one eye instead of two, both the teeth of a lion in their mouths, and their bodies covered with ornaments (Calcutta Review, 1873, in Zendische Zeitschrift, 1881, they live in large caves, empty houses, or old wells; they often appear as a deer, a tall figure, a strange ox or goat; if a person sleeps under a tree or in a field it is believed that the abode of the Bhūts or jostles one on the road, he falls sick or some ill-becalms befals him (ff. ey., p. 292). In Gujarat the Bhūts and Prēteks, held the European Vampires, are believed to take possession of a corpse, and speak through it; they appear in the form which they possessed when living; or enter a living man, and cause him to speak as they please; afflict him with fever or other disease; appear as animals, and frighten people by vanishing in a Bane gore; remain invisible, and speak only in whispers; a Bhūta has been known to come to fellows with a man, or to carry him off and set him down in a strange place; cases have been reported in which women have been found with child by them; when a Bhūta appears in a tree, the tree is seen to bend, and in any forest that is impure; they cannot rest on the ground, and for this reason a peg, or brick, or banyo pole is placed at their shrines on which they may be expected to land. They are considered as a nasal tone, and hence 'goblin speech' (piśācako bhāsā) is the term applied to it. A Bhūta is a客厅 in modern English (PJE v. 258); those whom these come dead Brahms are wheat-covered, while others, like the ghost of a negro, are black; the dead estates of the latter are represented as they are helpless by day, and move abroad at night; but midday, when they cook, and evening are specially dangerous times, and women who are believed to have seen such are protected (E. Thornton, Bristol and Caste of Tribes of S. India, vi. 160, A. K. Iyer, 1901); Kilkis proposed to make a tree, a net, or o the demons is written on the bark informing them that it is intended to eject them (Iyer, p. 251; cf. Crooke, in B. P., 1900, p. 93, the trees are also known as demon-haunts (Tylor, Prim. Cult. 5, 1873, i. 221). The Thalavans believe that to throw a stone into a place, and to place a black stone, or one which brings them game, and is abused for his iniquity but if the horse proves unsuccessful (L. K. Iyer, The Cochinda Tribes and Cultes, i. 239, 47, 53). Trees are also described as demon-haunts (Crooke, in B. P., 1900, i. 223, 165, 1.i. 2, 403, 89). The Todas believe that, before they were created, their gods occupied the Nāgiri Mountains; they now reside in heights close to the Todas hamlets (Kieren, The Todas, 1906, p. 152 f). In the tales of the water spirits or of the dead found all over the country, which are malignant, and drag down unwary travellers. In the medieval tale of Nāgiri (Crooke, vol. i. 423; Fraser, G. B., 1900, i. 209, these Rākṣasas, Dānavas, or Dānavis still maintain their position in popular belief, and are invoked surviving through the study of the Epic literature and the older collections of folklore, like the Jatakas or the tales of Cowasdeva.

II. The second and much more important class of evil spirits is that of the ghosts (Skr. bhū, 'to become, he'). In contradistinction to the fiends or non-human spirits, these are the malignant spirits of men, which for various reasons cherish feelings of hostility to the human race, and, if not expelled or propounded, do evil mischiefs. Among the more primitive or domesticated beings the belief that disease and death are the result of real or imaginary processes of Nature is only imperfectly realized; and these and other calamities are regarded as the work of evil spirits, sometimes acting on their own initiative, sometimes incited by a sorcerer or witch.

III. Their characteristics.—In S. India three terms are used to designate these spirits—Bhūta, Prēta, Piśāca, the first name being ordinarily applied to all three classes.

(a) Spirits of the murdered, the unsatisfied, and the foreigner.—Of these classes of Bhūta the most dangerous and the spirits of the multitudes invisible, and speak only in whispers; a Bhūta has been known to come to fellows with a man, or to carry him off and set him down in a strange place; cases have been reported in which women have been found with child by them; when a Bhūta appears in a tree, the tree is seen to bend, and in any forest that is impure; they cannot rest on the ground, and for this reason a peg, or brick, or banyo pole is placed at their shrines on which they may be expected to land. They are considered as they are helpless by day, and move abroad at night; but midday, when they cook, and evening are specially dangerous times, and women who are believed to have seen such are protected (E. Thornton, Bristol and Caste of Tribes of S. India, vi. 160, A. K. Iyer, 1901); Kilkis proposed to make a tree, a net, or o the demons is written on the bark informing them that it is intended to eject them (Iyer, p. 251; cf. Crooke, in B. P., 1900, p. 93, the trees are also described as demon-haunts (Tylor, Prim. Cult. 5, 1873, i. 221). The Thalavans believe that to throw a stone into a place, and to place a black stone, or one which brings them game, and is abused for his iniquity but if the horse proves unsuccessful (L. K. Iyer, The Cochinda Tribes and Cultes, i. 239, 47, 53). Trees are also described as demon-haunts (Crooke, in B. P., 1900, i. 223, 165, 1.i. 2, 403, 89). The Todas believe that, before they were created, their gods occupied the Nāgiri Mountains; they now reside in heights close to the Todas hamlets (Kieren, The Todas, 1906, p. 152 f). In the tales of the water spirits or of the dead found all over the country, which are malignant, and drag down unwary travellers. In the medieval tale of Nāgiri (Crooke, vol. i. 423; Fraser, G. B., 1900, i. 209, these Rākṣasas, Dānavas, or Dānavis still maintain their position in popular belief, and are invoked surviving through the study of the Epic literature and the older collections of folklore, like the Jatakas or the tales of Cowasdeva.

(b) Spirits of the murdered. All over the world the ghost of a murdered person is believed to cherish an angry passion for revenge (Westermarck, i. 418 f.). Some of the most dangerous Bhūta are of this class.

In Croog the demon most widely feared is that of a magician who was shot. In other parts, mother Bhūta comes as a Sākha to be buried as a sacrifice under the walls of the Kolhapur fort (cf. Crooke, ii. 137 f). comes food supplies to dwindles, the milk to give no butter, and the cattle to sicken; the Brahmins distinguish three classes of such demons, who are known as the Bhūta, the Brahmins who have lost their way, including those who have been murdered, boggled, or killed by a tiger (G. Richter, Manual of Croog, 1870, p. 165; Mem. As. Soc. Bengal, 1900, i. 140 f.). Several of the most widely revered local deities of S. India are the spirits of persons, particularly Brahmins, who have lost their lives in some tragic way, and the ghosts of dead Brahmins, or of those who were slain by tigers or other wild animals (E. A. Guitt, Centre Govt, 1901, i. 160 f.). Crooke, i. 418 f., 273 f.

Hence comes the conception of a special Brahmā demon, known as Bhūma-ra-kāsa, Bhāma-dautiya, Bhāma-purāsa, or popularly as Bhāma, the spirit of a murdered Brahmā. The Brahmā being himself a spirit-laden, his ghost is invested with special power and evil. In Bengal

1 Formerly cited as MABS
(b) Those who have left this world with unsatisfied desires.—The spirits of the unhappy and unsatisfied fall into three classes:

(a) Unhappy widows and widowers, childless women.—Among these the most dreadful is the Chand, Chariali, Chaudal, Chandul, or the Alvantin, as she is called in the Deccan,—the spirit of a pregnant woman, one dying in childbirth, or within the period of pernatal torture.

In the Panjab she appears as a pretty woman, with her feet together and her head resting on her own family (Fung ii. 101). Among the Orions, when the excess forces her to appear in the flame of his lamp, she looks like the Dakini, the common type of ogress; but her feet are distasteful, she is hunch-backed, and has a large hole in her belly like the hollow in a tree (M. S. B. v. 160). In Madras a widower who is overthrown to death in a reported suicide or accident, becomes a she-devil, known by the unprominent epithet of the Dakini. Each night she appears, and she continues until her normal term of life is over (N. M. 7. 114). In the Deccan the Jakhin (Skr. pakshi, pt. to fly) "moves it" (to the forehead) from the deceased's house, to the ladies' baths, and dressing-rooms, takes her husband's second wife and child, and carries them off to her stepmother, one of the British fairies, steals babies and returns them after a time (BG xiv. 46). The spirit of a deceased husband or wife, purifying the scene of their former joys. This is, in part, an explanation of the objection felt among the higher castes to wide-marriage of the caste of money-lenders, among the rite at night in order to avoid the observation of the sacred spirit, and of the use of onion ceremonies which repel evil spirits. In English literature R. Rose, Crooke, and others refer to their being a spirit known as the "Esmeralda" (BG xiv. 464). Among the Rolis of Ahmednagar a widow bride is held to be unlucky for three days after her marriage; and must take care that no married woman sits on her lap; otherwise after such a marriage the widow bride or her husband should fall sick, the medium, when consulted, usually reports that it is caused by the spirit of her first husband, who is annoyed because his wife has married again; the bride must give to a feast, spend money in charity, and wear in the copper corner over her neck a tiny image of her late husband, or set it among his household gods (BG xiv. 299). Such widows are known in the Panjab as the "crown of the rival wife" (nivasan mésum), and to them all gifts made to her are presented as a measure of precaution. R. Rose, Crooke, and others refer to their being a spirit known as the "Esmeralda" (BG xiv. 464). When a widow of the Le tribe in Bengal manifests herself in the form of a ghost, the deceased woman's husband places the iron bangle of his first wife on the arm of her successor (E. A. G. i. 421). In the Deccan the Asa is the spirit of a woman who has been abandoned by both her husband and woman; she appears before her husband, one or more children; she attacks young women, and must be propitiated by offering cooked rice, turmeric, red powder, and a body (BG xiv. 133). The Hadal or the Haflal, the spectre of a woman dying in pregnancy or childbirth, is plump in front and a skeleton behind, lives in wells, trees, or dark corners of the house, attacks women, and, sometimes appearing as a beautiful woman, lives with men until her fated nature or spectral form is discovered (BG xiv. 554). The corpses of women dying under such circumstances are often burnt in order to prevent sorcerers from digging them up. But not using the unborn fetus or the bones of the mother for purposes of Black Magic (BG xiv. 311; A. K. J. v. 171).

(c) Spirits of foreigners.—The same feelings of awe or four natures are felt for the spirits of foreigners, whose value, cruelty, or other qualities have impressed the minds of a subject people.

At Saharanpur a Muslim named Allah Baksh, who died in the Panjab, in a state of impurity, was worshipped by the lower castes of Hindus (N. M. 183). Such a spirit is known by the euphorbical title of Mamtub (famous, known). Among the Moslem a Muslim, his hair on end, and carries branches in his hand; even the Friar, pi不公平, sometimes becomes hostile to people who unhappily sit upon his tomb, spits at it, or in other ways annoys him (BG xiv. 160; BG xv. 814; BG xiv. 554). People resort to the shrine of a Muhammadan saint Alam Pir, at Muzaffargarh in the Panjab, to procure release from such spirits. In fact, the Indian Mohammedans have appropriated much of the mythology of their Hindu neighbours, and whereas the Hindu myths and introductions of control evil spirits have become widespread among the Mohammedan population. Sometimes the widow wears a gold wire bracelet on her right wrist, and every year, in the same way as the deceased husband, feeds a bride (BG xiv. 311). The spectre of a woman dying in pregnancy or childbirth, is plump in front and a skeleton behind, lives in wells, trees, or dark corners of the house, attacks women, and, sometimes appearing as a beautiful woman, lives with men until her fated nature or spectral form is discovered (BG xiv. 554). The corpses of women dying under such circumstances are often burnt in order to prevent sorcerers from digging them up. But not using the unborn fetus or the bones of the mother for purposes of Black Magic (BG xiv. 311; A. K. J. v. 171).

The spirits of the unmarried dead form a large group. In the Indus such spirits are called Virka (Skr. civa, hero, spirit), "eminents," and to their memory have small temples and images erected, where offerings of cloth, rice, and the like are made to them to appease their hostility or to pacify them, or to break the spell of their anger and threaten those who are forgotten of their duty" (Support, A Journey through Mytton, Ombers, and Madiker, i. 461; Crooke, Crooke, i. 386). The spirits of the spirits of bad men, which affect the living. In Kanara, if neglected, such spirits are called "unpropitiated," and disturb people by dreams and nightmares (BG xv. pt. 1. 300). In the Deccan the Jhoud is the spirit of a youth dying in childbirth, or left unmarried and living in his own house, he attacks any member of the family who occasionally looks into his room; the at least one spirit to which in life he would have objected (BG xv. ii. 1034).
into the protecting family deity, like Gnoo Gosdin, the Male god who dwells in the house-pilar, or Dharma Ponna, the Kandih god of the family or tribe (Risley, ii. 58, i. 403).

In any case, after a time, usually represented by the flight of the human image, the spirit automatically passes to its rest, and ceases to be a source of danger to the survivors.

In the Deccan the life and influence of a Bhuta last for four, and often six months, after the performance of the ceremony of cremation, and is represented (BG xviii. 1. 555); the Ipon of Upper Burman worship only their fathers and mothers (Gazetteer Upper Burma, i. pt. l. 668, 670). 

When the inability to perform the funeral rites and the consequent restlessness or maliciousness of the spirit are due to the absence of the corpse, as in the case of death occurring in a strange land or the failure to return the body, the relatives perform the funeral in effigy.

Among the Gares, when a man dies away from his village and cannot be cremated, his relatives buy a number of cow-hides and put them in a pot to represent the bones of the dead man, or erect a mortuary hut in which they are deposed (A. Playfair, The Gares, 1907, p. 237). In some cases among orthodox Hindus, the corpse is represented by branches of the sacred Butta frondans—trees, the head by a coconut; pools, or water for the dead, represent the corpse, and the official priest, by the use of magical formulae (mantra), infuses life into the image, the animating principle being represented by a lamp placed near it. If the lamp goes out for a moment, the usual funeral rites are performed (V.I.I.N. viii. 201; cf. BG xviii. l. 604). When the death of a relative occurs, the corpse is consigned to the ground, so that the spirit, being specially a spirit of warlike people, is performed to appease the warlike spirit. 

Even in the case of those dying in a natural way, preparations are taken to prevent the spirit from returning to its original home from the burial- or cremation-ground.

Among the Madras tribes, when a Bauravi is being buried, the family and relatives of the deceased girl have left the house "Do not trouble the people"; the spirit of a dead Savara is solemnly adjured not to worry his widow: "Do not send sickness on her children. Her second husband has done no harm to you. She chose him for her husband, and he consorted; "O man, be appeased," O unseen consort of her death!" (Thurston, i. 179, vi. 321). When the corpse of a Tamittha is carried outside the house, the chief mourner pours water on it, saying: "As a stream divides countries, so may the water now pour divided us!" (Gazetteer Upper Burma, i. pt. l. 557).

The plan is to endeavour to deceive the spirit, so that it may not find its way back, by taking it out of the house feet foremost, or through a door not usually opened for ingress and egress.

The Meinels never carry the corpse over the threshold of the male members of the family or the tiny little entrance is used (Hodson, 117). Among the Magha of Bengal, when the house is burnt down, the corpse is carried out on a cloth. They then return out the house ladder, and creep in through a hole cut in the back wall, in order to baffle the ghost (Risley, i. 34). A similar device is that of making the corpse-bearers change places on the road to the grave, and turn the corpse in the opposite direction (BG xvii. pf. l. 684, ix. pf. l. 48. With the same intention, the mourners are forbidden to look back when leaving the cemetery (Crooke, ii. 56, l). The evil influence being communicated through the sight (C. Crawley, The Mystic Fire, 1905, p. 115; FL xviii. 1905, p. 3). Some time after the expiration of a month the corpse is tied together to prevent the ghost from 'walking', or it is tied up in a cotton bag, as among the Bodoys (Playfair, 106; Thurston, iii. 184, iv. 375, vi. 391; Gazetteer Upper Burma, i. pt. l. 658; MAEB, 1905, l. 109).

Among the Koyes of Madras, when a girl dies of smallpox, a sub-fab is erected to catch the spirit, and prevents its returning to the house. There are some people, when returning from the funeral, flock poults towards the grave, as if mocking the spirit, or make barricade of thorny bushes between the grave and the house (Crooke, ii. 67; Risley, ii. 70).

With the same intention, the names of deceased relatives are taken by the living, the father: "Who are they?" Any person is at liberty to name any person or, when parents die, men assume the names of their deceased grand-father; women, of their deceased great grandfather, and widowers, of their late wife; widows, of their late husband. One reason given for the wide-spread custom of shaving after a death is that it changes the names of the deceased relatives so as to deceive the pursuer and removes the shelter in which it may hide and cling to the mourner (Fraser, JAI x 1890, p. 50). To prevent the spirit rising from the grave and causing trouble in it is a common practice, particularly among mesta castes, to bury the corpse face downwards, and to pile stones and thorns on the grave (Thurston, iv. 322, 453; Gait, i. 419; Crooke, ii. 69; p. xxi. 196; cf. S. Marley, Eastern Bengal, 1892, p. 25).

Precautions in the case of more dangerous spirits—

Precautions of this kind are more urgent in the case of spirits specially malignant.

In the case of a Calcutta Church, someone was nearly killed by a corpse of a woman dying pregnant is open and the child removed; or the spirit is scared by fire, earth, and water; or iron nails are driven into her fingers, and the limbs fastened together (Crooke, i. 273 ff.). The Orangs carry the corpse of such a woman to a distance, break it up, and scattered pieces of it, round, bringing the heels in front, into which they drive long thorns; they bury her deep in the earth face downwards, and place with her corns and bones of men (BG, i. 163). If you come home, may you turn into an ass!; the roots of a palm-tree are also buried with her, with the curse: May you come home with the leaves of the palm-tree; for they leave the burial-ground, they spread mustard seeds along so, saying: If this is the road, pick up all these! (MAEB, 1906, i. 149). This last charm is very common, and is one of the usual impossible tasks found in the folk-tales (Crooke, i. 223; BG xix. 104, xiv. 417; STEEL, Temple, Wanderings, 1894, p. 439). These precautions, under Brahmin guidance, have been elaborated into a special funeral ritual for women dying during the menstrual period, after the sixth month of pregnancy, and within ten days after childbirth (BG xviii. p. 417).

The misery of the unmarried dead is relieved by the curious rite of marriage with the dead (cf. Frazer, Pausanias, v. [1898] 859 ff.); a custom which in India is still followed only in Madras and among some Burmese tribes.

When a Toda boy dies unmarried, a girl is selected; her head is covered by her father with a mantle, and she proceeds to the pocket of the dead, and the spirit Brihannala performs the rite of tying the marriage necklace on the dead unmarried girl (BG, 1894, 727, 729; FEINSTEIN, 1894, 5). The disgusting custom of enforced sexual connexion by a male with such a dead girl, ascribed by Abbe Dubois to the Niyars, seems to be based on the knowledge of this rite of mock marriage (J. A. Dubois, Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, 1860, p. 9). Besides the Todas and Nambaddars, several S. Indian tribes perform this mock marriage, such as the Badugas, Bilawas, and Konars, while among the Falis and Vanyans the dead girl is buried with the arms about the plant (Corolopistis gigantea) (V. N. Ayas, Transacts State Mus. 1906, ii. 239; Thurston, i. 117, iv. 373, v. 221, vi. 231). Among the Koyes of Upper Burma, if, before the great contracting ceremony is completed, either party dies, the rites are continued with the corpse, which is kept undisturbed until the rite is finished; in this they probably follow the custom well established among the Chineses (Gazetteer Upper Burma, i. pt. ii. 201; J. M. De C. Rice, Relig. of China, 1904, ii. 390 ff.; J. II. Gray, China, 1875, i. 215 ff.).

6. Possession by spirits.—Possession of evil spirits or demons is of two kinds.

The theory of embodiment serves several highly important purposes in savage and barbarian philosophy. On the one hand, it provides an explanation of the phenomena of delusion and derangement, especially as connected with abnormal utterance, and this view is so far extended as to produce an almost general belief that it is possible for an evil spirit to enter into a human being and cause him to perform wondrous acts, and to enable the savage either to "lay" a hurtful spirit in some foreign body and then go away; thus it is, according to the curious cult, a spirit for his service in a material object, to set it up as a deity for worship in the body of an animal, or in a block of stone or image or other thing, which contains the spirit as a vessel contains a fluid: this is the key to strict fetishism, and in no small measure to idolatry (Tylor, 8, 125).

These two varieties of spirit possession can be traced in Indian beliefs.

(a) Abnormal or disease possession.—In the first place, we have cases of abnormal possession. Certain persons are supposed to be specially liable to spirit possession, thus defined by a native writer:

'The men most liable to spirit attacks are the impotent, the lustful, the lately widowed, bankrupts, men and women of foolishness of whose, convicts, and singers, riders, broilers on the unanswerable, gluttonous, and starved. The women most liable to spirit attacks are girls, girls, women of the Church, widows, old women, old widows, serfs, idlers, riders, broilers on the unknowable, irregular or gluttonous eaters, and all sickly women. Women are specially liable to spirit attacks in times of pestilence, during their pregnancies, and in childbirth; and men, women, and children are all apt to suffer when women and children are gardeners or near the temple. Intelligent and educated men and healthy intelligent women are freer than others from spirit attacks' (BG xix. 1906).

Demon possession thus accounts for various abnormal states of mind and for the phenomena classed as hysteria. Hence patients, particularly women, suffering in this way require special pro-

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tection, or it is necessary to expel the demons by whom they are possessed.

In India the belief is prevalent that a pregnant woman dreams of dogs, cats, or wild animals coming to attack her, she is believed to be possessed by evil demons. An evil demon, or 'devil driver,' is called in, who makes a hideous figure on the ground representing the demon, sings, beats a drum, mutters spells, but finally induces the patient to agree to an offering of food for the demon, on receiving which he leaves her (A. K. Iyer, I. c. p. 300). In the Punjab, a woman after childbirth is specially liable to the attacks of demons, and has to wear an iron ring, made, it is said, through the prayers of the patient, so as to drive away from her (P.V. II. 81). For the same reason, at the polo riots of a gift, offerings are made to demons (A. K. Iyer, i. c. 240). The same thing happens at various crises in human lives, such as the bride and bridegroom, the mourners, and the corpse-bearers of the deceased. Such persons are possessed by various demons and amulets (see CHARMERS AND AMULETS, Indian), vol. iii, p. 441 ff.

7. Possession by spirits of the exorcist.—The exorcism of evil spirits by a professional exorcist has been reduced to a system, and prevails widely in all parts of the country, particularly in S. India. In N. India the medium is known as Bhagat (Skr. bhakti, 'fervent faith'), Sānya, 'the wise one,' Ojā (Skr. ojakhyāya, 'teacher'); among the hill tribes of Central India as Baiga, Bhumāka, Parthā, or Damano; in the Deccan as Janta, 'the knowing one,' or Mantrī, 'holy saint.' He is distinguished from the Mantrī, who learns by orthodox methods the charm formula (mantra) from a teacher (guru), by the fact that he does not undergo special training, but works through the inspiration of a familiar spirit or guardian, who enters him when he works himself up into the proper state of ecstasy. This ecstatic state occurs on various occasions and for various purposes. His special aim is to induce a sense of possession of various kinds of disease; but he also becomes possessed at death rites, when he identifies and announces the pleasure of the spirit, at naming, when he decides the proper name of the child, and at such domestic ceremonies.

The medium in his ecstatic state is seized with revolting cramp-like contortions and muscular quivering, head-dancing, and frantic dancing, which usually end in complete or partial insensibility. When Dr. C. Elliott, the well-known observer, went to the medium's house, 'the man did not literally revolve; he covered his head well up in his cloth, leaving space over the head for the god to come in; and in this condition he was twisted and turned, his clothing thrown at him rapidly, and soon sank exhausted. Then, from the pit of his stomach, he uttered words which the bystanders interpreted to direct a certain line of conduct for the sick man to pursue. But perhaps the occasion was not a fair test, as the Parthā strongly subjected to the pressure of an onlooker, on the pretense that the god was afraid to come in before so great a hackš (official) (Settlement Rep. Hoshangabad, 1867, p. 129). Compare the account by Curt, W. L. Samuels, in Dalton, 222, quoted above, vol. iii, p. 481 f.

(a) Tabus imposed upon the medium. —The medium is subject to numerous tabus. The god 'would not enter his head' (A. K. Iyer) unless a Brahman attended the rites, thus proving their non-Aryan origin. The Kott medium must not speak directly to his wife or to any other woman for three months after a successful evocation, he must not eat the food served to him, nor the food of any other; he must not go to the house of another spirit, or in general, his head, as it is called, must be left in a clean state. In the Deccan, when the lamp goes out while he is eating, and leaves him exposed to demon assault; if he happens to hear a mysterious woman speak; if he is present at a marriage, his speech is considered profane. Should any such events occur, he must stop eating and fast for the remainder of the day. He must avoid certain vegetables and fruits, and must never eat stale or twice-cooked food. If he be a Mussulman, he must not eat a special kind of milk, or food cooked by a menstruous woman (Bg xxiv. 415).

(b) Methods of identifying spirits by the medium. —The medium uses varied methods of identifying the spirit which has seized his patient.

In the Punjab he waves corn over the sick person, and, making a leap for each suspected demon, keeps on dropping grates that on which the shift falls (false indications are frequent) (Settlement Rep. Hoshangabad, 1867, p. 129). The Berar medium bangles a string over a wood fire and repeats spells; when the smoke touches the string, the appropriate formula is indicated (P.V. III. 219). The Kott medium lays out thirteen leaves, each assigned to a special god, and, hanging a pendulum from his thumb, he is supposed to detect the particular test, that deity must be propitiated (Dalton, 85), In the Gujarāt an officiant tied charred threads round the house, drove a nail into the ground, and consecrated a spot for the medium. After the charade the medium is expelled by yoking a plough, and driving it round the village to form a sacred circle, which touches the ground at each corner and two at the door; the house was purified; a Dev, or orthodox god, was installed, and before his image a water-drink was offered and libation poured on the roof with lit oil, while the medium continued to mutter charms for forty-one days, and occasionally visited the sacred plot. In the usual sacrificial and festive acts, a goat was sacrificed and buried in the ground, and the beam and plough- yoke are fixed, dazed with red head, and worshipped; a bell is then dragged containing the image of Mari, the disease goddess, from her shrine, to the village boundary, where the image is worshipped, and a buffalo calf is also carried (X/XV, 3, 206). In the Telugu country the scape-animal is a buffalo, and, as the image of the goddess is carried in procession, people flourish sticks, or spears, and throw them into the air in order to induce the hungry spirits to seize them and the wood, and strike the weapon bearing the man who takes the image (Build. Madr. Mus. vi. 199).

1. It should be noted that the term 'medium' is used here in its widest sense to mean a person possessed by demons. The term is often used in India to refer to anyone who is believed to be able to communicate with the spirit world, whether possessed by a benign or malevolent spirit.
ground. Familiation of the patient with the smoke of pepper and dog's dung, as a means of inconveniencing the demon, was also practised in India. For this purpose, the patient, or her close relative (cf. her character in *The Clash of Civilizations*), p. 447), wears a girdle of broken twigs taken from a bough, and goes to a cave, the reoort of the Dyani. There she learns spells (samatra), and after the dance puts a stone, set on end of a year the hole is full, she has become an expert, and can take away life and restore it. If the hole is not full she has the power to take away life. Every year she is obliged to sacrifice a black cat and pour its blood into the hole. She and the man above are cursed, and to these all diseases are attributed. When a child dies, any Bisibih in the village is charged with causing the death (MASE p. 114).

As examples of these village guardians we have Chankhpi or Chankh, the holiest of the Naga devils, who live in marshes and attacks children. To appease her an image is made of earth taken from the banks of a river; offerings are made to it, and it is thrown into the river. The field guardian of the Reddis of Bijapur lives in a stone under a sacred tree, which is fenced with red lead, and offerings are made before beginning ploughing (ib. xxvii. 147). Darbik is the guardian of the Birhors of Bengal, and is represented by a black rock (Isley, l. 138). Naturally such village guardians are often embodied in the boundary stone. The chief object of worship to the Banga (ib. xxii. 151, xxvi. 341) is the boundary stone, the Sewagriyah of the Bihariys (BG xii. 69; Crooke, TC ii. 93).

The worship of the goddess Kali (Simantapuja) is part of the orthodox marriage rite (BG xviii. p. 129). In Tanjore the Elai-kal, or boundary stone, is the subject of a remarkable worship (Bull. Madr. Mus. v. 146 i.).

(7) The demon Guardians.—In S. India the chief of these is Ayangadu, known locally as the Sitalari, or guardian of snakes (Bull. Madr. Mus. v. 137). The snake is regarded as the soul of the dead, and the serpent-roads, or lanes of serpents, are the spirits who conduct the dead to the place of the dead. As such they are very much revered, and are thought to be the cause of all evil. The serpent roads, or lanes of serpents, are the spirits who conduct the dead to the place of the dead. As such they are very much revered, and are thought to be the cause of all evil. The serpent roads, or lanes of serpents, are the spirits who conduct the dead to the place of the dead. As such they are very much revered, and are thought to be the cause of all evil.
11. Gaining control of a demon.—In the rites of Black Magic, a demon, if he can be brought under the control of a master, or magician, plays an important part; he may be used as a protector by his master, or, in other cases, he may let him to work mischief on those whom he desires to injure. The magician, by the use of spells (mantras), can often induce him to enter some receptacle, and he thus becomes a marketable commodity.

When the arrangements have been made, the Opha hands over a corked bamboo cylinder which is supposed to contain him. This is taken to the place usually a tree, where it is intimated that he should in future reside; a small ceremony is performed, liquor being poured on the ground, or small mounds (pindas) erected. His body is then given over to the Bhūt or Bhūtī, who is supposed to take up his abode in the place chosen for him. His function is to watch the crops and guard them from the birds. Little birds are caught and driven away. The shaman often keeps enough to feed from a field thus guarded, he is certain to be stricken by the evil influence, and no one will eat his provisions. He should have no association with his wife, and be free from all pollution. Every night, after his bath, he should bathe in a tank or river, and drink water in a small glass while praying to the god whom he wishes to propitiate, in the words prefixed by his name. He will take his meals without what I want.” These, with his thoughts concentrated on the deity, he should utter 101, 1001, and 100,001 times during the period. Should he do this, in spite of all obstacles, and humiliation by the demons, the god will grant his desires (Thurston, vi. 232). In Mysore, among the Hindu and Malays, jungle tribes, when a demon, his spirit is supposed to be stolen by some one else’s devil, who is pointed out by the astrologers, who divine by throwing cowrie-shells or rice. The heir, then, as a measure of precaution, redeems the spirit by offering a pig, fowl, or other gift; and the spirit is driven out in a pot, where it is periodically supplied with food and drink to prevent it from ‘walking and doing mischief’ (I. L. Rice, Mus. v. 1897, i. 346; F. N. B. Burton, Arabian Nights, 1835, i. 346 ff.; F. N. R. 170). The power of a demon is believed to rest in his hair, and if a man can cut out in cold weather the latter, he is his slave for life (MNVY ii. 180). In Travancore, Kutichchan, the boy or the boy who finds the demon, watches the property of his lord, as the master of such a demon possesses infinite powers of evil; but these, if wrongfully exercised, recall upon him, and cause him to the children and all other physical or moral agency (S. S. Subrahmanya Ayar, Census Rep., Travancore, 1901, i. 203). Siddhartha, the daughter of Chakravarthi, is said to have performed his acts of heroism by aid of a demon which he subdues by riding a corpse in a cemetery (BG i. 171).
ways the Taoism of China, and reinforced from Indian Tantrik beliefs (L. A. Waddell, Buddhism of Tibet, 1885, pp. 19, 34, 477; Sir H. Yule, Marco Polo, 1876). This process of the absorption of demonology by orthodox Hinduism naturally results in the decrease of the former, as intelligence, education, and the active missionary efforts of the friend of evil, admit to the at least several native writers. One, speaking of Bengal, states that the numbers of the Bhûtas have largely been reduced; fifty years ago there were as many millions of demons as there are men at the present time. This rapidly decreases year by year. We attribute this reduction in numbers to the facilities now afforded by railways of visiting Gaya and other places for the purpose of performing the obsequial rites which appease the angry spirits of the dead (NYA ii. 190). 

According to B. P. Bonjoum we learn that in Kutch some of the most dreaded evil spirits have recently disappeared—the Brahman ghosts having left the country because they dislike the cow-killing permitted by the British Government; the Muhammadan ghosts, who are usually regarded as the shape-copies of the Brahmans, have also disappeared, since the only low-cost spirits are left, and their influence has become much reduced (BG xxiv. 421.). Even in Cochin and Travancore, the homes of demon-worship, it is said to be gradually giving way to Buddhism, as represented by the cults of Siva, Subrahmanya, and Gopati or Gañesa (A. K. Iyer, i. 311).

LITERATURE.—The cults of the demons and evil spirits of India have been so imperfectly studied because many strange and these rites are repulsive, and performed in secret, and thus do not allow themselves to be described, while there are offensive to many students of Hinduism belonging to the higher and learned classes. The materials, which is of great extent and complexity, is scattered through the antropological literature of India, some of which has been quoted in the course of this article. It is most abundant in S. India. The Indian demonology has been studied in the Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, 1862-92; the Bulletin of the Madras Museum; the District Manuals, esp. that by W. Logan on Malabar, 1887; general treaties, such as E. Thurston, Caste and Tribes of S. India, 1909; V. N. Aiyar, Travancore State Manuals, 1909; B. L. Rice, Myths, 1897; F. Buchanan, A Journey through Myan, Ceylon, and Malabar, 1867; L. K. Amutha Krishna Iyer, The Cithin Tribes and Caste, vol. i. (all published), 1909; P. Percival, The Land of the Vedas, 1884; S. Materi, The Land of Champa, 1884; R. Cocker, Cooper, Grange and the Deveau of the Indiavent, South Indian Family of Languages, 1875, in which and in B. Ziegenbain, Genealogy of the South-Indian Gods, 1869, the work of the Shakra of or Tinewi, is reproduced; G. Oppert, The Original Inhabitants of the Brahmanical, 1877; M. Monier-Williams, Brahmanism and Hinduism, 1891; in A. K. Forbes, Riga Sutra, 1875, reproduced the Blood Niruddh or the Destroyer of Superstition, and the Science of the Dharmasastra, by T. Darmadji Daya, issued in an Eng. tr. in 1890. To these may be added special monographs, such as P. Dehon, K.S., Religion and Customs of the Urozun, in Mem. As. Soc. Bengal, i. (1898); A. C. Burnell, The Devil Worship of the Teluas, reprinted from LA, 1894; H. Whitehead, 'The Village Deities of Southern India,' in Bull. Madr. Mus. v. (1907); M. J. Wallhouse, 'On the Belief in Bhuta—Devil and Ghost Worship in Western India,' in J.AI v. (1907) 468.

W. Crooke.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Jain).—Superhuman beings, according to the Jains, fall into two classes: demigods (aditakas or devois) and the gods (devas). A sub-division of the latter distinguishes good and bad gods (devoi, and asuvi goti); the bad gods are also spoken of as kadevas or kadevaram. Demons would come under the two headings aditakas and kadevas, and ghosts under that of kadevas. It must, however, be kept in mind that, according to the Jains, neither the state of a god nor that of a demon is permanent, but both have their individually fixed duration, which may extend throughout the whole cycle of years, or of some age: a soul may attain in the scale of beings and the duration of this state—his individual lot—depend on the merits and demerits (karma) of the soul; when the allotted time is over, the soul will be re-born in some other state according to his karma, a god may be re-born as a hell-being, but the latter will be re-born as an animal or a man only.

The narakas, or hell-beings, have a demonical nature, but they cannot leave the place where they are condemned to live, nor can they do harm to any other beings than their fellow narakas. The souls of those who have committed heinous sins are on death removed in a few moments (see DEATH AND DISCERNMENT). The dead (daimjon) are one of the seven nether worlds which contain the different hells (see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Indian], §4). There the soul of the condemned is fitted out with an enormous body of a loathsome shape, and is usually called the hell-beings possess superhuman mental powers (avadeva); they avail them, however, only to find out their enemies and to fight each other. In addition to the pains produced by the wounds they inflict on their enemies, as represented by the cults of Siva, Subrahmanya, and Gopati or Ganesa (A. K. Iyer, i. 311).

The remaining demons and the ghosts are contained in the two lowest sub-divisions of the gods: the bhavakarahvas or bhavayakas, and the vyatapas. The lowest class of the bhavakarahvas (i.e. those gods who live in palaces) are the asuvarakarahvas or simply asuras. They reside in mansions of their own below the surface of the earth, in the upper half of Rattanaprabha, the highest of the seven worlds. As in Hindu mythology, the asuras may be good or bad; but there are fifteen extremely wicked osuris—Amarbisa, etc.—who administer tortures in the three uppermost hells; in a former life they had delighted in wanton cruelty. The remaining class of the bhavakarahvas, vyatapas, etc., seem to be demi-gods rather than demons.

The vyatapas include demons, ghosts, spirits, and spirits, who live on, above, or below the earth. They are divided into eight classes: the bhavakarahvas, kimpurasis, mahorges, gandharvas, yakas, rakshas, bhutas, and pisachas, all of which occur almost identically in Hindu mythology. The last four classes contain demons and ghosts, but they are not demigods. It is among the rakshas good ones, adorers of the tirthakaras, who may take diksh in. In general, the names of the demons and ghosts, etc., are very much the same as those of the other Hindus; but the position of the superhuman beings has been, in many respects, altered by the efforts of the Jains to introduce systematic order into their mythical conceptions current at the time when their religious teachings were reduced to a definite form.

LITERATURE.—Umaiwari's Tattvavrikshhigama Sistra, chs. 3 and 4 (tr. ZDMG L. [1906] 393 f.); Yamunavari's Lekyarpaksa, 1906. 9th and 10th sargas. H. JACOBI.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Japanese).—1. Ghosts. 'The difficulty,' says a Japanese writer, 'of reflecting materials for an article about ghosts and ghost-stories is that they are so many of them.' Ghosts and ghost-stories are too numerous to admit of tabulation or classification. There are certain traditional forms which they are supposed to assume. They are mostly of the female sex, are clad in white flowing robes which conceal the
absence of legs, and dishevelled hair hangs loosely over their shoulders. As a rule they are supposed to bear some resemblance to the living original, but this is not invariably the case. The ghosts of the wicked bear on their faces marks of the punishments they are enduring in the invisible world: they appear with one eye, or three eyes, with a long tongue protruding beyond their lips, or with a long flexible neck like that of a snake. They are supposed to be the results of the karma of a previous existence.

The Japanese ghost is not generally malicious; there are times, however, when he can exhibit an amazing amount of perversity and wicked ingenuity. Dr. T. Inouye, who has devoted much thought to the question of ghosts, summarises their appearances as follows. (1) They are commonly seen in the twilight or at dead of night when everything is black and indistinct. They are usually seen, in lonely or solitary places; or (3) in houses recently visited by death, or that have long been deserted, in shrines, temples, graveyard, or among the shadowy forms of woodland. It is very rarely that a ghost appears to a group of persons.

2. Warnings of approaching death.—It is common among temple folk in Japan to say that at the moment of death the soul will often go to the temple to give notice of its death. On such occasions, a jingling or rattling sound is heard by the temple-gate or in the main hall of worship, and it is believed that these sounds are heard by the invariably followed by the announcement that a parishioner, male or female, has died. The man from whom the present writer obtained his information warned him that these stories must not be looked upon as mere idle talk. A thing is of constant occurrence, now as in the past. Two stories from Tono Monogatari will illustrate this point.

A certain rich parishioner of a temple in the township of Tono (in the province of Dewa) was confined to his bed with a disease which was known to be incurable. One day, however, the incumbent of the temple was surprised to receive a visit from the sick man, who was welcomed in the greatest cordiality, and regaled with tea and cakes. After a long and pleasant visit, the priest remained for the night, and the head novice followed him to the front gate. The old man, passing through it, turned suddenly to the right and disappeared mysteriously from sight. The servants in the temple were in the meantime making the discovery that the cakes had been left untouched and the tea spilled on the mats.

Several persons afterwards asserted that they had seen the old gentleman walking mysteriously down the street. The man died that evening, and the family maintained that he had been brought to the temple on his bed all day. The spilling of the tea is characteristic of many of these stories: it seems to be the proper thing for the Japanese ghost to do.

Another very pretty story comes from the lonely mountain village of Ito, the outskirts of which is in Echigo. The wife of a carrier, living with her husband and son, near to a mineral spring, fell into the river, as she was returning after dark on a moonless night from the spring, and was drowned. Husband and son were awaiting her return at home, very anxious to learn the cause of the absence of their mother. After waiting a while, they discovered that she was coming, but so slow was her course that it was evident she was towards the night somewhere, and would return the next morning. As the boy was dozing on his bed he was awoke by something tugging at his hand. Seeing nothing, he went to sleep again. But the tug at his hand came again, and the touch was like that of his mother's hand. Then he called his father, and, striking a light, he found that the place upon which the strange fingers had clung was covered with a peculiar CAD of the mother's dead body. The rest of her body was found among the rocks in the river bed. The palm of her hand was all torn and bleeding. Evidently, in her fall, she had caught a stone or tree, and torn the palm of her hand.

3. The limbs of a ghost.—While the common ghost, and especially the stage-ghost, is generally conceived as a head and shoulders ending off in vague draperies, the following story of the Haunted House of Yotsuya will show that underneath the vague draperies a real man is supposed to exist.

The house in this volume was haunted by a troublesome and noisy ghost who allowed the insinuates so little rest. At last a man, tugging at the cheap rents, discovered a desirable residence, determined to face the ghost and lay him if possible. He shut himself into the house at night and waited the ghost. At dawn he discovered that he was not, however, a terrible ghost at all. When he found that the man showed no disposition to run away he became quite gentle and opened his grief. In the days of his flesh he had been a fighting man, and had had the misfortune to lose his leg at the result of one of his battles. The spirit resided beneath the house, and a one-legged ghost in the realm of the spirits was an object of ridicule. He had long haunted the house for the purpose of recovering his lost limb, but unfortunately he had never yet succeeded in persuading any mortal to listen to his plaint. The man promised to give his assistance, and, instructed by the ghost, proceeded to dig at a certain spot beneath the house. Presently, there arose from the hole a most ugly shape, in appearance like the leg of a man which drifted off, and joined itself to the body of the ghost. "Thank you," said the happy ghost, "I am satisfied now."

4. Ghostly counterparts of material objects.—The Japanese ghost rarely (if ever) appears naked. He appears sometimes in his grave-clothes, but very frequently in the ghostly counterparts of the clothes which he is accustomed to wear in life. He often has a spiritual sword, and has been known in stories to commit murder, e.g., strangling, with the ghostly counterparts of material objects, such as a rope or a piece of tough paper.

5. Close connexion between the two worlds.—These two worlds are very closely connected. The spiritual world lies as near to the material, and is as closely interwoven with it, as the spirit of man is with his body. The link of connexion is never broken, and the Japanese ghost feels the same keen interest in the welfare of his family, province, or country that he felt when alive.

There are many stories to illustrate this: for example, one recently published by Vice-Count Tanii in the Kokumin-Shinbun, of a certain Hannako, Bukomu, a servant of the Tosa clan, who, having been beheaded (A.D. 1674) with his whole family on account of embezzlement of provincial funds, went to the judge on the day following the execution, to relieve himself of an important message which oppressed his mind. In many stories, the constable or a servant of a spirit, who had spent many years in the continuous recitation of the Hoke Kyo, edifies (or annoys?) the community by continuing the same practice in the darkness of the latter night. A murdered man gives no rest to judges, councillors, or kinsfolk, until he has secured a vengeance by artificially accused person and the arrest of his own guilty brother.

These are but a few instances out of the many ghost stories which with Japanese literature and folk-lore abound. Whether the tales are true or not does not matter. The important thing is that they all illustrate the constant belief of the
Japanese in the reality of the spirit world, and in the constant and close interest which its denizens take in the concerns of men.

6. Other aspects of this belief in conduct. — "Are you not ashamed," says a kind-hearted husband, in one of Tokutomi's novels, to his spiteful wife, "are you not ashamed to stand before the family ichi [tablets of the dead], when you have been treating death town by brother's child with such cruelty?" There can be no doubt that the belief in the continued interest taken by the dead in the concerns of the world they have left behind them has exerted in the past, and still exerts, a great influence on the moral conduct of the individual Japanese. The influence is fostered by the presence on the domestic shrine of the tablets of the dead, by the observances on death-days and other anniversaries of the dead, by the ceremonies, joyous and somber, of the Tsurunokai, by the many Injunctions of the Shinto rites, and by the practice, observed in private households as in the great affairs of State, of announcing to the spirits of the deceased, as matters that must touch them closely, the latter quarter of the year, or the family circle or the country. When the second Tokugawa Shogun, Hidetada, wished to change the succession in his family, he was only dissuaded from his designs by the consideration of the fact that to notify the change by some messenger sent expressly to the realms of the dead, Imperial messengers are constantly being sent to announce some event to the spirits of the Imperial Ancestors, and the Shokonsa shrines which, during the present reign, have been erected in Tokyo and elsewhere, to the memory of the patriot dead who have died for sovereign or country during the Meiji period, represent the enlargement by design of the moral conduct of the individual Japanese under one form or another. The spiritual world of the Japanese is no longer bounded by the narrow limits of the province. Like their patriotism, it has become Imperial, for what lies outside the bounds of the Empire the Japanese have but little concern.

7. The spirits of material objects. — The Japanese ghost differs from ours in conception. It is not, as with us, just the spiritual portion of a man, separated from his body; it is the whole soul, spiritualized, the exact, immaterial counterpart of the material man. Every material object (e.g. money, as we saw above) has this spiritual counterpart, and there has from the earliest times been a tendency to identify the spirit of the material counterpart of the material objects, especially things remarkable for beauty, majesty, age, and the like. We hear occasionally of the ghost of a teapot, a badger, or the like; the poetic imagination of the Japanese, has perceived her wilds with gods or spirits of the mountain, the cascade, the tree, the well, the river, the moon, and above all, the sun. The indigeneous Japanese cult is threefold. It is nature-worship, ancestor-worship, and, as a corollary to the two, the worship of the spirit of the material counterpart of the material thing.

8. The spirits of animals. — If man has a spiritual counterpart to his material self capable of leaving the latter and of continuing its existence apart, and if the same can be said of plants, mountains, and other inanimate bodies, it stands to reason that the same qualities ought, logically, to be attributed to the animals. All animals are, in Japanese popular thought, thus endowed with spiritual counterparts, and some are more conspicuously than others. Foxes, badgers, bears, and the like are able not only to appear before the eye in the spiritual counterpart of their own material shape, but even to enter into the bodies of men and other animals, and to speak and act through them.

The fox. — The fox is the hero of a thousand stories. He has, in fact, been known to change himself into a lion and a legend from Nara we read of a Shinto priest from the Kasuga shrine who, having lost his horse, went into the forest to search for it. He was astonished to see a giant creature standing on its fore- limbs; none had stood only a few days before, and, in order to make sure that he was not being bewitched, he cut a branch of a tree. The next day the tree had disappeared, but on the place where it had stood there was a poor little dead fox with an arrow through its heart. Again, the fox has been known to turn into a woman, not only as a temporary disguise, but permanently; and there is a popular play known as the Shinto no minigyo, or 'Forest of Shinto,' which is entirely on the supposed marriage of a man with a vixen who had assumed the form of a young woman. The woman and her oni were the most mischievous and tragic demonesses. The story of the midwife who was tricked by a fox into assisting at the accouchement of his wife is also a favourite one which we find in the inanimate tree. The fox is a real swift and sharp retribution to men for acts of injustice and cruelty, but it is, as a rule, mischievous rather than spiteful, and there are not a few instances in which the fox has shown great gratitude. There are no stories which tell of the fox requiring good with evil; but it never omits to requite evil with evil.

A story from Kai tells of a samurai who shot at a fox with intent to kill. He missed his aim, but the fox did not forget the hostile intention. Next day when the samurai was out hunting, the fox set him on fire. On the other hand, a story from Omi tells of the gratitude of the fox to whom the priest had shown kindness; and the great Nichiren, who had a very tender heart for animals, was said to have two familiar and attendant foxes who accompanied him everywhere, predicting the future, and warning him of coming dangers. A story is also told of a certain Yasunichi, who held the office of judge at Takakura, near Kyoto. The grounds surrounding his mansion were so full of foxes that they became a nuisance to the neighbourhood, and Yasunichi was minded to get rid of them. He appointed a day for a great fox-hunt; but, on the evening before, a fox appeared to him in the shape of a handsome boy, and, in the name of the whole tribe, promised the best of behaviour if only Yasunichi would spare them. Yasunichi did so, and never repeated of the bargain.

For further stories relating to the power of metamorphosis ascribed to the fox, as well as for similar stories relating to other animals, the reader is referred to M. W. de Visser's excellent treatises on the 'Tenga,' the Fox and Badger, and the 'Cat and Dog,' in Japanese folk-tales, appearing in vols. xxxvi. to xxxvii. of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

9. Possession by foxes and other animals. — What we have hitherto said has related to the supposed power of the fox and certain other animals of bewitching men by assuming phantom bodies. In fox-possession, the spirit of the animal intrudes itself into the body of a man or woman, in such a way that the intruding spirit exercises a control, more or less absolute, over the person in whose body it resides. This power is ascribed not only to the fox, but to the dog, the monkey, the badger, and the serpent. Strange to say, these beliefs are more prevalent in Kyushu and S.W. Japan than in the North and Central districts, and it seems not unnatural to ascribe them to Malay rather than to Chinese or Mongolian influences. The following is a list of the names commonly given to these forms of possession, together with the localities in which they are said to be especially found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Locality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kitsune-kuji, 'fox-possession'</td>
<td>No definite locality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nezabiki, 'rabbit'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taniuki-pani, 'badger-god'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inu-pani, 'dog-god'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dama, Awa, Tosa, and parts of Kyushu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Japanese)

11. The oni as modified by Confucianism and Buddhism.—The introduction into Japan of Chinese and Indian influences brought with it certain modifications of the oni. The Kojiki itself is a book largely influenced by China, and therefore, possible, that the idea of the yokotetsu shikome may not be a purely Japanese one. To Buddhism is certainly due the idea which makes of the oni the attendants of the god of Hell, Yama. In a story in the Ujiyaze Monogatari they appear as fairies, amidst surroundings which are almost German.

An old woodcutter, who has a large wen upon his right cheek, is overcome by a storm and compelled to pass the night in a hollow tree. Unintentionally, he becomes an instigator of the revels of the oni, who dance around his tree. The old man, who is a good dancer himself, joins in the dance, and, after a very delightful night, promises to come again to him and make him a master dancer. The oni are a little doubtful as to his sincerity, and take the wen off his right cheek as a pledge. When he returns, he becomes an object of envy to his neighbour, who is also a woodcutter, and with a devilish, sharp-trained mind, hurries to his left cheek. The neighbour determines that he will also try his luck, and takes possession of the hollow tree to wait for the oni dance to commence. But he is not a good dancer, and the oni lose their temper. They drive him out of the dance ring, and, as he flies, one of them takes the wen which he had taken from his predecessor and throws it at his right cheek, where it sticks. Then the man returns home with a wen on either cheek.

Some of the tricks ascribed to the oni, such as the stealing of a letter belonging to the Emperor Murakami (A.D. 885-889), which is afterwards mysteriously lowered by lightning from a high tower, and so restored, seem to suggest a credulity that was easily imposed upon. When a woman disappeared from a public park in Kyoto, being last seen walking hand in hand with a man, and when a search made for her resulted in the discovery of a pair of arms and a leg, the police of the period (A.D. 885-889) were probably very glad to be able to plead that it was the work of the oni. An oil-painting, defacing its own owner along the streets, and entering a house, which had burnt a young girl, ought to satisfy the most exacting of spiritualistic seances.

12. The word oni as applied to living persons.—Whilst oni also appears as tenko, 'heavenly fox,' or fox demon, or to the yuki, or inhabitants of the Buddhist Pratataloka, it is also sometimes metaphorically applied to living people. Thus we get oni-musha, 'a devil warrior;' oni-shigen, 'a darling general.' The most purely Japanese term seems to be the beautiful but hard-hearted woman is an oni, an ugly, evil face is oni-zura, and there is a phrase, oni na jūbei, which suggests that the devil was a handsome fellow in his youth.

13. Adaptations of Indian sentiment we get the word tenkō.—The Japanese oni is sometimes conceived of as playing the part of Mara, the Tempter, who so constantly comes between Buddha and his disciples, and who is the enemy of truth. More frequently he is the Yaksha or Rākṣasa of Indian demonological poetry. It has been conjectured that the Onigishima of the popular Japanese story is the Yakṣadiyapa of the Jātakas. In the same story, the onitajī, or attack on the demons, is said to be an adaptation of Rāma's invasion of Ceylon, as given in the Mahabharata.

14. Tengu.—We now come to the consideration of the mysterious beings known as tengu. The popular explanation of this term is 'heavenly dog;' but the word also appears as tenko, 'heavenly fox;' and tenkō, 'heavenly light.' The Buddhist explanation of the word tengu is 'light and darkness,' 'freedom and non-freedom,' 'enlightenment and error.' Thus considered, the tengu is a being in whom are united both sides of these antitheses. A similar interpretation makes ten'kō to be the heavenly mantra which dominates the Vajradhātu, or Diamond World, and gu to be the earthly mantra which rules in the Garbhadhātu, or Womb World. The tengu participate in the lives of both worlds. Shinist and Confucianist writers, Baron Teshio, for example, do not hesitate to denounce the tengu as nothing but figments invented by a crafty priesthood for the purpose of deceiving an ignorant people. It is, nevertheless, interesting to speculate upon the sources from which the conception of these fabled creatures came. The tengu is frequently found in Chinese literature, and it may perhaps be said that the idea of these beings came from a close observation of animals in their native haunts. The Buddhist monks of old generally built their temples in the recesses of solitary mountains, and one of the commonest of the titles bestowed on the founder of a temple or sect was that of kōsin-shōnin, 'the venerable opener of the mountain.' This legend connects all the great kōsin, e.g., Saitō, Kōbo, Nichiren, etc., with stories of the tengu, and the favourite baunts of these creatures are famous temples, such as Kamakura, Atago, Kompāra, Omine, Ontake, Oyama, Miyokō, Akina, and Nikko. The frollicksome antics of animals which believe themselves to be absolutely unseen by human eyes might easily give rise to legends of

1 In the days of the anti-Christian persecutions, Christian emblems and books were occasionally saved or destroyed by being shut up in shrines dedicated to supposed demons, or 'tengu,' owing to the superstitious fears of the people. The present writer has been told of a crucifix which was thus treated; also of a copy of the Christian Scriptures.
DEMONS and SPIRITS (Jewish)

tengu and other weird beings. There would also be ground for imagining that some of the staiders of the brute creation were re-incarnations of *yamabushi* and other pious recluses.

15. *Garuđa.*—Undoubtedly the *tengu* are connected with the *Garuđa* or garuda of Buddhism and mythology. *Tengu* will appear as priests, riding on foxes, carrying feather fans, or even swords like *sōmaru*; but their commonest form is that of a bird of prey not unlike an eagle or a vulture. It is a safe generalization to say that, wherever a *tengu* is represented with the beak and claws of a bird, or with wings to fly with, the prototype is the *Garuđa.* When the *tengu* takes some other form, e.g., a shooting star, a white badger, and so forth, the origin near Tokyo is at the village of Nakayama, where, at a certain temple belonging to the Nichiren sect, periodical retreats are held for the purpose of driving out evil spirits of all kinds (see an art. on 'Buddhistische Gnadensmittel,' in the *Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für tengu, Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* [vol. v., Tokyo, 1907]).

16. *Tengu-possession.*—*Tengu*-possession differs from one that by *oni*, or any of the bewitching animals. There is no mischief in it, and no devilry. With *oni* possession often the case, for merely becomes preternaturally learned or solemn, reading, writing, or fencing with a skill that would not be expected from him.

17. *Exorcism.*—When a man is possessed by a *tengu*, exorcism is of little importance. For possession by evil spirits, foxes, badgers, and the like, there are many forms of exorcism in vogue, the sect of Nichiren being especially noted for its labours in this kind of healing. The most famous place in Japan for this purpose is Nakyuma, where, at a certain temple belonging to the Nichiren sect, periodical retreats are held for the purpose of driving out evil spirits of all kinds (see an art. on 'Buddhistische Gnadensmittel,' in the *Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für tengu, Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* [vol. v., Tokyo, 1907]).

18. Spirits of the house, etc.—Spirits have much to do with the Japanese conception of the house. No building can take place without a reference of some kind to *tengu*. But this is a large subject, and will be more conveniently treated in connexion with the house.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authorities quoted in the text of this article, the present writer has drawn mainly upon three sources, all Japanese:—

(i.) The *Journal of the Tokyo Anthropological Society.*

(ii.) *Tsuchioka, Būkkyō Shinbun*, a weekly journal published under the auspices of the reforming school of Buddhists, also in Tokyo.

(iii.) *Tei no Hijiri* ("The Light of the Far East"), the organ of the Tokyo Philosophical Society.

A. LLOYD.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Jewish).—There can be no hesitation in saying that the existence of spirits was, during most periods of Jewish history and in most places, regarded as incontestable. Yet this statement is capable of being modified in no small degree. It has been stated, on the one hand, that demonology obtained so strong a grasp of the popular mind as completely to fetter it with superstition and to stifle all higher aspirations; that religious leaders and thinkers were themselves not free from these ideas; and that this belief obscured and in many ways detracted from the value of their ethical teachings. On the other hand, this has been too categorically denied by writers who hold diametrically opposite views. As might be expected, the truth lies in the golden mean. The human mind and soul are capable of accommodating simultaneously opinions which are not only inconsistent, but even mutually exclusive. Yet it is important to note that, however strong the tendency may be to disentangle his thoughts and to harmonize them that he is willing to retain the incongruent. Consequently a whole-hearted belief in the supremacy of the Godhead need not necessarily exclude an admittance of the working of other powers. To arrive at the conclusion that one or the other of these beliefs must be rejected requires considerable progress along the path of mental reasoning.

The belief in spirits during post-Biblical times was a case similar. In ancient Greece, there was an especial *Assyry-, Bab.* and *Hebrew* art. on the present subject. What Chaldea, Arabia, and Egypt gave to Canaan underwent substantial change, and received additions from internal and external sources. In Palestine itself, art. 'Demonology.' The scope of the present article is to furnish suggestions which may in some cases account for their existence. While frankly admitting the origin of a large number to be purely superstitions, there are yet many forces which may be readily understood, including Halakah, Haggada, and Qabbala. On account of this wide area, great care must be exercised in drawing conclusions. Demons occurring in late books must be traced to their earliest sources. A related reference in the Shulhan *Arūkh* (1558) requires investigation as to whether it be a medieval invention or a lingering survival of a primitive superstition. Secondly, references must be examined to see whether they are the utterances of individuals or genuine examples of popular belief; and distinctions must be drawn between local and general beliefs, between Semitic and non-Semitic, and between Jewish beliefs and those borrowed by Jews from their neighbours in European countries. A remark more than any of the foregoing, is the exercise of careful analysis in selecting Talmudic material. It is absolutely necessary to assign each authority to its proper local and chronological category; it is to say, evidence which applies to Babylon is inadmissible for Palestine; that which is found to occur in Galilee cannot be used to prove

ments for Judaean; and the same care must be exercised in relating the story.

In investigating Talmudic evidence as to spirits, the reader will notice, at the outset, different attitudes adopted by the Rabbis in dealing with this question. In some cases the reality of demons seems to be beyond question; in others it seems, with no less certainty, to be denied. Stories occur in which both these attitudes may be traced simultaneously. The reason for this may be found if the nationalities of the respective teachers be considered. It is certain that Galilean teachers accepted, while Judaean teachers rejected, the existence of spirits. The numerous instances which the NT furnishes would have been impossible save in Galilee; there is a strong similarity between these and those adduced by Galilean Rabbis. The same must be said of those Rabbis who came from Mesopotamia. As they were brought up in surroundings in which superstition was rife, their teaching was tinged by a belief in spirits, and in comparison with them the clairity of Palestinian teaching stands out in bold relief.

Justin Martyr (Dial. I. 65) accuses the Jews of cults, amulets and conjurations, to no less an extent than the heathen. The evidence of R. Simon b. Yohai, a Galilean Tanna of the 2nd cent., is equally conclusive for Galilee. Thus Bab. Erubin, 64b, says:

'The Master says: We do not pass by food (which is lying in the street, and which may have been used for protection against spirits).'

R. Yehuda, a Galilean, and Simon b. Yohai, a Galilean, said:

'This decision applies only to the earlier generations, when the daughters of Israel were not practised in all arts of magic (p. 277). Nowadays, when the daughters of Israel are indeed practised in all magical arts, this does not apply. It has been taught that one should pass by loaves, but not by food; and he said, pieces: if they be small pieces also for this purpose!' [Note that none of these Rabbis is a Judaean. Simon b. Yohai was a Galilean, and R. Aie and R. Aie were Babylonians.]

The difference between Judaean, on the one hand, and Galilean and Babylonian, on the other, may be demonstrated by the story related about Zonin and the Palestinian Aqiba in Bab. 'Aboda Zara, 53a:

'Zonin said to R. Aqiba: Both of us know that there is no reality in idols, but how is it that we see men going to them and returning back? He replied: I will relate to thee a parable. There was once in the city an honest man, with whom all the teachers of religion of both nations went to deposit their money without witnesses. One man, however, would always do so before witnesses. On one occasion he forgot and omitted the witnesses. Then the wife of the honest man went to him, and said, I forgot to tell you. Then he replied, And indeed, is he foolish, shall we lose our faithfulness and faithfulness to God? They said, On account of our sakes. When they are sent upon man, the precise limits of their duration are specified; they are adjured and warned at what moment, by what names of spirits, and what drug they shall take to produce sleep. When the time arrives for the disease to depart, and it happens that the sufferer is at the (heavenly) temple, the diseases say: If rights we should not go, but shall we prove unfaithful to our oaths for the sake of a fool?'

These and similar anecdotes, which are to be found in the same place, show that the Pal. Rabbis placed no reliance in spirits and conjurations. It should be noted that R. Aqiba (A.D. 50-135) says of himself elsewhere (Sem. viii., M. K. 216): 'The people of the south know Aqiba, but the people of Galilee know him.' It was in Galilee that the people believed in possession by evil spirits in the actuality of demons (e.g. NT references), whereas in Palestine the views of Aqiba prevailed.

One of the favourite forms of procuring intercourse with spirits was by spending the night in a cemetery. In connexion with this practice, reference should be made to Jer. Targum, i. fol. 49b, and, in a slightly different form, to Gen. Rabbah, ii. 29, outer column (ed. Krotoschin, 1866), and Bab. Hagiga, 36, near end. In all these cases invocation of spirits is mentioned: e.g. כָּלָיָם שלדמ, he who burns incense to the sheidim, and he who passes the night by the graves in order to get under communion with an unclean spirit. These customs are strongly condemned, and are viewed as an indication of insanity (i.e. one who participates is a נָחָר). With these may be compared the story in Levit. Rabbai, xxvi. 5:

R. Erakhya in the name of R. Levi relates that a kohen and an Israelite were proscribed by a demon and went to a skilled physician, who prescribed for the Israelite, but left the kohen neglected. The latter asked the reason, and the physician replied: 'He is a kohen, and is of those who spend the night at the graves; but thou, who art a kohen, dost not act thus, therefore I left thee and prescribed for him.'

This story illustrates the difference between the ignorant and the learned classes; it should be contrasted with the statements of Athanasius (Logatio pro Christianis, chs. xiv., xxvi., xxvii.), to whom demons were a vivid reality.

Probably the earliest demons are those originating from the movements of celestial bodies and from natural phenomena. To the former, of course, belong Bab. and, later on, Persian examples. Similarly the sand-storm in the desert may be safely held toacco DJ, some of the scenes of the jinn. So, too, Ps. 91:5 'the destruction that wasteth at noonday' may not improbably refer to the burning heat of midday. The development of this idea may be traced in Bab. Pesahim, 1116b, where the same word getebh occurs.

Inasmuch as the functions of religion were, among the Jews, very wide, the scope of the teacher's activity extended to many branches which would not to-day be considered as belonging to the true sphere of religion. He legislated for social as well as for religious matters; the daily intercourse between man and his neighbour was the object of his attention. Consequently, when there are found quasi-religious phenomena, in connexions which seem very remote from religion in its modern signification, it must be remembered that the word has been greatly restricted in the process of time. In turning back to those spirits which may perhaps have their origin in these phenomena, the following must be borne in mind. Thus in Pesahim, 111b, to which reference has been made, the following statement occurs:

[From the first line to the sixteenth there can be no doubt as to their actuality; after that date it is doubtful. They may be found in the shadow of ivy which is stunted (not a yard high), and in the places and corners and under the eaves of a yard high, but chiefly they may be found in the shadows of a high wall.]

The Gemara does not particularize the spirits mentioned in the passage cited, which follows references to many varieties of spirits. There cannot, however, be much doubt that the getebh מְרִי, or spirit of poisonous pestilence, is meant, although the passage might refer generally to the sheidim, for this spirit is described a few lines earlier in the Gemara:

[The getebh מְרִי is of two kinds; one comes in the morning, the other in the afternoon. The former is called getebh מְרִי, and causes mealy pittance to ferment (lit., it appears in a vessel of mealy pittance and stirs the space). The latter is the pestilence which destroyeth at noonday; it appears like a sieve on the eaves of a roof, and it turns like a sieve (8th supra).]

It would not seem a very rash assumption to regard this spirit as the development and personification of midsummer heat. Tammuz is elsewhere stated to be the height of summer, e.g. Shab. 53b, where a popular proverb is quoted to the effect that even in Tammuz the donkey feels the cold. The fact that attention is drawn to those shadows which afford insufficient protection from the rays of the sun, and the stress laid on the evil effects of proximity to a privy, render the more probable it may be noted, incidentally, that the term brokerage by a demon is מְרִי, מְרִי. The spirits are said to have been created on Friday afternoon before Sabbath; see Gen. Rabba, vii. 7; Pirke Abott. 39, where they are included in the category of mythical phenomena.
able; so also does the mention of the action of heat on food and on animals (cf. the danger of sleeping under the rays of the moon [Pes. 111a, near foot]).

Closely allied to spirits which are embodiments of natural phenomena are those which affect man in his daily life. In the Gemara many examples of such are mentioned. Under the guise of demons, they teach lessons in cleanliness, sobriety, care, and economy. For instance, R. L. Lagi says: "Whoever does one of the following four things risks his life, and his blood is on his own head, namely: he who performs his natural functions between a palm tree and a wall; he who passes between two palm trees; he who drinks tomato juice; he who drinks (or washes) any part of the body with pure water, even if his own wife has spilled it in his presence."

It is unnecessary to show what points underlie these warnings, which are, meanwhile, still further discussed in the Gemara; but it is well to note that the form of the warning has changed somewhat. The demon is implied, but not actually expressed. Similar instances are the following:

The Genizah of the Pers. Talmud; so Goldschmidt, in his tr. of Jer. Talmud, p. 1111 of sustenance is called Cleanliness; the Genizah of poverty is called Dirt.' R. Papa says: 'A man should not enter a house where there is Dirt.' Because Dirt can kill cats and devours serpents, and serpents have small houses; should one of these houses enter his hut, it could be dislodged and turned away. Others say that a man should not enter a house in which there is no cat, by night. Why? Because a serpent could, unknown to him, become attached to him.'

One of the peculiarities of the Hebrew language, as compared with Greek, is its paucity of abstract nouns. In the Talmud, that which did not fall in which the Talmud is composed, has a far larger vocabulary than Mishnic Hebrew, yet it cannot be denied that the mind of the Jew preferred nouns of a concrete meaning. This fact deserves recognition when comparing demonology in the vocabulary contained no word which could adequately render such terms as 'dirt,' 'infection,' 'hygiene,' etc., and in dealing with scientific terms it was, and is still, a matter of extreme difficulty to find suitable translations. This fact was so evident to any one who attempts to render into classical or even Mishnic Hebrew a piece of philosophical prose which could be turned into classical Greek with facility. Consequently the personification of a quality is to be disregarded, and the underlying principle must be extracted. It might be urged that the Greek no less than the Hebrew people had its demons; but other circumstances, which will readily suggest themselves, have to be taken into account. Instances of this kind are the following:

In I Thess. 7:18, reference is made to the demon σῶμα, whose name also occurs in Talmud, 109a, where the kind actions of R. Huna are enumerated. Še'itah clings to the fingers-tips and afflicts people, especially young children, who eat with unwashed hands. R. Huna was acquainted with this demon, and used to place a jar of water ready, saying, 'Whoever wishes, let him come and wash his hands as to avoid the danger from the Še'itah.' Kohler (J.E., art. 'Demonology,' p. 317, note) associates Še'itah with cuprum. In the same way the Shimshon Ar'baḥ prescribes, an early reference to the evil spirit which clings to a man's unwashed fingers-tips, and urges the necessity of washing them. It is scarcely conceivable that the evil spirit in this case can have any value, and should be accounted for, which the Hebrew word for which the Greek σῶμα does not contain an equivalent appropriate.

If possible the demon Līliṭ (see 1 Sam. 21: 11) ; Erubin, 196, 109b, Λυσίτος. This belongs to this category; this man is said to have married Līliṭ in addition to Eve, and filled the world with lotions and demons of every description, which she bore him. Then, seized with jealousy of Eve's children, she attacks and attempts to slay newly-born infants. The story recalls the myth of the formless Līliṭ, and all the other Līliṭi give the Līliṭ idea is a personification of the perils which beset women in child-birth.

Although the demon has become completely rationalized, the warning is addressed to man's common sense, and not to his fear of the supernatural. Yet it must be borne in mind that Paul, the great apostle of the Galatians, thought of Paul of Socrates may be compared; it is in such circumstances undoubtedly that the prophylactics suggested by the Rabbis were meant to apply. The recital of verses of Scripture, especially of the

For all of which suitable Heb. equivalents are lacking; it cannot be from pure choice that demonology was called upon to furnish descriptive titles.

There are cases in which demons and spirits are cited as playing pranks of a harmless or even amusing character, comparable to those of fairies and kelpies in folk lore. The fact that such stories are found in many of the older Talmudic portions, the Gemara supports the idea above suggested. Children accompanied the Rabbis and listened to their discussions, and a story of the marvellous and supernaturally may have been purposely introduced in order to stimulate wondering wits or as a reward for diligent attention.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that in many cases the demon is of a purely superstitions nature, e.g. Beraḥoth, 64a:

'It is taught: Abba Benjamin says, 'Were mortal eye capable of seeing everything, it would be impossible for any human being to exist on account of his existence. A child's life would be empty without fairy stories; even to-day the personification of the spirit of Christmas festivity receives good-natured toleration. Religious thinkers belonging to the most heterogeneous schools of thought accept angelology and demonology not as a concomitant of religion. The presence of both is essential to that mystic element from which no religion is or should be entirely divorced. But the force of the imaginative faculty becomes stronger when it invoques the sphere of reason and subverts reason itself. It is almost impossible to establish a hard and fast rule in these cases.'

The demonology of the Qabbala, and also of the later Rabbinoic writings, is extremely interesting. Many beautiful conceptions from Jewish ceremonial are derived from Qabbala, which assumes a mystic connexion between things terrestrial and celestial, and symbolically identifies the form with the matter.

The prayer at the blowing of the ram's horn on New Year's day makes the notes of the sk'far into angels ascending to the Divine Throne, while inability to blow the sk'far is due to the sk'far hā'ir (evi inclination, loss) which intercepts man's holy thoughts and robs him of hodonoda (devotion) and ability to produce a note. So, too, the sk'far is due to the sk'far hā'ir, which prevents the sk'far from the synagogue to his home, which is prepared to receive the Sabbath bride in peace and love, two good angels accompany her, and the evil angel is constrained to say Amen. But, if man's thoughts are not properly attuned, and if the reception of the sk'far is rejected, the good angels cannot make their return. The sk'far hā'ir and the evil angel prevails.

In such cases the spirits are to be explained as graphic representations of the frame of mind of the man, poetically, transformed, and the spirit rendered in graphic form. Inasmuch as the sk'far of Socrates may be compared; it is in such circumstances undoubtedly that the prophylactics suggested by the Rabbis were meant to apply. The recital of verses of Scripture, especially of the
DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Muslim).—Besides the gods to whom they devoted a regular cult, the ancient Arabs recognized a series of inferior spirits, whom they worshiped under the guise of natural phenomena and magical practices. In this matter, as in others, Muhammad preserved the ancient beliefs by adapting them to the new religion, in such a way that it is impossible to distinguish which elements in his teaching are derived from his inward conviction and which are simply a concession to the doctrine of his compatriots. To these notions—Muhammad's inheritance, so to speak—are added outside elements, Jewish and Christian, themselves derived from Chaldaic and Parthian. It seems impossible to give a precise account of the doctrine of the Qur'an on the subject of spirits, for even the very earliest commentators are hedged around with insurmountable traditions, which it is anything but easy to criticize. Nevertheless, however, the Qur'an traces out all the main divisions of the system: angels, servants of Allah; Satan and his horde who animate the images of false gods; jinn; the beings of whom are believers, some unbeleivers. If it is true that the existence of several categories of angels, it nevertheless names only two, viz. Jabril and Mik'âl; for Harût and Marût are fallen angels with a Satanic rôle. However, just as Judaism, under the influence of the Qabbala, multiplied its list of spirits, and Christianity set up in battle array its armies of angels and demons, Islam also found in this belief and in the magic struggle for the favour, or against the attacks, of spirits an element of reaction against the cold, aloof unity of Allah.

From Judaism and Christianity Islam learned the names of spirits not known before, and it gave them definite forms, in descriptions which grew in bulk during the centuries. The principal divisions of anthropomorphism and the hadisht, and then gained in coherence under the influence of Mu'tazilism. This doctrine we shall discuss in a few lines.

Islam recognizes three classes of living beings higher than man: angels (angels, plural, malakû); demons (shaitân, plural, shaqtîn); jinn, or men. The essential and common characteristic of these beings is that they are formed from one single substance, instead of from a combination of substances like the human body.

Among these spirits, the front rank is occupied by the angels; they are Allah's bodyguard, and do his will and obey his word. According to Kazwini (i. 53), 'the angels are beings formed from a single substance, endowed with life, speech, and a reason.' And, as angels are not divided as to the characteristics that distinguish them from demons and jinn; according to some, they differ in their very nature, just as one species of terrestrial animal differs from another; others are of opinion that the difference is only in continuities, or relativeness, such as are contained in the notions of complete and incomplete, good and bad, etc. The angels are essentially sacred, untouched by the guilt of passion or the stains of anger. They are in constant communion with the commands of Allah. Their food is ta'âbû (the recitation of the formula 'Glory to Allah!'), and their drink is tâqdis ('Allah is holy!'). Their occupation is to repeat the name of Allah, and all their joy is in his worship. Allah created them from a form of space to be found in them without an angel bending or prostrating himself before Allah.'

The Arabic word malak, the general word for angel, means 'sent,' and is a Jewish loan-word. It has lost its true form malâk, which survives, however, in the characterization of the plural malâkû. The exact pronunciation was as in pre-Islamic Arabic, as we know from a verse of Abû Wajra, quoted in the Lisan al-'Arab (xii. 386), where it is necessary to drop the mette. But a certain number of angels had special names, which without comment have been inserted here, partly derived from the Qur'an. It seems useless to quote all the verses of the Book where angels are mentioned; we shall therefore notice only the most interesting.

The greatest of the angels—those honoured by all the others as dearest to their Lord—are the four throne-bearers of Allah (hamalat al- 'arâq), whose name will be doubled on the resurrection day. Their duty consists in raising up, before Allah and implore him on behalf of true believers. The legend gives them the form of the four beings who passed into Christianity with the Apocalypse to symbolize the evangelists: man, bull, eagle, and lion. This legend defines the relations established by their form between each other and a class of living beings on earth: the first angel is humanity's intercessor before Allah; the second pleads for domestic animals; the third for birds; and the fourth for savage beasts.

The cherubim (korâbîyûn) are angels who are absolutely absorbed in the holiness of Allah; their function is to repeat the ta'âbû ('Glory to Allah') unceasingly all day and all night. They seem to inhabit a sacred palace and fly, where they live in peace, far removed from the attacks of the devil, Jibûl.

There are four angels who have a distinct personality and are not known by a separate name: Jabril (Gabriel), Mik'âl (Michael), 'Azzârîl, and 'Irafiyl. Authorities class these in a special group; these four archangels will be the last to die at the end of the world. Jabril (or Jibûr'il, Jibril, and sometimes Jibrîr) is, above all, the angel of revelation (rû'ûs an-nabîyûn); he was the messenger sent by Allah to the prophets and particularly to Muhammad. His formidable appearance would overawe men, and so he appears in disguise to the prophets. Muhammad entreated him to reveal himself to him as he really was, and Jibûr'il consented; but, when he appeared,
immense, and covering the whole horizon with his wings, the Prophet raised an army. Even the inhabitants of the sky were alarmed by him. When Allah sent him to deliver the Word to a prophet, they heard a noise like the dragging of chains over rocks, and so terrible that they swooned. When the angel was thrown down to the earth, they recovered their senses, and asked what the Lord had said to him: ‘The Truth’ (al-Haqq), replied the angel, and all repeated: ‘Al-Haqq, al-Haqq!’ This function of Jabril is explained in Arabic by terms analogous to those used in Christian theology is the ‘guardian of holiness’ (hizān al-quds), the ‘faithful spirit’ (ar-raḥ al-‘a‘imin), the ‘holy spirit’ (ar-raḥ al-quds); in which terms we see a borrowing from Christianity. He is the ‘awesome of holiness’ (ta‘ūs al-mala‘ik). His role, however, is not restricted to the carrying of revelation.

A tradition says that, when the Prophet asked him to reveal all his power, Jabril answered: ‘On my two wings I bore the country of the people of Leth, and carried it up into the air so high that its inhabitants could no longer hear their cows crow; then I turned it upside down.’ It is also said that he has assistants who watch over the wanderings of the world. Schwab (Angels, II., 1807, p. 91) notes some of his various functions. The most simple descriptions give him six huge wings, each composed of a hundred little ones; he has also two other wings which he uses to destroy rebellious angels. But later texts show Jabril provided with sixteen huge wings, and covered with saffron hairs; a sun shines between his eyes, a moon and stars between every two wings. He enters the Sea of Light (Bahár an-Na‘) three hundred and sixty times every day; and every time he comes out of it a million drops fall from his wings, and form the angels called ‘Spiritual’ (Rūḥānīyā), because they spread abroad spirit, peace, and perfumes (‘ar-raḥ wa-ar-raḥa wa-ar-raḥa). Jabril is ‘inert’ (mulk) after Mikail. He is named three times in the Qur’an (ii. 91, 92, lxvi. 4); but he also appears under other names (ii. 81, 254, v. 109, where he is the annunciator to Mary; xvi. 104, xxvi. 193, liv. 11, 92). Jabril in the form Mikail is mentioned after Jabril, to reply, the commentators say, to the Jews, who regarded the former as their ally and the latter as their enemy, and gave this as a pretext for rejecting the revelation, in the light to Muhammad by Jabril (Tabarî, Tafsir, i. 330).

Mikail (Michael) is the angel charged with providing food for the body, and knowledge and prudence for the mind. He is the supreme controller of all the forces of nature. From each of his eyes there fall a thousand tears, from each of which Allah creates an angel with the same form as Michael. Singing praises to Allah until the day of judgment, they watch over the life of the world. (These are the or ‘angels of the sun’). Being Michael’s assistants, they control the rain, plants, and fruits; every plant on the earth, every tree, every drop of water, is under the care of one of them. The earliest traditions locate Michael in the seventh heaven, on the borders of the Full Sea (al-Bahr al-Maṣgūr), which is crowded with an innumerable array of angels; Allah alone knows his form and the number of his wings. Later on, however, the descriptions become more precise: his wings are the colour of crimson, he is covered with saffron hairs, and each of them contains a million faces and months, and as many tongues which, in a million dialects, implore the pardon of Allah; from a million eyes that weep over his three million cheeks. Michael, which Allah formed the cherubim, Michael was created five hundred years after Isrā’iil. The conception that arises from the representation of the beings, the Prophet raised an army. Even the inhabitants of the sky were alarmed by him. When Allah sent him to deliver the Word to a prophet, they heard a noise like the dragging of chains over rocks, and so terrible that they swooned. When the angel was thrown down to the earth, they recovered their senses, and asked what the Lord had said to him: ‘The Truth’ (al-Haqq), replied the angel, and all repeated: ‘Al-Haqq, al-Haqq!’ This function of Jabril is explained in Arabic by terms analogous to those used in Christian theology is the ‘guardian of holiness’ (hizān al-quds), the ‘faithful spirit’ (ar-raḥ al-‘a‘imin), the ‘holy spirit’ (ar-raḥ al-quds); in which terms we see a borrowing from Christianity. He is the ‘awesome of holiness’ (ta‘ūs al-mala‘ik). His role, however, is not restricted to the carrying of revelation.

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The borders of the world; his head reaches the highest heaven, and his face looks towards the Tablet of Destiny. The angels, who see the sight of men, harm not, and writers accordingly give him seventy thousand feet and four thousand thousands, while his body is provided with as many eyes and tongues as there are men in the world. Every time a being dies, one of these eyes closes, and at the end of the week only eight eyes will be open, since there will be only eight beings alive—the four archangels and the four throne-bearers. Azrā'il has four faces, each of which is reserved for a separate class of beings: his left hand is for prophets and angels, that on his chest is for believers, that on his back for unbelievers, and that on his feet for the jinn.

The angel of death consigns the souls he has seized to the angels of punishment (wulūkāt al-ʿadhāb), according as they are believers or unbelievers; but certain authors say that it is the angels assisting Azrā'il who themselves carry off the dead. After forty years passed in Dārwaḍ, that Azrā'il, with Allah's permission, calls the souls, and they come and place themselves between the two first fingers of his hand. Lastly, according to still others, Azrā'il gathers the believing souls together hand by hand, in white silk cloth perfumed with musk, and sends them to the farthest summits of heaven (al-ʿalīyijm), while the souls of unbelievers are crowded into a rag coated with tar-water and launched into the depths of hell (as-sijm).

No man can escape Azrā'il; it is impossible to cheat him even by being instantly transported by magical means to the very ends of the earth: Azrā'il is there in an instant. Thus in the story of the young man who was carried to China by his jinn; this popular story is found everywhere (Tabari, Ghazālī, Wolf, The 1001 Nights, Mistatref, etc.). The Qurʾān commentators, however, insist on the relations which Solomon vowed with Azrā'il, though he had started by fainting at the sight of the angel in his true shape.

Isrāʾīl is, according to the formula given by Kaʿb ibn Waṣqīn, the angel who brings the orders of Allah to their proper destination, and who puts the soul into the body. He is the angel of whom the Qurʾān speaks without naming him (vi. 73, lxxxi. 33, etc.), and who is to sound the trumpet of the last judgment (gūn). Azrā’il’s son, the head of the angels, has the charge of the guarding of the gates of heaven. A person who writes to Isrāʾīl changes his wills; i.e., according to different opinions, except the eight angels mentioned above, or only the four archangels, who will perish in the following order: Jabrīl, Mikā’il, Isrāʾīl, and, last of all, the angel of death. After forty years passed in Dārwaḍ, Isrāʾīl will be re-born and will sound the second blast, the blast of resurrection (nafṣat al-bāṭḥ); all the souls, gathered together in the bell of his trumpet, which is as vast as the heavens and the earth, gather, with his warm breath, bodies they are about to animate. While this is the essential function of Isrāʾīl, it is not his only function. When Allah wishes to give a command to men, he orders the Pen (qalam) to write upon the Tablet of Destiny (lāḥ). Thus he gives to Isrāʾīl, who places it between his eyes, and transmits it to Mikā’il. Mikā’il gets the command performed by his assistants, who represent, as mentioned above, the forces of Nature. Authors describe Isrāʾīl under a form borrowed from a hadith of ‘Aisha, repeating the words of Kaʿb al-ʿAbbār, i.e.

the Jewish tradition. ‘Isrāʾīl has four wings; with the first he closes up the East; with the second the West; with the third he covers the earth; and with the fourth he veils his face before the Almighty Power of Allah. His feet are under the seventh heavens, while his head reaches up to the foot of the throne. A late and strange story (Wolff, p. 14) shows him wandering at the risk of death that Allah has to stop his tears because they threaten to renew the Flood of Noah.

After a dead man has been placed in the tomb, and his friends have left him, and he has heard the sound of their voices, he might wish that Allah had to stop his tears because they threaten to renew the Flood of Noah.

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listen only to the words which he pronounces in prayer.

On the *hafaza* devotes the duty of writing down the actions of men; the one on the right hand keeps an account of the good deeds, and the one on the left the evil, and will be a witness on the judgment day. When the man performs a good deed, the angel on the right hand immediately writes it down; when he commits a sin, the same angel begets his companion not to write it. He gives the sinners rest—perhaps seven hours, according to the writers—for which he has time to repent. Some commentators even allow that a compensation may be arranged, and that every good action effaces a bad one. Unbelievers also are said to have guardians (*Qur'an*, lxxxvi. 4).

When the *hafaza* see that the man over whom they had charge has died, they do not know what to do, and they pray to Allah, who tells them to go to the grave of the deceased and repeat the formula of adoration (tebūh, takbir, tāqdis), which, on the judgment day, will be counted among the merits of the deceased.

According to verses in the *Qur'an* into which they have been introduced by Christian tradition, in lxxxi. 11, they are called *kārum kitābind*, 'sage writers', including theovers of human actions; in lxxxi. 12 they are called *hafaza*; but in xli. 12 they are at the same time called *muqaddim*, 'those who declare each other'. This like presentation shows how the commentators, trying to explain it, say that it is a perfectly logical division, and that the second verbal form 'opposite here stands for the third form *gāφa*. The *Qur'an* (i. 17) uses the word *rūf* in denote the guardian angel of men, and *Qahēr* (Tafsir, xiii. 63, line 16) shows that *Qur'an* xiii. 13 was read by 'Ali ben-Ra' with the following variants: 'he has in front of him a *rūf*, and behind him a *rūf*.' There may be some connection between these terms and those referring to the two stars which, during the course of the year, appear at dawn at the West, and at dusk at the East, and the observation of which serves as a foundation for a division of the year into twenty-eight manzūr or *rūf*-a division which is very fruitful in popular practices. The belief in guardian angels, then, over and above Christian traditions, might become connected with an ancient theory.

In the crowd of angels who have no special character, certain authors distinguish the 'pious travellers' (as-sayyāhiin) who scour the country with the intention of frequenting only the gathering where the name of Allah is not being repeated. They then ascend to Allah, who questions them and, on their evidence, pardons his fervent worshippers the faults they may have committed. According to a passage in Ibn al-Athir (Liṣān al-ʿārabi, 1520, 236), one of those could enter any place in which there was an image or a dog.

We cannot explain the circumstance that has drawn the names of Hárrat and Mārrat from the anonymous crowd of spirits into the broad day-light of the Holy Book (*Qur'an*, ii. 97). Traditions have developed rapidly to explain their history, and since the 9th cent. they have been copiously explained by commentators (*Tafsir*, i. 3412). In *Qur'an* it is said that the woman had been thrown into a well in the town of Babylon, where, loaded with chains, they will teach mortals the art of magic until the end of the world. In order to punish them, Allah has commanded them to teach this accursed science; but they have to warn those who consult them that they are rebel angels, and to advise them not to intrude upon the name of 'A'īlah. The woman came to her when the prophet was away, and told her that, being uneasy about the absence of her husband, she had consulted a sorceress; carried away at a gallop by two black dogs (one of the ordinary disguises of *Ibīsh*), the two women had been arrived at the Babylon, 28 leagues, where the woman said, 'Let us go down, we, who have fallen angels had put the inquirer in possession of magical parchments which she was coming to ask the prophet to deliver her.

Who are these two angels, and what was their crime? This is not the place to study in detail the different versions which are prevalent in Arabic lore, about the later writings of Kazwini, for example, the legend has, under Mu'ta- zilite influence, been contracted into an account of a more serious kind, but deprived of characteristic details. We shall give here the chief traits of the most fully developed legend, which seems to be the most ancient.

The first men in the world soon gave themselves up to all kinds of debauchery and crime. The angels who looked on at those horrors from the heavens deplored the meanness and gentleness of Allah. 'Be more tolerant,' he said to them; 'if you were exposed to the passions which agitate men, you would soon commit all their crimes.' Thus they entreated Allah and begged Allah to put them to the test; and he consented. They chose two of the most noble angels—Hārūt and Mārūt, who descended to earth. Allah allowed them to live there in their own way, and prohibited them only from polytheism, adultery, violence, and theft, and to remain well until one day, when a woman came before them; whether by chance or chosen as judges, they had to decide in a quarrel which had arisen between her and her husband. Their judgment was beautiful; she excuted the desire of the two angels.

Tradition gives us her name; she was called Zabara in Arabic, Bālabū in Aramaic, and *Ashaib in Persian* (i.e. Venus). She set conditions on her favours: according to some, she asked her lovers the word which enabled them to ascend to heaven every day, obtained it, and remained attached to the firmament in the form of the planet Venus (Zabara), while the two angels remained prisoners on earth for having misused the sacred word. According to other traditions, they commanded them to worship an idol; or she made them drink wine, the intoxication of which led them to murder a beggar who was passing. In any case, Allah called or recalled them to the sky, and punished the angels.

On the intercession of Solomon, Idris, or some other good personage, he bath of them chose between their firmament and an everlasting chastisement. They chose the former, and were chained in the well of Rābīl, which, according to some, is Babylon, and to Melka: a presentiment of that Demi-devil famous for his magical traditions. We may mention, as a strange association, that two angels who brought magic to men were Mīkhāl and Jadhrī.

This legend may have reached Muhammad through Rabbinic traditions, especially according to the version which shows the woman tempter ascending to heaven with the password of the two angels, and remaining there in the form of the planet Venus. Geiger (*Was hat Mohammed a. d. Judenthume aufgenommen?* Leipzig, 1902, p. 107 f.) mentions a tradition in which the two angels are called Shamłazi and Anazāl (Schwab, p. 209); the daughter of the earth who seduces them is referred to under the name of Aster (= 'star'; see Schwab on the word 'Bidūk'). But we must seek the origin elsewhere; it is in connexion with the cult of Mīthra and Anahīta that we again come across the names of the two spirits. Fravats and Amerats—not to mention the tradition on the Chaldean origin of magic (cf. vol. i. p. 796).

Paradise and hell are peopled with spirits whose exact description has not been given by any writer. At the entrance of the earth was placed an angel called Ridwrān, whose name is probably a rough interpretation of a passage in the *Qur'an* (iii. 15). We do not know in what class to place the *hura* (hār-al-āin), who are said to share with other women the society of the blessed, and who, shining and pure, are exempt from physical suffering, like all the inhabitants of paradise (*Qur'an*, xliv. 54, lv. 20, lv. 56 f., lv. 22, etc.).

The teaching is much clearer in regard to hell. It is guarded by a terrible angel Mālik, assisted by sbēres (sibēnayis), who in their turn have guardians (*hafaza* or hawwād jāhānum) at their command. The sbēres escape from them by reciting this formula. Mālik bears up the sbēres, which bursts into laughter and replies to their complaints with jokes; but he is milder in the case of believers guilty of mortal sins, who, according to the prevailing theory, will one day get free from hell by the intercession of Mūkammād. He is mentioned in the *Qur'an* (xliii. 77).

We have already seen that 'Iblīs was the wicked angel, who, assisted by his son, tempts mortals
He was cursed for refusing to prostrate himself before Aставил, created from clay, when he had been created from fire (quran, xxxix. 6-; T. c. Allah cursed him, calling him 'stained' (rasu`). He has command of the unbelieving jinn, who are his agents with men.

The orthodox doctrine, as we have just seen, is very high of the name of the spirits. But, in imitation of the Jewish Qabbala and under the influence of conjuration formulae, the Muslim practice has developed this nomenclature in a peculiar way: it has commemorated the supreme name of Allah in his ninety-nine secondary names. Thus there is formed an interminable list of names of angels in -a`l, and of names of jinn in -as, which fill all the works on magic. Without entering into details, it may be useful to recall here a hadith which Kazwini mentions (i. 59), following 'Ilu Ab`as:

Each of the seven heavens is inhabited by a group of angels, who are engaged in praising and worshipping Allah. Those who inhabit the lower heaven which encircles the earth have the form of cows, and are under the command of an angel called 'asaf; in the second heaven dwel eggs under the angel Miqal; in the third, vulvas under Sbad`il; in the fourth, horses under Sadiq; in the sea, houris, and the Kalkilih, in the sixth, young boys under Bahib; in the seventh, men under Rabbil. Lastly, beyond the veil which hides the heavens, angels encircle the earth, and are the guardians of the Dead. Allah in different languages which resound like tearing thunder.

In a word, the ancient beliefs of the pagans Arabs have been preserved by peopling the Muslim world with demons for which, with more or less success, the favourite names of the servants of Allah have been given without touching on the critical study of the hadiths.


DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Persian).—Demonology plays a prominent part in the religion of Persia because of the pronounced dualistic tenets of Zoroastrianism. The opposing forces of evil and good are believed to be in constant warfare until the last millennial cycles of the world pre¬cise the day of judgment, when perfected man shall, by the aid of the heavenly hosts, overcome the power of evil (druy) for ever, and righteousness (Av. aza) shall reign supreme.

The general designation for 'demon' in the Avesta is da`a, the same word as the later Persian d, 'devil,' and it is etymologically identical with Skr. de`, 'deity,' Lat. divus, 'divine,' although diametrically opposed in meaning. This direct opposition between the Indian and the Persian terms is generally ascribed to a presumed religious schism in pre-historic times between the two branches of the Indo-Iranian community; but there is considerable uncertainty about the interpretation, and the solution of the problem has not been rendered easier by the fact mentioned below—that the names of the divinities who appear as demons in the Zoroastrian system have recently been found in ancient inscriptions discovered in Asia Minor.

The word da`a is masculine in gender, the demons in Zoroastrianism are commonly conceived to be of the male sex; but there is a large class of she-devils or female fiends, druya, derived in name from the feminine abstract druy, 'deity,' 'essence of evil in the Avesta, a word comparable with the neuter deva, 'false¬hood," 'lie,' in the Old Persian inscriptions. Bes¬ides these she-demons there are numerous other feminine personifications that embody the elements of sin as much as do their masculine counterparts.

In numbers, according to the Avesta, the hosts of evil are legion (Yt. iv. 2). The Gathas speak of the demons as 'the seed sprung from evil thought, deceit, and presumption' (Ys. xxviii. 34), for that reason they are elsewhere described as being 'the seed of darkness' (Festul. viii. 80). Their creator was Ahirman, who brought them forth to wage war against heaven and earth, as is told in the Pahlavi Zendavestan (ii. 3-46). Plutarch (De Is. et Osir. xlvii.) rightly interpreted the spirit of Zoroastrian demonology when he described Ahirman as having caused a number of demons equal in activity to the Divine forces denoted by Ormuzd, the world-egg in which Ormuzd had placed his four-and-twenty 'gods' (theoi). Zoroaster's mis¬sion was to banish these diabolical creatures from the world, and it is easy to understand why the Avesta should place the world-egg in which Ormuzd had placed his four-and-twenty 'gods' (theoi). Zoroaster's mission was to banish these diabolical creatures from the world, and it is easy to understand why the Avesta should place this world-egg in which Ormuzd had placed his four-and-twenty 'gods' (theoi). Zoroaster's mission was to banish these diabolical creatures from the world, and it is easy to understand why the Avesta should place this world-egg in which Ormuzd had placed his four-and-twenty 'gods' (theoi). Zoroaster's mission was to banish these diabolical creatures from the world, and it is easy to understand why the Avesta should place this world-egg in which Ormuzd had placed his four-and-twenty 'gods' (theoi). Zoroaster's mission was to banish these diabolical creatures from the world, and it is easy to understand why the Avesta should place this world-egg in which Ormuzd had placed his four-and-twenty 'gods' (theoi). Zoroaster's mission was to banish these diabolical creatures from the world, and it is easy to understand why the Avesta should place this world-egg in which Ormuzd had placed his four-and-twenty 'gods' (theoi). Zoroaster's mission was to banish these diabolical creatures from the world, and it is easy to understand why the Avesta should place this world-egg in which Ormuzd had placed his four-and-twenty 'gods' (theoi). Zoroaster's mission was to banish these diabolical creatures from the world, and it is easy to understand why the Avesta should place this world-egg in which Ormuzd had placed his four-and-twenty 'gods' (theoi). Zoroaster's mission was to banish these diabolical creatures from the world, and it is easy to understand why the Avesta should place this world-egg in which Ormuzd had placed his four-and-twenty 'gods' (theoi). Zoroaster's mission was to banish these diabolical creatures from the world, and it is easy to understand why the Avesta should place this world-egg in which Ormuzd had placed his four-and-twenty 'gods' (theoi). Zoroaster's mission was to banish these diabolical creatures from the world, and it is easy to understand why the Avesta should place this world-egg in which Ormuzd had placed his four-and-twenty 'gods' (theoi). Zoroaster's mission was to banish these diabolical creatures from the world, and it is easy to understand why the Avesta should place this world-egg in which Ormuzd had placed his four-and-twenty 'gods' (theoi). Zoroaster's mission was to banish these diabolical creatures from the world, and it is easy to understand why the Avesta should place this world-egg in which Ormuzd had placed his four-and-twenty 'gods' (theoi). Zoroaster's mission was to banish these diabolical creatures from the world, and it is easy to understand why the Avesta should place this world-egg in which Ormuzd had placed his four-and-twenty 'gods' (theoi). Zoroaster's mission was to banish these diabolical creatures from the world, and it is easy to understand why the Avesta should place this world-egg in which Ormuzd had placed his four-and-twenty 'gods' (theoi). Zoroaster's mission was to banish these diabolical creatures from the world, and it is easy to understand why the Avesta should place this world-egg in which Ormuzd had placed his four-and-twenty 'gods' (theoi). Zoroaster's mission was to banish these diabolical creatures from the world, and it is easy to understand why the Avesta should place this world-egg in which Ormuzd had placed his four-and-twenty 'gods' (theoi).
qualities and as discharging multifarious diabolical functions. Their names are Aka Manah (Evil Thought), Indra, Sauru, Nāoīkāthalya (paralleled with three Indian deities), Taurvi and Zairielia (personifications respectively of overpowering hunger and deadly thirst); and, lastly, Aēsma, (cf. above, p. 138), Taurvi and Zairielia. The fact that three of these demoniacal names are identical with gods in the Indian pantheon has been alluded to above, but their figures on the whole are not really sharply defined, though their malign character appears several times in narratives related to innumerable passages which enumerate them (Vend. x. 9 f., xix. 43; Bund. i. 27, xxvii. 7-12, xxx. 29; Ep. Mān. i. 9; cf. also Dot. xciv. 2; Dink. ix. 54). Reference has likewise been made to the fact that the Iranian Background of this group of demon-like beings is the 14th cent. B.C., recently discovered by Winckler at Boghaz-keui in Asia Minor, the names Indra and Nāsātya—the latter noteworthy by its Indian form (with s) in contrast to the Iranian form Nāsōn, appear as demons and not as deities. Until the full connection of the passages in these inscriptions is made known by the discoverer, it appears premature to theorize in regard to the possible bearing of the ahumans upon modern folklore and the presence of the present Indo-Iranian religious schism. The mention may be merely a direct reference to Indian deities without having any immediate connexion with Iran.

Of the sixfold group of arch-fiends, the most clearly defined is the assaulting and outrageous demon Aēsma, whose name has been thought to be reflected as Asmodain in the Book of Tobit (see F. Windischmann, Zoroastr. Studien, Berlin, 1896, p. 138; A. Kobut, Trakt. Anglogische und Demonologische, Leipzig, 1896, p. 75; F. Spiegel, Erdt. Alterthumskunde, Leipzig, 1877, i. 132; E. Stave, Einfluss des Parazines auf das Juden-, Haaien, 1898, p. 203; J. H. Monnot, The Iranian Background of His Name, Zeitschrift für orientalische Kirchenkunde, xli. (1907) 558; for the opposing view, see Ginzelz, in JFR ii. 217-229).

By the side of these six arch-demons there are named in the Avesta and supplementary Zoroastrian texts more than fifty other demons, personifications of evil forces in the world (for the complete list, see Jackson, op. cit. infrav, pp. 659-662). It will suffice to mention a few of these, such as Tarωnanti, 'Arrogance'; Mithoza, 'Dread'; Aži, 'Shame'; Zemah, 'Destruction'; Zemakha, 'Winter'; and a score or more of personified malignant forces.

The special cohort of fiends (droyes), as already noted, is headed by the Druk paramount, or the demonic embodiment of deceit and falsehood, who draws in her train a ribald crew of followers, corporeal and incorporeal, entitled in the Avesta droyesnts, or droynts, 'the wicked.' Foremost among these agents in exercising pernicious activity is the Druk Nosēm (cf. Gr. rōikos), 'corpse-fiend,' the veritable incarnation of pollution and contagion arising from the decomposition of a dead body. Of a similar character in the Avesta is Parsa Mez (Pesh. Mez., xix. 8; Yt. vi. 4, xiii. 130), the same as Sēj in the Pahlavi texts (Bund. xxvii. 26; Dink. ix. 21. 4, vii. 4. 37), a form of wasting decay and decrepitude that creeps on unseen. Fiercely malignant in her influences and angerfilled (Yt. iii. 9. 12. 16), who embodies the spirit of whoredom destructive to mankind; while little better are the seductive

Pairikā, 'enchantresses' (the late Persian Peres) and their male partners, Šatmās, 'sorcerers.'

Among demoniacal monsters is Aški Dahāka, 'the Serpent Dahāka,' a tyrant out of whose shoulders grew two snakes from a kiss imprinted between them by Ahraman. Zoroastrism throughout Zoroastrianism is represented as the personification of the thousand years of oppressive rule over Iran by the Babylonian Empire in early days; and he appears equally in the derived demonology of Winckler, in Manicheism (cf. Bull. xlii. 19. 37), as well as in Armenia (above, vol. i. p. 500), while his name, with the signification of 'dragon,' is even found in Slavic (Brenner, Slov. etymolog., Wörterb., Heidelberg, 1898 ff., p. 36). A dozen other the souls of dead and decaying of Iranian demonology are pre-Christian Armenians see above, vol. i. p. 779 f.).


A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Roman).—The Romans and Latins, and the races of Italy who were nearest of kin to them, believed in demons, possessed but little in the nature of mythology or folklore before they passed under the spell of the Hellenic culture. The early Italian conception of the supernatural power had not much about it that was definite or personal. There was a vague consciousness of a Divine influence (numen) which worked in different spheres and with different manifestations; but the allotment of distinct departments to clearly conceived personages, more or less superhuman, and the gradation of these personages to form a hierarchy, were alien to primitive Italian thought and feeling. In the earliest form of belief, only two classes of beings were intermediate between the human and the Divine. These were the souls of the dead, and certain spirits who attended on the lives of individual human beings.

We shall first deal with these attendant spirits, who, when attached to men, bore the name genii, and, when attached to women, the name famuli. These creations are rey of the soil of Italy, and the faith in them was less affected by contact with the Greeks than any other article of indigenous Italian religion. It hardly needs to be said that the history of cultus of cultus paralleled to this notion of an invisible personality, separable from, yet closely attached to, the life of the visible man. The fraeviši of the Persians and
the ka of the Egyptians were not unlike, and the Greeks viewed the psyche in a somewhat similar fashion. Even barbarous peoples often abstract from the individual some striking characteristic or characteristics which they contemplate as belonging to a more or less spiritual person distinct from the man himself. Such a concept is the genius, and it was a warlike spirit also wilderness, the races he lived in the old Roman house. The corresponding power in the case of the matron is her junio, and the later goddess Juno is merely a generalization and a glorification of the separate inferior goddesses. That no parallel god emerged on the male side is an anomaly of a common kind. In the genius were also embodied all faculties of delight, so that phrases such as indulgere genio, 'to do one's genius a pleasure,' and defraudare genius, 'to cheat the genius of an enjoyment,' were common. But the intellectual qualities which we denote by the borrowed word genius never specially pertained to this ancient spirit. The genius was the spot called genius by its nature. The genius and the junio were at first imagined not only to come into existence along with the human beings to whom they were linked, but also to go out of existence with them. Yet they were not entirely effaced from the mind, for the new idea of the soul, which was not only to exist over the fortunes, but also the temperament of their companions. There was undoubtedly a sort of fatalism connected with the belief in spirits. The Greeks often conceived of a particular psyche, or soul, as existing in the house of sin in a similar manner, and therefore they usually represented genius by a gyō. But occasionally salus is viewed exactly in the light of the Roman genius. In a well-known passage (Ep. ii. ii. 188), Horace does not hesitate to call the genius a god, though he at the same time declares him to be subject to death. The snake was the common symbol of the genius and the junio; hence the pairs of snakes which are painted on the walls of many houses at Pompeii. It was not uncommon to keep a tame snake in the dwelling, and the superstition believed that the genius was incorporated in it. Simple altars were erected to the spirit, and offerings were made to him.

In course of time the ideas attached to the genius were in many respects changed and expanded. By a sort of logical absurdity, genius of the great gods were invented, and shrines were erected to the genius of Jupiter and others, while any collection of human beings gathered together, in a city, for instance, or a guild (collegium), or a camp, might have its attendant spirit. Thus a genius publicus was worshipped at Rome. But the imagination that things of places not connected with men were thus companioned—an imagination involved in such phrases as genius urbis annonae or genius loci—sprang up only in a late age.

In the Imperial time, the servitude between the Emperor's genius and his imperial household had many notable consequences, and subserved some political purposes. Augustus was able to allow the veneration of his genius to become part of the public worship of Rome without flouting Roman prejudice, though he was compelled (officially) to confine the deification of his person to the provinces. When it became customary for oaths to be taken by the Emperor's genius, it was possible to introduce a sacrilegious punishment for perjury, which had previously been left to the Divine vengeance.

When Eastern religious influences spread over the Western part of the Roman Empire, and new developments in philosophy aided these influences in transforming culture, old ideas concerning the genius underwent contamination. The genius, which had been supposed to die with the man, was now held to be identical with the soul which survived the body. Hence on the later tombstones of this name sometimes describes the spirit of the deceased. Servius, the commentator on Virgil, tells us that the vulgar did not clearly distinguish between genii, lares, and manes. This confusion had been helped by learned speculation from the time of Varro onwards. Therefore, not to consider Roman and Italic beliefs concerning the state of the dead.

That a cult of the departed existed from primitive times is clear from many indications. The earliest form of the Roman religion, not the ancient purificatory ceremonies for the appeasement of the ghostly world. The vanished spirits were not without an influence over the living which was to be dreaded. The month of February took its name from the genius of the mare, who in the Roman calendar was called Brutus. Each family in the community had its special concern with the ritual. The ghosts were supposed to approach some openings in the earth, to which the name manus was given. Such was the dedication of the spot called Campus Martius, and another place in front of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine. The ceremony called lustratio ('purification'), which was performed for the newly-born child, for the army in times of peace, and for the whole assemblage of past and present warriors every five years (when the censors were said concordare lustrum), seems to have had its origin more in fear of the unregarded dead than in any actual security of the person of the god; and the ornament called bulla worn by the Roman child appears to have contained charms originally intended to ward off ghostly anger, to which the young were specially exposed. It is believed that the worship of the lares, or household spirits, was one form of the cult of the dead, and, till recently, they were followed by the moderns. There is, however, much evidence to show that the veneration of the spirit began outside the house. The earliest mention of them is in the ancient hymn of the Arval Brothers, where they appear amongst the protecting divinities of the fields. Originally each house possessed only one lar familiaris, and later, a use of lares applied to the spirit of the household' is not earlier than the late Republic. It is possible that the lar familiaris was at first the mythical founder of the separate family, just as each gens had its mythical ancestor. But the existence of early times of lares in every comitatus, or quarter of the city, and of lares perennis and other lares connected with localities, points the other way. And the worship connected with them was joyous in character, not funeral. The scholars who identified the lares with the departed souls were influenced, perhaps, by a supposed and improbable connexion between lar and larva (which is the name for an unsatisfied and, therefore, dangerous ghost), and by the primitive custom of burying the dead within the house of the living. The phrase di manes, which is familiar to us on Roman tombstones, appears to have been the earliest applied to the general divinities who ruled the world of shades. Their appearance in Roman religion must have been comparatively late. The term manes, properly 'good' or 'kindly,' is euphemistic, like the name Eumenides, given to the Greek Furies. The application of manes to disembodied men is secondary, especially when the word indicates a single ghost. Yet, from an early time, the ancestors in the other world were deemed to be in a sense Divine, and were called
**diē parentes. The leumnes are the same as the**

**loures** the spirits with whom, for whatever reason, the living find it hard to maintain a permanent
peace. The name is connected with *leumantia*, a
purificatory ceremony held at Rome in the month
of May.

When the West was invaded by the religions of the East, including the Christian, and when philosophy, especially in the hands of the Neo-
Pythagorean and Neo-Platonic schools, developed much mystical doctrine about things Divine, the
belief in beings who were more than men and less
than gods became universal. The whole world
now abounded in demons of limited power for good
or evil. The testimony to this perversion is
scattered broadcast over later literature, from
Aphipus onwards, and over the remains of Imperial
art. The deified emperors were like the Greek
 irresponsible, and to them the name *diē*, which had in earlier days not been distinguished from *dēi*, was
appropriated. Magic and astrology blended with
the faith in demons, which, when Christianity pre-
vailed, were regarded as wholly bad, and were
identified with heathen divinities. The minds of
men were laden with a burden of which they were
never to rid themselves, and the symbolism sprang out of the
Reformation movement.

**LITERATURE.**—Information on the subject may be obtained from the articles on "*Infernal*," "Genius," "Lares," and "Manes," in the tenth, eleventh, and
fourth volumes of *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*; in the first, second, and third volumes of the *Antiquités de l'Antiquité in France*; Vol. iv. of the *German Mythology*,
Vol. i. of the *German Religion*, of *Wissowa's Religion* and of the *Handbuch* of *Wissowa's Reli*

**DEMONS AND SPIRITS**

**Slavie.**—There is abundant evidence of the persistence of the belief in demons and spirits among the Slavic people
even to the present day, especially in districts
where primitive ideas and customs have not yielded to the
advancement of civilization. Popular imagina-
tion traces the agency of supernatural beings in
every part of the surrounding world—house and
hovel, meadow and forest, in every nook and
corner the possible hiding-place of an invisible
spirit, which, however, may on occasion assume a
visible form. In seeking to classify these beings
under leading categories, it is found that in
the Orient the demons assume to various extent the
different forms of the animate stage of thought, and which,
on the other hand, should be described rather as
demons, demanding the prayers, offerings, and
worship of human beings. As to the various classes
of demons themselves, such as dream-spirits and
spirits of disease, domestic spirits and Nature-
spirits, it is likewise no easy task to draw distinct
lines of demarcation between them.

The origin of demonic beings is explained in a
cosmogonic legend of dualistic character, which, it is
ture, belongs to a relatively late period, and is
derived from a foreign source.

According to this story, which is widely known among the
Slav, the following tradition existed from the
Middle Ages, and is quite inde-
pendently of the Good. As a result of the combined work
of both—God and Satan—the world itself came into being. Satan,
in the form of a water-fowl, made his way to the bottom of
the primate ocean, and in his beak brought up rock and sand, with
which he covered the earth. When frayed the waters the
Satan, however, secretly retained in his mouth a portion of the sand, and made
therewith all the rugged and inaccessible places—mountains,
gerous rivers, deeps, straits, and huge islands. Satan then tried
drowned God, who, fatigued with the effort of creation, was now
able to create it. This exhaustion made him take refuge in the
place of the earth, which caused floods to rush forth thereon: thus arose great
water and abysses, into which, however, Satan himself was at
length flung, and thus became ever afterwards the
sufferer under the water (q.v.)

Deity, Satan also created the work of creation, and monstrous
plants and animals are the result of his efforts. Desiring to
form a retinue for his other service such as would correspond to
the angelic hosts of God, he was advised by the latter to
reach to his hands, and to follow the water down to the
bottom of the ocean behind him. From these drops sprang an innumerable multitude
of evil spirits, who, on their own head, as their own. It is believed
in Russia that the same thing takes place when a man
is engaged in washing himself lets the water drip around him.

According to another form of the legend, demons
were produced from a stone upon which blows were
deght by God and Satan respectively. Satan's arrogation
and the growth of him, which induced him to
revolt, with the result, however, that the angelarch Michael
hurled the wicked host from the earth to the
abysses below heaven and earth; one remained
in the air, another in the forest, a third in water, etc., while
the rest sank down to the underworld. The demons have their secret
habitations in all places—in the air, in woods, waters, and the like. It is a popular belief that the
conflict between the Good and the Evil principle still endures,
and manifests itself in thunder and lightning. The
thunderstorm is brought about by the thunder-god—Eliphaz or Michael—
who pursues the evil host with a bolt of fire. Every object
injured, every person or animal killed, by the lightning-flash
is caused by the Devil. In popular belief, no
touch the gods, but the demons; even the term thunderstorm wins salvation, as also the notice that the
wood of a tree shattered by lightning contains a powerful counter-
active to the work of evil spirits.

The people of Little Russia explain the genesis of demons by
another myth, with which, however, is known
in Russia as that which we have just sketched. According to them, evil
spirits are the children of Adam. Our first parents, it is related,
had twelve pairs of children, but only seven came
to visit them, Adam tried to conceal half of his offspring from the
Divine. The children who were thus hidden were transformed
into demons.

Although many demons are destroyed in their
warfare against God and good men, yet their
numbers are not diminished. On the contrary,
their ranks are always being reformed, either
by marriages amongst themselves, from which issue
new generative powers, or by sex with human beings. Further, their numbers may be recruited by the human
children who become de-
mons—a transformation which takes place when a
child is cursed by its parents, or dies unbaptized,
or when it is taken away by a demon. If a child
is changeling (p. v.) left in its place. The powers of evil
also gain possession of all who die a violent death,
such as suicides and children overthrown in sleep;
hence the idea that it is dangerous to try to save a maiden
child from this mode of coming into
the world. Those who are drowned, etc., as the devil will feel himself
wronged in being balked of his expected
victim, and may take vengeance upon the rescuer.

The demons are believed to correspond to each
woman with human beings. They injure
man by causing accident and disease, or they give
him help and protection. A common idea is that
a demon sits upon the left shoulder of every human
being, ready to take possession of him at any
moment of weakness, and it is therefore advisable
that when a person yawns he should guard his
mouth by making the sign of the cross, and so
prevent the fiend from gaining entrance into his
body. But, if an individual takes with the devil (and a compact
is hereby made between the two) to
sign the document), the devil undertakes
on his part to serve the man in every possible way,
and especially to make him rich. In the course of ages Satan has taught mankind the
arts of iron-
working, brewing, and distilling, as also the use
of tobacco. He was the discoverer of fire; he built
the first mill and the first wagon. The arts of
reading and writing were also invented by him.

Moreover, when in the disguise of a
good man, he incurs the resentment of fugitive
man; he may appear under the disguise of a
friend or a lover, and it is even believed that he can serve his ninions by taking their place in the ranks of the army. It is also said that, when he wishes to gratify his lust, he visits witches in the form of a flying fiery serpent; such, for example, are the Ledavatuci of the Huzulcs and the Polish Jezibohy, whose form is a female spirit, sometimes that of a fascinating maiden.

It is with witches that the evil spirits and demons have their most active intercourse. At certain seasons, and especially on the principal feast days of the year, to Satan the witches visit the sitting-places of the demons, where they drink, dance, and wallow in debauchery. The demons on their part are ready to abet the witches in carrying out those magical operations which, according to popular belief, are never executed by supernatural agency. Such, for instance, are the machinations by which the sorcerer causes untimely births, inflicts love, sells dismissal among friends, anything in a word, which does mischief to mankind. The transactions are performed in the name of the evil spirit, and, when they are followed by an adjuration, this usually takes the form of an appeal 'to the host of uncanny spirits in conjunction with Satan.' The part which the sorcerer has in view. Such an adjuration of the infernal spirits implies, of course, that the sorcerer has by word and action taken the final step in his abandonment of the Christian faith and of all that is connected with the church and its forces. He takes the cross from his neck and tramples upon it; he avoids the use of sacred words, and declares himself an apostate from Christ and His saints. A person who has thus given up any respect for his health in his very appearance; it is believed that he no longer washes himself or combs his hair. In little Russia, a woman who desires to become a witch goes at midnight to some river, where the evil spirit comes forth to meet her, and must previously have trodden a saint's image under foot, and removed the cross from her neck.

According to the superstitious belief, reflected also in the language of incantations, the evil spirits dwell somewhere in the North or West, in a 'nocturnal' land, while the good angels are in possession of the realm lying to the East. The region peopled by demons is dark, shrouded in mist and cloud, and lies deep down in an abyss which is not widely diffused, it is the hosts of Satan live in a subterranean region, whence they issue forth upon the world at the bidding of their prince; or in deep waters, unclean places, dense forests, and marshes where the sun never shines. Bushes of elder and willow by the water-side are in some localities believed to be the favourite haunts of demons. They leave their lurking-place in the vicinity of water on the 6th of January, i.e. Epiphany, when the priest blesses the water; then they migrate to an abode in the meadows. In Passion week, again, when the meadows are consecrated, they pass into trees and cornfields, and then, at the festival on the 1st of Azg that, they will lie in ambush which is consecrated on that day—and return to their own element. Another favourite resort of demons is the cross-roads (q.v.), where evil spirits come together from all quarters of the world. The skill with which they are adapted to supply a lodging for demons. They like to tarry in the neighbourhood of a spot where treasure is concealed. On Easter Eve and the Eve of St. John, when the bracken is supposed to flourish, the demons endeavour to prevent the blossoms, which possess extraordinary magical virtues, from falling into the hands of human beings. At the hour of noon they muster at their favourite spots on the banks of lakes and rivers, and it is therefore dangerous to linger in the open at that time. There is, indeed, a special midsummer demon, the Ies poledenyni. It is believed that the spirits retire from the earth and return to Hell in the middle of November, only, however, to resume their expeditions as the first signs of spring, when Nature re-awakes from her winter sleep.

Hell, the never lake of fire and smoke, is, in a special sense, the home of these evil spirits. Here Latysiper, with his wife and attendants, swims and sails about, torturing the chairs of the place of eternal fire is depicted as a bathroom or stove, in the heat of which the souls are tormented. The belief in hell-fire and the discovery of iron have conspired to foster another notion, viz., that the demons are smiths. In Russian incantations we find mention of three such demonic smiths, the three brothers. The idea of a trio of friends is also current in the folklore of other Slavonic countries. The oldest demon of all, Latysiper, is very frequently referred to as Herod—a name which probably denotes both the murderer of the innocents and the slayer of John the Baptist. Other names applied to the devil are 'the satan' (Slavonic), 'the aston (of his hosts), Juniper (of the Chaldeans), and Satan. According to the legends, the chief of the infernal forces is bound with a chain, which, however, in consequence of the sins of men, wears thin, and would long ere this have given way altogether, but for the fact that the devil is continually being reconstituted; it is restored at every Easter-tide to its original strength.

In addition to the demons named above, we find here and there a large and powerful female being, whose chief characteristic is a neck, which, through its height, makes her, in a word, a being of great stature, and plays great part in Slavonic legend.

This is the Babacaja (Russ.), Jeda (Pol.), or Jezibohy (Slovak), a hideous old beldam, whose children are the evil spirits, or who, as the devil's dam," sends forth her subject spirits into the winds. She is said to steal children for the purpose of gratifying her craving for human flesh; to fly in company with the spirit of death, who gives her the souls of the dead for food, and to stir up storm and tempest in her flight. The legends also tell that she has teeth and breasts of iron, with which she rends her victims, and that her home is in a far-distant forest.

Among other Slavic names applied to evil spirits may be mentioned the following: sert (Bohem.), sert (Russ.), Bajart (Pol.); djevar (Russ.), djeval (Bohem.); bela trge (adversary); bokur (the crafty); djugeti (shadow); djugeti (unclean), dedilj (grandfather). The last-mentioned (Little Russian) epithet is applied to both the domestic spirit and the devil, and in this it resembles the Bohe, Beelzebub, Ie. 'the great godling' (cf. dibbik = dibulohi as also the Bohem. Spiritus = Lat. Spiritus, Slovak piskulik, which corresponds to the O. Pruss. piskulka). This is one of the numerous facts which indicate that heathen demonology and the Christian conception of the devil conceived in the idea of a single 'unclean power.' In order to avoid giving offence to the demon by uttering his name, the people refer to him simply in the third person, as 'the' or 'himself.'

The demons are represented also as capable of assuming human form, and as having the qualities and propensities of human nature. It is to be noted, however, that they often show in every case some peculiar feature which distinguishes them from mankind. Thus, the demon's body may be black, or covered with hair; or he may have a horn, or a tail. In many instances he is recognized also simply as a spirit; he can be recognized by his red and fiery eyes, or by the absence of some prominent organ of the body, such as an eye or an ear; or, again, by the resemblance of his feet and ears to those of a domestic animal. A large number of demons, without eyelashes, is suspected of being a demon. The water-spirit often appears in human form, and his real nature is then recognizable only by the water that oozes
from his hair and clothes. The devil, again, has a special liking for music, and dances to it. He is also fond of drinking. Demoniac beings have strong erotic tendencies; one of their common manœuvres is to waylay women and girls, or, again, to appear before a young man in the guise of a beautiful and alluring maiden. It may also be mentioned that some demons even demand food, but, as immaterial beings, may be put off with mere odours and fumes.

Demonic beings stand in awe of things connected with the Church, and consecrated objects generally; and these accordingly are the most potent amulets against their evil practices. Of such prophylactic articles the most important is the cross; and everything that bears that symbol shares its power. Other effective expedients are found in sacred tapers, holy water, and holy oil from the latter. The glowing firebrand is in all cases a specific against demoniac agency.

Those demons and demonic spirits which make their abode in human beings—the witch, the vampire, the demoniae—have also the power of assuming an almost endless variety of form. When present invisibly in his body, or in his animal appearance—from other by night. It is also believed that the demons have an aversion to wheat and flax, as the consecrated wafer is prepared from the former, and holy oil from the latter. The glowing firebrand is in all cases a specific against demoniac agency.

The Jegomija of the Serbs, again, may remain invisible. The Jegomija-spirits are said to fight with one another among the mountains, their missiles being human or animal beings; and, while they are about their work, they are known by their flashes of light, or by thunder and lightning. Upon their influence depends the state of the weather, and thus also the fruitfulness of the soil.

A special instance of demonic metamorphosis is found in the Slavic werewolf—the Vukodlak (Bohem.), Vlaciokolak (Russ.), Vukalac (Serbo Croat.), Vlakolak (Bulg.). The werewolf is a man who can change himself into a wolf, or who has really become a wolf by the enchantment of a witch. The belief in such transformations has been widely current for centuries; as far back as the 12th cent., eclipses of the sun and moon were attributed to the werewolf. The werewolf figures largely in legend. A person who has the power of changing at will into a wolf always shows some point of difference—in his beard or in his animal appearance—different from other people. It is believed that his father was a wolf, and that he himself was born into the world feet first. In the upper part of his body he resembles a human being, while the lower part suggests the wolf. He may also have a human mouth and demoniac heart. To become a werewolf is a matter of no great difficulty. One need only drink a little water taken from the footprints of a wolf, or turn over a fallen tree, and then put on a wolf’s skin; on the night thereafter the werewolf appears, bringing terror to man and beast. In some districts of Bulgaria it is believed that the Vlakolak is a spirit which has been formed from the blood of a murdered man, and that he haunts the scene of the murder, and causes the place to become arid.

Among all the Slavic peoples, and especially among the Serbs, the werewolf is often confounded with the vampire or upyr (Serv. vampir, Lit. Russ. vupir). The werewolf is the soul of a dead man, which comes forth out of the grave for the purpose of working injury upon the living. The Serbs believe that impious people, and especially witches, become Vukodlak after death, and drink the blood of sleeping persons. When an unusually large number of deaths take place in a village community, the calamity is attributed to the Vukodlak. Word passes from mouth to mouth that the ghostly evil-doer has been seen as he moved around with the mortal cloth upon his shoulders. The people then go to the churchyard for the purpose of identifying his grave. They take with them a foal, and the grave upon which the foal stands still is opened, and the body taken out and impaled with a stake through the calf. The vampire, and cases of similar measures are resorted to when the people seek to deliver their homes from the nocturnal visits of the vampire. In Russia, for instance, a stake of aspen or maple is thrust into the corpse, or else the grave, of the vampire, thereby preventing the evil-doer from rising again. In some districts the corpse is burned, or the blood-vessels severed below the knee. Besides the vampire of the dead, however, who finds pleasure in tormenting sleeping persons by night, we hear also cases of demonic agency among the living.

We hear also of vampires who were originally children begotten of mankind by the devil, or children who died unbaptized. In point of fact, any ordinary individual who is tormented after death; if an unclean animal or bird—dog, cat, magpie, cock—sucks casually over his dead body, or if he is not buried according to the ordinary ritual of the Church, he thereby becomes a vampire. The vampire may be recognized in the grave by the fact that his corpse does not decay, but retains a ruddy colour in the face, and has the mouth smeared with blood. His limbs bear marks which show the gnawing of his teeth. When at length he is buried, and his body is laid in the grave, he assumes the form of an animal, or, indeed, of an object of any kind. We may also note here that, according to a popular superstition in Little Russia, every witch is subject to an upyr, who was born with her and with whom she cohabits.

To the same class of tormenting spirits belong the mora, mura, or masa (Russ. and Pol.), moruchka (Russ.), Kikinora (Russ.), morovas (Wend. and Bulg.); cf. the Ger. nach or Malheur, 'mare', 'nightmare'. They might be described in almost the same terms as the vampire. They, too, are the souls of living men, which leave their bodies by night, and visit sleepers for the purpose of tormenting them. In Russia and in Saxony, however, the mora is thought to be the soul of a child that has died unbaptized, or has been cursed by its parents; or it is a spirit which dwells in the cemetery and makes itself visible in the shape of a graceful being. Popular superstition invests it with certain features which distinguish it from ordinary human beings. The soles of its feet are flat, and its eyelashes meet. A child who at birth has visible teeth, or one who, having been taken from his mother, continues to sneeze again, eventually becomes a mora. A similar development is expected in the case of a child whose mother during pregnancy happens to go out of her room just as the clock strikes the hour of noon. Further, should the Church take place during baptism, the child being
baptized is thereby doomed to become a mora. It is also believed that a witch can spiritually make herself a mora. The characteristic pursuit of a mora is to plague her sleeping victims with bad dreams and oppression of the chest, while she is sucking on their breasts. During the visitation the sleeper is incapable of speech and motion. But the mora does not confine her evil practices to human beings; she likewise torments domestic animals, draining them of milk and blood. Nevertheless, it is not a difficult matter to rid oneself of the cruel attentions of the morn. All that is necessary is to offer her a gift of some edible substance, such as bread, salt, or butter. An effective means of keeping her at bay is to place beside some object, such as a double triangle (the so-called 'mora’s foot'), a mirror, a broom, a steel article, etc.

The further we trace the mora or kikinora towards the East, the more she does shed her distinctive characteristics and become identified with the household spirit, or deva, which are ascribed the traits which belonged originally to her. She has now become an inmate of the house, revealing her presence by her nocturnal movements. She makes her round with people, puts them into a state of terror and causes discontent, raves the work of the sewer or spinner, sits spinning upon the stove, or busses herself with tasks that belong to the housewife. She is a little old woman, and lives behind the stove. When the inmates of the house wish to rid themselves of her presence, they sweep the stove and the corners of the room with a besom, and speak the words: ‘Thou must go away from this place, else thou shalt be burned.’

In the parts of Russia the mornas are believed to be repulsive-looking dwarfs, who may be found as crying children among the fields. In Siberia the kikinora has become a forest-spirit.

Analogous to the mora is the nocturnal demon which is known among the Slovaks, Poles, Serbs, and Russians as the nocinta (‘night-hag’). When a child suffers during the night from some unknown ailment, terrors, about and crying, the trouble is set down to the nocinta, who takes the child by tickling it or sucking its blood, or disturbs its sleep by her mere touch. The liability to such disturbance is attributed to the mother’s having neglected her child the evening before. In external appearance the night-hag has no special stains very indistinct; she is simply a female demon who wanders around in the darkness of night. In some localities the nocintas are supposed to form a group of twelve sisters. It should be noted, moreover, that a similar name, podanoctasites, i.e. the ‘midnight-woman,’ is sometimes applied to the Virgin Mary. In the Government of Archangel people safeguard themselves from the nocinta by drawing a circle round the cradle with a knife, or placing the knife within the cradle, or by putting an axe, a doll, and a spindle beneath the floor, or by driving a piece of wood into the wall. The incantations accompanying these actions always contain an expression of the fact that the ‘nocturnal demon’ will no longer play pranks on the child, but seek to find amusement in the things thus offered her. Sometimes an obliteration of bread and salt longing to her, part of it being rubbed upon the head of the sick child, and the rest placed under the stove. The hag who terrorizes children by night is also known in Russia by the names kriksy (cf. krk, ‘scream’) and plaeksy (cf. platat, ‘cry’). In Bulgaria a corresponding part is played by a frightful wood-hag called goska makea, whose head somewhat resembles that of an ox.

Among the White Russians the belief has been traced that the nocturnal spirit produces illness in children from within, having first found his way into their bodies.

This superstition introduces us to the demons of illness, or some so-called. Certain diseases are commonly believed to emanate from supernatural beings who have found an entrance into the body of their victim, and thence proceed to torment him. This holds good in particular of fevers, epilepsy, insanity, and plague. Among the White Russians, when the nature of the malady can be determined, it is supposed that the patient is tormented by an ‘unclean power.’ In such cases the body of the afflicted person is rubbed with a piece of bread, which is then offered to a dog, cat, or cow; especially the domestic spirit is entreated to accept the offering thus made, and to absolve the sick man. This is engaged on an errand of this kind must not cross the thresholds.

Here we have a vestige of the cult of the dead; sometimes it is said in so many words that the offering is intended for the dead. There are occasions upon which an individual may very easily fall into the power of the demon of disease. Such an occasion is birth, together with a certain period thereafter, during which the child is baptized. It is imagined that the unclean spirits swarm round the house of the mother, and are disposed to every possible means of working injury both to her and to her child.

The demon of fever is believed to be one of the three, seven, twelve, or seventy-seven so-called Lichoradka-sisters (lichoradka = ‘fever’). In order to secure its grace the people speak of her by such endearing epithets as ‘godmother’ and ‘aunt.’ She wanders over the whole world, causing illness wherever she goes, and is represented either as an ugly, lean, naked, and hairy beldam, or as a young and beautiful nymph. Offerings are presented to her with a view of obviating her attacks. If the infection has come by way of the earth, an obliteration of corn is made at the particular spot. But the gift is more frequently cast into the seventy-seven pieces, which he then throws into a river as he utters the words: ‘Ye are seventy-seven; here is a portion for each of you; eat, and meddle not with me.’ When the festival commemorating the dead is celebrated in White Russia, the Lichoradka gets a share in the feast. Among other measures adopted in battle with the disease, the following is of special interest.

An attempt is made to deceive the demon in such a way as will prevent her recognizing the sick person when she returns to attack him again. The patient’s name is changed; his face is covered with a mask, and words are written on the door to say that he is not at home. Another expedient for scaring the demon is to fire a gun. The diseased person is made to eat bitter and fiendish things, or he is fumigated with some evil-smelling substance, in order to render the demon’s sojourn within the body as uncomfortable for herself as possible. The most reliable prophylactics of all, however, is a certain incantation which occurs in an interesting story about the origin of the Lichoradka-demons.

According to this incantation, they are the daughters of Satan and the oldest and most ferocious of all is the one known to her son John the Baptist was put to death. At the command of their father they issue forth from their subterranean home to plague the inhabitants of the earth.

A frequent disguise of the demon of pestilence is the figure of a woman—the black woman, one of the Bulgarians (in Russia, the Morovoya panna, čuma, or cholera; in Servia, the kuga), but it may also take shape as a bird or an animal—a cat, horse, or cow. The Morovoya panna, clothed in white and
When a birth occurs, the newly-born child is visited in the Roman Catholic, the Russian, Turkish, and Slavic (Bohemian, Polish, and Sloven. Rodjenice, Sudnice, Sudjenice; Bohem. Sudicky; Bul. Rodzenici, Orinici)—beautiful, richly-attired, diaphanous maidens. They ordain the destiny of the child, and determine the manner of its death. It is generally believed that the decisive forecast is that pronounced by the one who speaks last. In order to induce the Fates to assign a favourable destiny to the child, gifts and offerings are presented to them. Among the Southern Slavs and Bohemians these presents are in the form of food—bread, salt, or wine—placed on the table, or, it may be, in hollows among the rocks, as it is believed by the Slovenians that the Rodjenice live in rocks and mountains. In Bulgaria, on the evening upon which the visits of the Orinici is expected, it is customary to partake of a special supper, after which three pieces of bread are placed at the head of the newly-born infant, in the hope that they may prove an acceptable offering to the august visitors. It may be included among the prophetic persons serving by speaking of the demon under endearing names, and thus regaining her favour.

Mental derangement, 'possession,' affords one of the clearest instances of the sojourn of a demon in a person's body. Such a phenomenon is accompanied by the Ekob Klikobilastvo malady prevalent in Russia—a state of supposed demoniacal frenzy which can be induced by the machinations of a witch. At her command the evil spirit takes up his abode within the body of the sufferer, and makes him give vent to abnormal sounds, such as neighing, barking, and the like. The sufferer may be relieved by the use of consecrated objects or the adjurations sanctioned by the Church, or, again, by cutting on harness, or by burning a substantial cake at the feast of Epiphany. There is, however, another theory of the origin of lunacy: the disease is sometimes attributed to an evil spirit (forest demon, etc.), which of no set design simply flies past a person.

The truculent spirit of pestilence resembles in outward appearance the personified figure of Death—the Bohemian Smrtina žena or Smrtnice. The latter also is a woman, haggard and dressed in what is beneath the windows of a house in which some one is dying. If she sits down at the head of the bed, the last hope of recovery is gone, but, if she places herself at the foot, the invalid may get well again. The people believe that she is guided by putting crosses or saints' images upon the bed; but they are ready, on the other hand, to admit that Death is deaf to prayer. In Little Russia and Moravia it is thought that Death lives under the earth, in a room lit by innumerable candles, some of which are just being lit, and others upon the point of going out. The candles stand for human lives, over which Death holds sway. This attribute of power over human life belongs both to the spirit of Death and also to the Fates.

The whole course of a man's life, from its first hour to its last, is pre-ordained at his birth by the goddesses of Fate. This belief, inherited from the Aryan, is one of the beliefs which seems to have been preserved among the Southern and Western Slavs. In the written documents of these peoples, as far back as the 12th cent. A.D., we find mention of these goddesses and of the sacrificial festivals instituted in their honour. Among the Eastern Slavs, on the other hand, the belief in three Fates who control the lives of all human beings does not appear ever to have had any outstanding vogue. Here, in fact, their function was taken over by the Dolja (the Sreco or 'Fortune' of the Serbs)—personification of the good or evil fortune of the individual.
DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Slavic)

though long dead, still attends to the interests of his descendants. Here and there we find a survival of the belief that all who die in any particular house become the household spirits. At the festivals held in commemoration of ancestors, prayers are paid to the household spirit as well. In point of fact, the latter is often called Děl, or (in Galicia) Dîloka, 'housefather,' and those who have seen him describe him as a little hag with grey hair and a long beard, clad in old-fashioned garments and resembling in outward appearance the existing head of the family. With the last-mentioned cases, we are connected the designation of 'Landlord,' Bohlí, placed in díla, sometimes given him; cf. the idiomatic use of 't'inni.

In certain localities he is referred to as the 'one who lives on the stove,' as the stove is his favourite resort. Although he is not a Christian, he does not like to be spoken of as a devil and an inconvenience which may enrage him, and incite him to vengeance by visiting with a disease the person applying the term to him. Consequently people are careful not to offend him in this way, even avoiding the use of his right name. It is sufficient to refer to him as 'he' or 'himself.' When any one has fallen ill in consequence of having insulted the household spirit, prayer is made for him thus: Perhaps the invalid has incurred the displeasure and slighted you, or kept the cattle-shed unclean: forgive him, and make him whole. Every house has its Domovoj, who has also a wife and even a family. He engages in such tasks as devolves upon the painstaking head of a house. He bestirs himself night and day; and people have even seen him as he moves about the yard with a light in his hand, seeming always to have something to do. Strange noises, movements of doors, mysterious voices, and other heard during the night, are all attributed to his doings. He is of a merry and facetious disposition, and many of his actions, both manifestations of his good humour. The cleanliness and good order of the establishment are his great aims. A strange sight is the Domovoj, on the other hand, causes nothing but misev and inconvenience, and every effort is made to dislodge the intruder. People believe that, in guarding the house, the true Domovoj often comes into conflict with some alien household spirit; and it may also be mentioned that he protects the household against the violence of forest-spirits and witches.

When the domestic spirit finds anything about the house not to his liking, he manifest his displeasure in various ways. He indulges in all kinds of violence; throws dust upon the floor, annoys people and animals in their sleep, and even destroy the whole place by fire. Like the woman, he leaps upon the sleeper, pressing upon him and causing difficulty in breathing. A person with hairy hands who touches the Domovoj in the dark may expect something good to befall him, but to touch him with a smooth or cold hand is a presage of ill-luck. It is believed generally that when any unusual is about to take place in the household, the Domovoj gives warning thereof by letting himself be seen, by his movements, or by his faint utterances. We may observe in passing that the Wends believe in a spirit whose special function it is to preside over the message of death. This is the Bôtschthak, 'God's paint,' a little woman with long hair, who cries like a child beneath the window.

When a person moves into another house, or migrates to another district, he prays the household spirit to accompany him. At the offering of bread and salt is placed somewhere for the spirit's acceptance, and the head of the house appeals to him with the petition: 'I bow before thee, my host and father, and beseech thee to enter our new dwelling; there shalt thou find a warm place, and a morsel of provender which has been prepared for thee.' In some localities the housewife heats up the stove of the old house, then draws out the glowing brands, which are to be carried to the new residence, and finally, turning towards the recess at the back, utters the words 'Welcome, grandfather, to the new home!' Occasionally we come upon the belief that, if the old Domovoj fails to return, is destroyed by fire, it is a sign that the domestic spirit has never left it. On other occasions likewise, the goodwill of the household spirit is usually secured by means of special gifts. A dyed egg or other portion of food is placed in the yard for his use, prayer being made at the same time for his friendship. Part of the evening meal is left upon the table in the belief that the Domovoj will come there the night and eat it. In the evening, again, broth is placed on the kitchen table in a meal of eggs on the roof, for the purpose of inducing him to take more interest in the fortunes of the house. Before Lent the head of the house invites the Domovoj to supper by going into the yard and bowing towards the four quarters, while the meal is allowed to remain on the table during the succeeding night.

In Russia the household spirit is known also by other names, which vary according to the locality in which its activity seems to focus. When it resides in the cattle shed, he is called Chlevnik; in the yard, Domovoj; in the drying-kiln, Osinnik; in the bathroom, Pohromnik. A vital condition of successful cattle-rearing is that the Chlevnik should have a liking for the cattle, so that he will not molest them by night. The breeder must accordingly try to discover, or else guess, the particular colour of cattle which his Chlevnik favours, or the particular place where he wishes his services, and stand there when an animal is purchased and brought home. It is thought advisable to present an offering of food to the spirit, with the prayer that he will give the new-comer a good reception, guard it from mishap, and provide it with a warm bed. In many districts we find the Domovoj and the Chlevnik included in the group of ill-disposed spirits, and every effort is made to expel them from the homestead, either by striking the walls and corners and sprinkling them with holy water, by placing upon the roof an overturned barrel or a magpie that has been killed. In the province of Archangel, when the women enter the cattle-shed in the morning, they entrust to Chlevnik to go out by the window. The Osinnik lives in the bathroom, behind the stove or under the seat. It is dangerous for any one to go there alone in the evening or by night, as the spirit who presides there may work him harm. When the inmates of the house bathe, they leave a little water in the bath, and a little soap upon the bench, as it is believed that the Osinnik and other domestic spirits will wish to bathe a little later. To ensure the propriety of the bathroom, a black hen is buried under the threshold as a sacrifice. As regards the Osinnik, again, the people beseech him to grant them a successful threshing. He is solicitons that the drying-kiln should not be heated on the great festival-days. Should this be done, the Osinnik may avenge himself by destroying the building with fire. When the workers have completed some task in the drying-house, they thank him for his faithful service. Those who desire to be on amicable terms with him drop the blood of a cock round about the kiln.

What has been said above regarding the household spirit applies more particularly to Russia. Among the Western and Southern Slavs, however, a less important place is assigned to him. Here, in fact, he has acquired the attributes of a protective and ministrant spirit. The Galician dîloko,
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the Bohemian šetěk ('old one'), hospodářček, and šiška, the Wendish šédk ('goose'); the Polon. skrzet, and the Slovakian skrát are each of them ready to give their services on condition that the person requiring help will make a compact with them, or summon them by incantations, or present offerings of food to them. But there are other ways of securing the good offices of such demons. Thus, a man may give a written undertaking assigning to the demon his own soul, or one of his relatives, or some part of his body. The spirit is invoked either under the stove-pipe or at cross-roads. He may also be brought forth from an egg; the egg of a black hen is carried about in the left breast for seven days, after which period the demon comes visibly out of the egg. The spirit, who has the appearance of a little old man, bestows money and corn upon his protector, protects his property, and fodder his cattle. The Polish skrzetek is a winged creature which supplies corn, and, when flying about the vicinity, devours a little of the crops. Its Wendish counterpart is the plon, a dragon in the form of a fiery sphere; a common saying about a rich man is: 'He has a plon.' The plon may assume various shapes, and the proper place to confer with him is the crossroads. He appears in the folklore of all the Slavic peoples. Another widely prevalent idea is that every house has its own 'lucky serpent,' which has its habitat under the floor or the stove, and brings wealth to the house. It is generally supposed that the house has both a male and a female serpent, the former representing the head of the house, the latter his wife. The death of either of the serpents presages the death of the corresponding member of the family. Similarly the Bulgarians have their stikhija or tolosom, a household spirit in the form of a serpent. The škrat of the Slovenian folklore dwells in woods and mountains—a belief which indicates that this demon was originally a forest-spirit: cf. the scrat, or skolot, of the Germans.

This brings us to the domain of Nature-demons, and here we have, first of all, the large group of forest-spirits and spirits of the fields. In Russia the forest-spirit is named Ljésy, or Ljjesy, or Ljješa, or Ljesčina, in Bohemia, Hejkal, or the 'wild man.' In outward appearance he resembles a human being, but his skin and hairy body betrays his natural state. The hair on his back and his beard is green. Other points that differentiate him from mankind are his solitary eye and his lack of eyebrows. He has the power of changing his size at will, showing himself sometimes as large as a tree and sometimes no taller than a man. He can also transform himself into an animal, his favourite disguise being the shape of a wolf. He is said to retire under the earth during winter. The beasts and birds of the forest are subject to him, and he frequently drives them by his barks and imitations of their voices. It is said that before he leaves his cave he blows his own nose, and that he can deliver himself from animals, and, unless the man is all the more circumspect, his spirit-wife may vanish without leaving a trace behind. In certain localities it is supposed that these forest-nymphs are human children whom some one has cursed, and that they can deliver themselves from the curse only by marriage with a human being.

The characteristics of the forest-spirits are almost without exception, the spirit of the forest, man and animal, and the Russian Vila and the Bulgarian Rusalka. With regard to the Vila (Bulg. Samovila, Juda-Samovila, Samodiva) the belief still survives that they are the souls of deceased children or virgins. They are beautiful, white-robed, light-footed damsels, who dwell in woods, mountains, and lakes, and fly in the clouds. They too are noted for their dancing and exquisite singing. They have been observed washing their garments and drying them in the sun. They have an immense amount of intercourse with mankind, and in popular legend they sometimes even intermarry with men. They are represented in folk-songs as the adopted sisters of popular heroes. Should a person, excused by reason of emigration or by intruding upon their kolo-dance, they take revenge by shooting the unfortunate man with their deadly arrows. It is believed among the Bulgarians that blindness, deafness, and apoplexy are the work of the Samovilas. The weather is variable according to some extent on them, as they have the power of causing tempest and rain. In many districts the people offer sacrifices to the Vila in the form of flowers, fruits, or garments, placed upon trees or stones.

What has been said of the Vila holds good, for the most part, also of the Russian Rusalkas—deli—
cate female beings who live in forests, fields, and waters. These likewise are souls of the dead, mainly of unbaptized children, and women who have died by drowning. Among the Little Russians and the Slovenians they are sometimes called Marki, Mavje, 'the dead.' They are said to solicit human beings for food, and that theft, or any such object may deliver them from the curse under which they lie. With their ravishing songs in the night they draw people irresistibly into their power, and then tickle them till they die. Another of their most powerful incantations is the ignis fatuus. The Wends, we may note in passing, think that the Blu'd, 'will-o'-the-wisp,' is itself the soul of an unbaptized child. When the crops begin to ripen, the Rusalkas find their favorite abode in the cornfields. They have it in their power to bless the earth with fruitfulness. It is also said that they take pleasure in spinning, and that they hang their clothes on trees. During Whitensweek—a period which in many districts is dedicated to them and to the souls of the departed in general—they come to women in visible form, requesting gifts of shirts and clothes, and such garments are accordingly presented to them by being placed upon trees. Among the Wends the costume was in ancient times called 'the week of the Rusalkas.' At that season is held 'the escort of the Rusalkas,' a procession in which a straw doll representing the Rusalka is carried out of the villages, and set upon the banks of the river to summon the water. This ceremony has been explained as symbolizing the expulsion of the Rusalkas from the place, in view of their propensity to inflict damage on the ripening grain. But in all probability the procession was connected with the Spring festival. The name Rusalka, and the conception of the Rusalka festival, had their origin in the Greco-Roman solemnity called 'Rosalia,' 'dies roseae,' observed in spring in memory of the dead. The design of commemorating the dead may still be traced in certain ideas associated with the Rusalka festival, as, e.g., in the belief that a person who does not take part in the memorial function for the dead, and does not offer sacrifice to them, thereby becomes liable to the vengeance of the Rusalkas. It should also be mentioned that, just as the name Rusalka is derived from 'Rosalia,' so the word Vika has been explained as a survival from another memorial festival, 'Vikas' being observed among the Romans, viz. the 'dies viarum.'

In some districts a distinction is drawn between forest Rusalkas and water Rusalkas. The latter have their abode in rivers and cascades; they disport themselves upon the surface of the water, and comb their long hair upon the banks. They also prowl after bathers, and bathing is therefore avoided during the Rusalka festival. Similar traits are popularly ascribed to the 'water spirit' (Russ. Vodljan, Morskoj tvar; Sloven. Povodnji; Wend. Vodny muž, Nyks; Bohem. Vodník, Hestrman; Pol. Topiels, Topnik), and also to the 'water-people,' as it is believed that the water-demon has a favorite tree which is taken as the abode of the children, and even cattle. Every body of water has its presiding demon, who dwells in a magnificent palace far below. A water-spirit can make a new lake for himself, passing out of his old one without any disturbance. His house is in the vicinity of mills, but, as mills and weirs block his way, he often destroys them in his rage. When any one is drowned, the water-man is the cause, and it is dangerous to rescue a drowning person, as one thereby provokes the animosity of the demon. The souls of those who have died by drowning are immured in his house. He is said to marry women who have been drowned and girls who have been expatriated. He has, in fact, a special liking for inveigling women into his toils. He plays all sorts of pranks with people; he chases the traveller, or seats himself upon the cart of the heedless waggoner; and the victims of his perversity, fearing his resentment, generally repent without means. A hyacinth is found at the height of the middle of the day, and it is at that time that the female water-wraith of the Wends comes forth from the water. In Bohemia people tell how he dances with moonlight on his head. He sometimes indulges in strong drink, and, when drunk, makes an uproar and jumps about, thus disturbing the ordinary flow of the stream. It is not seldom that happens that the water-spirit and the forest-spirit have fierce encounters with each other. When the wife of the water-spirit requires the midwife, he applies for human help. He gives timely warning of coming floods to those with whom he is on friendly terms. Millers and fisher-men seek to win his goodwill by sacrifices. For his use the miller casts fat, swim's flesh, or a horse into the water. In former times, when a mill was built, it was the custom to present a live offering—sometimes even a human being—to the water-man. The fisherman, after Pentecost, superseded the cost was in ancient times called 'the week of the Rusalkas.' At that season is held 'the escort of the Rusalkas,' a procession in which a straw doll representing the Rusalka is carried out of the villages, and set upon the banks of the river to summon the water. This ceremony has been explained as symbolizing the expulsion of the Rusalkas from the place, in view of their propensity to inflict damage on the ripening grain. But in all probability the procession was connected with the Spring festival. The name Rusalka, and the conception of the Rusalka festival, had their origin in the Greco-Roman solemnity called 'Rosalia,' 'dies roseae,' observed in spring in memory of the dead. The design of commemorating the dead may still be traced in certain ideas associated with the Rusalka festival, as, e.g., in the belief that a person who does not take part in the memorial function for the dead, and does not offer sacrifice to them, thereby becomes liable to the vengeance of the Rusalkas. It should also be mentioned that, just as the name Rusalka is derived from 'Rosalia,' so the word Vika has been explained as a survival from another memorial festival, 'Vikas' being observed among the Romans, viz. the 'dies viarum.'

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storm. Their practice is to steal little children whose mothers have negligently left them by themselves. The Russians likewise have a Poldanitsa, or Zitsa mutka, the protectress of the cornfield, who especially at the harvest time, when the corn begins to shoot, persecutes the children whom she finds idly straying among the fields, and in Northern Russia parents warn their children against going amongst the reye lest the Poldanitsa burn them. In Bohemia the Poldanice is supposed to be the spirit of the midday bell, and to live in the belfry. Of a somewhat similar character is the Moravian Klenanitsa, who stalks amongst the children and contraps the children whom she finds still out of doors.

In many parts of the Slavic world we find, besides the 'noon-wife,' a male 'midday spirit,' who in Bohemia is called Poldanek, and among the Wend's Sper, while there is also a special field-spirit, the Russian Polevoy. The Poleznek is a little boy in a white shirt, who at midday passes from the forest into the fields, and punishes those whom he finds doing damage there. He calls to people by their names, and these who follow his call he leads to the far-off hills. The Polevot or Polevich, on the other hand, is a personification of the tilled land, and his body is therefore black, like earth, while his hair is the colour of grass. The wind sighs with the tilled earth, and the wind is also known as Ded, resides in the last gathered sheaf, which is accordingly dressed to look like a doll, and is borne in festive procession to the landlord.

We come, finally, to the Nature-demons whose sphere of action is the air. In Bohemia there is a special spirit of the wind, Vetnice or Melzina, 'the wind-mother,' a white, barefooted being. When the wind roars, the people say that the Vetnice is sobbing, and to comfort her they throw bread and salt into the air for her food. Her voice is believed to bear prophetic import. In Russia likewise we find the 'wind-mother,' and also the 'wind-father,' while the Wend's speak of a 'wind-keeping.' The wind is thought to proceed from the demon's breathing or his movements. Then there is a group of 'wind-brethren'—sometimes four, sometimes twelve—who dwell at the ends of the earth, and who are constantly blowing against one another. It has been confounded the four angels or evangelists borrowed from the sphere of Christian ideas, and supposed to live in the four quarters of the globe. In Russia we still find sporadically the belief that the wind, and especially the whirlwind emanates from evil spirits, and that the devil is the chief commander. In the tempest and whirlwind it is believed that Satan himself or the soul of a witch is speeding along, and, if a knife be thrown into the gust, it will inflict a wound upon the hurrying wind. When the demon is pursued by the thunderstorm, he may transform himself into an animal or a human being. An idea current among the Wends is that the whirlwind is really an invisible spirit, who may be seen, however, by pulling off one's shirt and looking through the sleeves. In certain Russian incantations the whirlwind is spoken of as the captain of the winds, who are personified as evil spirits, and he is styled 'Whirlwind, the son of Whirlwind.' His aid is implored by such as seek by magical means to arouse a responsive affection in the breasts of those they love. In Russia even frost is represented by a spirit. He is depicted as a grey-haired, white-bearded old man, who works in his menses enveloped in a mantle of ice. At Christmas he receives offerings of potage, and is invited to partake of the Christmas fare, in the hope that he will not expose the grain to damage by frost.

Our discussion would remain incomplete without some reference, finally, to the fact that in the popular mind, more particularly in Russia, certain days of the week are personified. We have already had an indication in the case of the Irish phenomenon, viz. the development of the 'Rosalia,' the memorial festival for the dead, into the personified Rusalka. In popular poetry, moreover, we find that the notion of evil spirits being associated with human attributes is occasioned by the evil spirit. The days of the week similarly personified are Friday (Sjatnitsa, which is also known by the Greek name Paraskeus) and Sunday (St. Nedelja). With dishevelled hair, and bodies covered with sores, these two spirits are said to travel from village to village—a fancy which implies that women who perform such work as sewing or spinning on Friday or Sunday really wound the day with the articles they use. The sulphuric liquids thus imbibe them, while on the other land, to those who observe these days, they show favour by helping them in their household duties, promoting the growth of their flax, enhancing the fertility of their land, and, as one poet, remarks, to whom it is granted to be married people. It was a custom among Bulgarian women not so very long ago to make offerings of bread and eggs to Friday. It only remains to be said that the ideas relating to these female personifications of days have been greatly influenced by the worship of the Virgin Mary and other patron saints, and therefore really belong to a sphere of thought which lies outside the belief in spirits and demons in the stricter sense.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Teutonic).—The ancient Teutons, like almost all other primitive peoples, believed that the whole surrounding world of Nature was alive with demons and spirits. This belief has survived, and is reflected by the confusions of religions thought till the present time, or lies in the course of ages given rise to new phantoms of the human mind. The operations and occurrences observed in the natural world were all attributed to these imaginary creatures from evil spirits, and that the devil is the chief commander. We still find sporadically the belief that the wind, and especially the whirlwind emanates from evil spirits, and that the devil is the chief commander. In the tempest and whirlwind it is believed that Satan himself or the soul of a witch is speeding along, and, if a knife be thrown into the gust, it will inflict a wound upon the hurrying wind. When the demon is pursued by the thunderstorm, he may transform himself into an animal or a human being. An idea current among the Wends is that the whirlwind is really an invisible spirit, who may be seen, however, by pulling off one's shirt and looking through the sleeves. In certain Russian incantations the whirlwind is spoken of as the captain of the winds, who are personified as evil spirits, and he is styled 'Whirlwind, the son of Whirlwind.' His aid is implored by such as seek by magical means to arouse a responsive affection in the breasts of those they love. In Russia even frost is represented by a spirit. He is depicted as a grey-haired, white-bearded old man, who works in his menses enveloped in a mantle of ice. At Christmas he receives offerings of potage, and is invited to partake of the Christmas fare, in the hope that he will not expose the grain to damage by frost.
souls. Thus, e.g., the demons of the wind coalesced with the moving host of souls, and the worship once accorded to the latter was transferred to the former. Hence arises our uncertainty as to whether Vodan-Öðin was originally a wind-demon or a leader of the souls of the dead.

While demons or spirits had their origin in the surrounding world and the phenomena of Nature, the belief in the soul was suggested by occurrences in the sphere of human life. Animism, the belief in the soul as a separate entity apart from the body, continued through all the Teutonic tribes. Thus, the soul, equally with the body, was an independent entity, and might leave the body and wander about in the interval of sleep. It was supposed to have its seat in various parts of the body, as in the liver, or the head; but it might also reside in the breath or the shadow; a man without a shadow had sold his soul. The soul could readily assume various forms; it sometimes appeared as an animal (sometimes a serpentine form), or as a phantom, or as a phantom of a man turned into the form of a dog, a bear, or a wolf, in which case the soul was called a *runnr*, 'one who can change his shape.' This vagrant soul sees what is hidden from the bodily eye; it can look into both the past and the future. It was this belief which in the Teutonic peoples gave rise to the Teutonic conception of prophecy. When the soul was out of the body, moreover, it was endowed with active powers of an abnormal character; it could work injury or bring benefit to other men, and according as the powers of malevolent and good spirits were transferred to it. Persons who could at will thus cause their souls to leave their bodies, whether in sleep or in a trance, were regarded as magicians.

The powers of the dream-soul, however, were as nothing compared with those specially attributed to the soul of the dead. The Teutons thought of the latter as a grasping, maleficient being, which returns to its place, claims its former possessions, and takes vengeance upon any one who withholds them. It was this belief of the Teutonic soul and its evil powers that prompted the numerous duties which, according to primitive Teutonic ideas, the survivors owed to the dead (see art. ANCESTOR-WORSHIP [Teut.] and AYRYAN RELIGION). These various duties arose out of the belief that, unless the dead are treated with due honour and respect, they will return and do harm to the living. This superstition was once universal, and is not yet finally eradicated from the mind of any of the Teutonic peoples. There is probably a decay in the Teutonic belief in the whole Teutonic area where the people are entirely free from the belief in ghosts and haunted places. Persons who in their lifetime were regarded as wizards, or who had died an unnatural death, would, it was believed, come back for the express purpose of injuring the living. When such injury showed itself, the bodies of the malevolent beings were exhumed and burned, or transfixed through breast and heart with a stake, so that they might be held fast in their graves. Throughout the Middle Ages impiement was still practised as an apotropaeic penalty for such crimes as rape or the murder of a relative (cf. Brunner, *Zitschr. d. Sittenreg.-stifflung für Rechtgeech*, xxvi. [1905] 259 ff.).

What leaves the body at death is the breath, and the breath was therefore the soul or spirit. But wind—agitated air—is also breath. When the breath leaves the body, it unites with other souls, and joins the soul-host. It was a widely diffused belief that a wind came when the spirits were coming for their new associate. The departing soul goes to the 'woden her, da dio boson geister ir wunning hän.' As early as the time of Tacitus (Germa. 43), the Harli, with their painted bodies and black shields, used to imitate by night the 'raging host.' Belief in this raging host—or, as it was variously called, the wild hunt, *Hollas' troop, Perchata's host, the Norse *gandrei*, 'the spirits' ride,' *Aasguardreia*, 'Asgard's chase,' or *Hulderfolk*—is not even yet extinct. In certain places, and above all at cross-roads (q.v.), the spirit-host rouses itself to special activity, and at certain seasons it manifests itself. The principal time for this manifestation was the long winter night in the season of Epiphany; as, among the Teutons, the festival of Christmas had taken the place of the ancient heathen festival of the dead. It was believed that at such times the souls of the dead took part in the celebration and feasting. Special sacrifices were made to the souls of those who had died in the foregoing year. At no other season of the year were superstition and divine divination so rife. All manner of figures and masquerades were resorted to in personating the various forms of the soul-host (Goth. *tideis, A.S. gjudi, O.N. jôl*). The more vehement the rush of the spirit-host in the wind, the more bountiful would be the ensuing year, and accordingly offerings were made *til ara*, 'for a good, fruitful year.' A more widespread belief is that the spirit-host manifested itself most frequently over battlefields. The slain were believed to continue their strife in the air. This belief finds expression in the Hildensage, according to which she summons the fallen Vikings every morning to renewed warfare on the island of Hoy in the Orkneys (Snorri Sturluson, *Edda*, i. 434). Popular belief also gave the spirit-host a leader—Wode or Wodan, a word which is a collective form for the 'raging host' (cf. Eng. *wood*, Scot. *wood*, 'mad'). In process of time Wodan was deified, and in some Teutonic countries came to be regarded as the supreme god.

Among the Teutons the belief in the soul gave rise to a great variety of demonie and legendary beings. From the superstition that the soul could leave the body in sleep or in the trance arose in particular the conception of *incebri—*souls that went forth to torment and torment others in their sleep. The natural phenomenon at the root of this idea is the nightmare, which the physiologist traces to a congestion of the blood during sleep. The imaginary being to which this distressing condition was attributed is known by a great many different names, the most widely diffused of which is of the form *mare* (O.H.G., A.S., and Scand. *mara*; Germ. *Mahr* or *Mahre*; English 'nightmare'). In Central Germany the term *Alp* has come into use, as well as in the Scroth-Matte and Matten, *Schede*; in Western Germany, *Letzel*, *Trenpe*; and in Oldenburg, Waldemaride—all applied to the nightmare, and frequently used also to designate the witch. The *incebri* ride upon the *mare* and torture them to death. In the Middle Ages persons who were suspected of injuring their fellow-men in this way were frequently prosecuted at law. Not only human beings, however, but also animals, and even trees, might be the victims of the *mare*. She afflicted people by squating on the breast; she sucked the milk of women and cows; she wreaked such malice upon horses that
in the morning they were found bathed in sweat and with their hair all awry. She found her way into the sleeper's room by the keyhole, or through a crack, and these were also her only possible means of obtaining the form that she needed. In his grasp, all that he found was a straw, but, if he spoke the name of the person who had been thus tormenting him, he discovered a naked woman.

Among those who could cause their souls to pass out of their bodies and injure others was the Hexen of the Western Teutons (A.S. hægisse, O.H.G. hagazusu = strio, furio), the Scandinavian troll, the English 'witch.' These terms, however, had a wider application, and denoted also those who dealt in sorcery with magical powers of a most efficacious kind. It was really in virtue of their magical powers that the Hexen could disengage their souls from their bodies, and they were therefore also called vårdurén (M. H.) taðrisir, 'hedge-riders,' or kreduljargar, 'prickly riders.' In these excursions they could assume an endless variety of form: they might take shape as a whale, a bear, a raven, or a toad. Bad weather, thunder, and hail were generally attributed to them. According to the belief of the Middle Ages by the Oriental belief in the devil. The witch was now supposed to be in league with the Evil One; she was one who had sold her soul to him and received the gift of magic in exchange. Thus arose the belief in the witches' meetings on the so-called Brockelsbergs, where the hags abandoned themselves to love-making with the devil. From this again sprang the disagreeable trials for witchcraft, which lasted till the 18th century. It was also commonly believed that witches continued their necromantic practices even after death, and, when indications of such activity appeared, their bodies were exhumed and either burned or impaled as a warning.

Closely related to the trolls and witches were the Norse Völves (O.N. vítur). These likewise were sorceresses, but they used their magical powers as a means of intercourse with the dead, and they never knew anything regarding secret things and the future. To their peculiar trade belonged the magic wand, the magic chair, and other accessories; while they had a retinue of boys and girls to chant their magic songs and so induce the trance in which the souls of the Völves left their bodies. These human Völves—the 'wise women' of other Teutonic peoples—were held in great veneration; in the winter nights of the season, when the spirit-host swarms around, they travelled from village to village and performed ceremonies. Thus Óðin, for instance, rides to such a grave, awakes the Völn from the sleep of death, and receives from her the interpretation of Balder's dreams (Baldtrødræma). A male counterpart to the witch is the werewolf, i.e. man-wolf. This was a superstition current among all the Teutonic peoples (O.H.G. werewolf, A.S. werewolf, O.N. værapfær or aflfær), and is found far beyond the limits of Teutonic lands.

The werewolf was a human soul which roamed about in the shape of a wolf, and wreaked horrible cruelties upon other human beings. A person who chooses, or is forced, to wander about in wolves' form has the power to hold him fast in his grasp, all that he found was a straw, but, if he spoke the name of the person who had been thus tormenting him, he discovered a naked woman.

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fylja (‘following spirit’), which attended a person either as his soul or as his guardian spirit. As a form of an animal; while, as a tutelary spirit, it was a female being who appeared, especially in dreams, to its protecté, and warned him of danger or urged him to action. The fyljafjöld sometimes come singly, sometimes in troops. After a battle or funeral, the tutelary spirit, associated with his heirs, and in this way occasionally becomes a family-fyljafjöld. The Norse valkyrs differ so far from the fyljafjöld in that they are almost always found in groups, and especially in groups of nine. The numbers of the ancient and folklore, frequently mentioned both in the southern and in the northern sources (cf. Dio Cass. lxxi. 3; Flav. Vopiscus, Vita Aurelii, 37; Paula Diaconus, l. 15; Saxo Gramm. i. 233 ff., 361, etc.) become val-

kýr in O.N. valkyrja) after their death. They are armed with helmet, shield, and lance; they ride through air and sea; the manes of their horses shed dew and hail upon the earth. Their appearance suggests war and bloodshed. In Norse poetry they are closely associated with Oðin; they are hismaids, his ‘wish-maidens’ who carry out his commands, who strike down in battle the heroes destined for Valhöll, and bear them thither with the列车 of dead, and thus test the worth of the men for the einherjar. The group of wish-maidens also included Brynhild-Sigdrifis, who disobeyed the commands of her lord by giving the victory to another king, and was in consequence pierced with the ‘thorn of glory’ and burnt to ashes by a flame until such time as Sigurður should awake her and set her free. It is a moot point whether the Norns, the ‘Fates’ of Norse mythology, who have many features in common with the valkyrs, should be regarded as souls or as demons. A similar ambiguity attaches to the elves, who are sometimes represented as souls, sometimes as purely demonic beings. Both the name and the idea of these products of religious fantasy are common to all the Teutonic races. Snorri Sturluson (Edda, l. 18) classifies them according to their domiciles as ‘elves of light,’ who are whiter than the sunbeam and live in the air, and ‘elves of darkness,’ who dwell in the earth, and are blacker than pitch. From the elves of the sun the sun takes his name of Ásrodull, ‘elf-ray.’ Their head is the sun-god Freyjr, whose abode is Alfheim, ‘the realm of the elves.’ The ‘elves of darkness’ are sometimes all but identical with the dwarfs, and this explains why the dwarf-handed smith Æsiildir (Wieland) is called ‘lord of the elves.’ In M.H.G. poetry the king of the elves is Alberich, who found his way to the West Franks as Oberon. In England, owing to the influences of the Iceni, the elves are in fairy-like superstitious dwelt mainly on the bright and beautiful elves, who thus became objects of popular favour. A similar development took place in Scandinavia, where, especially in Sweden, the elves were thought of as comely maidens, who live in hills and mountains, hold their dances on the green sward, and by their ravishing songs draw the traveller to destruction. Further, the elves are sometimes to the thunder, and thus, like German, the word was used only in this sense from the 16th century.

The Elfen of German poetry are really of English origin, having been introduced into Germany towards the end of the 18th century by the translation of Shakespeare.

The elves of ancient times are often identical with the wights (Goth. wihts, fem., O.N. vettir, neut.). The conception of the wight likewise developed on various lines according to locality. In Old Norse superstition wights were tutelary spirits who had their abode in groves, hills, and waterfalls, and were able to dispense fortune or misfortune to human beings. In German folklore they were vividous spirit-like creatures who assisted men in their work, and demanded gifts in return. To the same class of soul-like, or demonic, beings must be assigned the dwärfir (O.H.G. twerg, A.S. dwellor, O.N. dvergar). Their abode, however, was confined to a particular place, and their field of activity was similarly circumscribed. Popular imagination depicted them as diminutive old men—sometimes deformed—with large heads and long white beards. They lived in mountains or under the earth, and were thus known as the ‘goblin’—or, for the more exotic dwellers. They shunned the light of day, for the sun’s rays would transform them to stone. Among their possessions is the tusk-carp or magic hood which enables them to become invisible at will, and endows them with shape-changing power. Their principal occupation is smith’s work; their forge is situated within the hills, and accordingly dwarf-legends flourish most profusely where there are ore-bearing mountains, and where mining is carried on, or where the products of their skill are highly prized. Such arts, however, are not their only characteristic; they are distinguished also for craft and cunning. They are often thought of as united in a realm of their own, with a dwarf-king (Laurin, Heiling, Alberich) at their head, who is the personification of the wealth of the world. In mountains they are possessed of immense treasures, from which they draw to reward such persons as pledge themselves to their service. See, further, art. FAIRIES.

An elfish origin is to be assigned to the household spirits, who protect the home, and bring it good fortune and wealth. They were frequently regarded as having an animal form, especially that of a serpent or a toad, and they lived under the threshold, in the roof-beams, or on the hearth, at which places it was usual to present offerings of milk or other food in a dish. The household spirit is also met with as a manakin with the figure of a dwarf, and in this form is known under many different names: in Scandinavia, ‘kaputar,’ ‘house-gods,’ survive as Kobolds, or goblins; the Germans have also the Butze, the Hütchen, while in England we have Puck (Scott. ‘brownie,’), and in Scandinavia the Gotmar, the ‘house-wrait’ (‘house-spirit’), and Nisse. In many places it is still believed that these household spirits are the souls of deceased ancestors or other beings. Supersition assigned a guardian spirit not only to the house, but to the ship, in which he was known as the Klofbautermann (Germ.). He dwelt in the mast, and the sailors believed that he was a child’s spirit which had come into the vessel in the felled tree of which the mast was made. The Klofbautermann warned the sailors by certain noises of any imminent danger, assisted them in their work, and, like the domestic spirit, received
payment for his services in the form of gifts. If the ship went down, he flew away, but first bade farewell to the steersmen. Miners likewise had their guardian spirit, the Schachtmännle ("shaft-manne"), who assisted them in the workings, and whose faces wrinkled with their disbelieving hair, are often clad with moss. It is a common notion that they are chased by the storm-giant, the Wild Hunter, Wode, or the giant Fasolt, and that they seek refuge among men, and liberally reward those who inclose them. These wood-nymphs are also endowed with occult powers, especially the power of curing disease—a belief originally suggested by the mediæval properties of plants found in the woods. The forest-spirits, however, are sometimes males, mostly of gigantic size, and always of the same hideous appearance as the females.

There are many points of resemblance between the forest-spirits and the field-spirits. The latter likewise were originally spirits of vegetation, which popular imagination first of all detached from their native sphere, and then elaborated in detail. Field-spirits grow with the stalks of grain, and become visible when the wind blows across the fields. Superstitious associations of the forest-spirits with the wind, and with male figures, was the land suggested the animal shape ascribed to these spirits. They are known by many different names, as e.g. in Germany, Kornwolf, Rogenkund ("rye-dog"), Haferschock ("oat-goat"), Recknies ("rye-sow"), Bullenvater ("barley-sower"), in Sweden, Æsde ("glow-sow"), in Norway, Herregudshuk ("the Lord's goat"), etc. Sometimes, again, the field-spirits were of a human type; hence the Kornmutter ("corn-mother"), the Recknieshauf ("rye-country"), the Lehenblini (especially in Denmark), and, in male form, the Alte ("old one"), or the Gertswalde ("barley-gatherer"). The "grass-demon" lived in meadows, the "clover-mammikin" in clover-fields. When the corn was cut, the spirit flitted from one swathe to another, and the person who cut the last sheaf caught the "old one," the "corn-mother," etc. That sheaf was formed into some kind of figure, and presented with due ceremony to the landlord; then a dance was held around it. Just as a hay raft was fully stored in the barn until the next seed-time, and then used for the purpose of stimulating the spirit of vegetation to renewed activity. But that could be secured only by killing the old spirit, and this was done by throwing a log of firewood on it and then letting it loose and chasing it through the fields, till at last it was overtaken and killed. As the spirit of vegetation was believed to be in the people who happened to pass by while this ceremony was being performed, they were seized and bound by the reapers, and had to buy themselves off with a gift.

A still greater fertility of invention is exhibited by the Teutonic belief in water-spirits. Almost every body of water was connected with the yearly renewal and decay of Nature, and thus, like the field-spirits (see below), become spirits of vegetation. These demons remain quiescent in the woods during winter, but awake to activity with the re-birth of Nature. In the spring the people used to carry home young trees and green shoots, in which the demons were supposed to live, and plant them near their houses, as it was believed that persons who came into contact with them were the benefactors of the re-awakened spirits. But the forest was likewise the abode of supernatural beings of a more independent type, and principally female in form—the femme agressees, qua silvatica uscent ("Burchardus," 1548, p. 198), who appear suddenly, yield themselves to their lovers, and then as suddenly vanish. These are the "wild maidens," the German Moor, Holz-, and Buschhexen, the Frägen and Saligen, the Swedish skogsfruer (wood-nymphs), and the Danish askfruer (ash-nymphs) of present-day superstition. Their bodies are usually covered with hair, their faces wrinkled with disbelieving hair, and are often clad with moss. The spirits who haunted such places were marked out from others by their prophetic gift and their
supernatural wisdom. One of the water-spirits thus endowed was the Norse Mimir, into whose war-boot, of woven goats' hair, Mimir poured his gain wisdom, and to whose knowledge he resorted when he desired light upon the future. The demons who resided in rivers, streams, and seas were in the main hostile to mankind: they tried to seize men and drag them down into the watery kingdom, and were therefore propitiated with offerings, frequently, indeed, with human sacrifices. Such hostile spirits are known to the various Indian tribes, and also among the Germans (Germ. Niz [masc.] or Nixe [fem.]). Eng. nick, also, Norw. nök, Swed. nökk. The nixe was fish-like in the lower half; the upper part, or sometimes the head only, was of human shape. He wore a green garb, and his teeth were also green. He lived with his family at the bottom of rivers and lakes. The female nixes were noted for the beautiful singing by which they attracted human beings into their toils. They sometimes entered the human body, and were occasionally armed with a book, with which he dragged people under the water; he was accordingly also called Hakenmann ("hook-man"). In Denmark the water-spirit is known as Hassmann ("haunting, haunting spirit") or Svampen ("fungus") as Stromkørl ("river-man"); in Norway, the land of waterfalls, we find the Grim or Porsgrunn, as the spirit of waterfalls; in Iceland, the Skrimal ("monster"), Vatnaskrati ("water-wraith"), and Mánagarmr.

The Old Norse mythology gave great prominence to the water-demons Ágir and his wife Rán. Ágir, whose name is connected with Goth. aher, "water" and Gr. aithros, was the spirit of the calm still sea—one with whose gods were on hospitable terms, His consort Rán—or Sjörun, as she is still designated in popular speech—was of similar character. She was the man-sealing demon of the sea, a being who had no heart in her body, and who lay in wait for sailors with her net, or tried to derail the ship with her arms, and drag it down to the depths. Of similar character were herne daughters—personifications of the serifing bishops—who during the storm offered their embrace to the seamen, and, like their mother, pursued the ship. The Midgard-serpent—the snake-shaped monster which coils itself round the earth—and the Fears-wolf, which contends with Odin at the annihilation of the world, as also Grendel and his mother, who lived in swamps by the sea, and at night stole from the palace of the gods Hröðgar, are also frequently included among the sea-demons.

Throughout the entire Tenteonic race, as we have seen, there prevailed the belief that all the natural elements were ruled by spirits, and that the good and evil forces at work were summed up in soul-like, or spirit-like, beings friendly or hostile to man. Demons and spirits caused rain, tempest, and thunderstorm. Demons pursued the sun and the moon, and brought about solar and lunar eclipses. They promoted or hindered the growth of vegetation. Disease and pestilence were their evil work. They hovered around human beings on all the important occasions of life; at birth, when they sought to gain possession of the child; at marriage, when they tried to stop the marriage; in mischief-making; and at death, when they endeavoured to draw the living after the dead. Savage man sought to guard himself against their machinations by all manner of ritual devices, which are retained in the present customs of the present day. He shot at them, he lit fires, he hung up glittering objects, he uncovered certain parts of the body, he avoided stepping on the threshold under which they lived, and was especially careful of protecting himself or driving them away. The ideas underlying such practices, thus brought down by the Tenteons from the earliest ages, are found to correspond with ideas which prevail among the primitive races of the present day.


**DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Tibetan).—** The Tibetan lives in an atmosphere charged with malignant demons and spirits; and the great practical attraction of Buddhism for him is that it can protect him, so he is led to believe, against the multitude of these spirits. It is highly probable that he should be remembered that in the higher Hindu civilization of India the ostensible object of the Brahmanical sacrifice was also to chain the demons. The great majority of the Tibetan demons are of a non-Buddhist character. A considerable proportion of the aboriginal evil spirits have been adjusted by the Lamas to the type of somewhat analogous bloodthirsty demons in the later Tantrik Buddhism of India and Tibet; but these are to be considered as propitiated on the lines of the Indian ritual. But the larger number demand the rites of the pre-Buddhist religion to which they belong, namely, the Bon (see Tibet). These spirits are mainly personified natural phenomena, but several are animistic and fetishes, and all are saturated with sacrificial ideas.

The word for "spirit," namely Dau, is that which is adopted for the gods of the Brahmanical and Indian Buddhist pantheons, and is therefore propitiated in a manner similar to those aboriginal gods who are supposed to live in the sky, even though they be unfriendly to man. The demons, or Dull (pronounced Dui), are always evil genii or hends of an actively malignant type; they are rather common.

These indigenous spirits may be broadly divided into the following eight classes:—

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(1) Good spirits (Las), mostly male, white in colour, and generally genial, though the war-god (Sta-tha) is as fierce and powerful as the greatest fiend. The countryside gods (Pul-tha) and household (Sadora) spirits (Sa-bdag) have been made deities of Lamasism. (2) Ghosts and goblins (Tzern), all male, red in colour. These are usually the victims of sudden death. These and similarly vengeful ghosts are married to deceased discis-bodied priests. They especially haunt the vicinity of temples.

(3) Devils (Dud), mostly male, black in colour, and very malignant. They are the most frequent of all the Tera (or Lha-tre), male and female, or literally ‘father’ and ‘mother.’ They are persecutors of Lamasism, and cannot be properly appeased without the sacrifice of a pig. Planet fiends (bZang) have been held in colour-producing diseases. Fifteen great ones are recognized. (4) Lamas are usually the vengeful ghosts who have died in consequence of injury or neglect, or are manifestations of the clairvoyant faculty of ordinary shepherds. These are the dieron-huntresses (nang-bdag), and are sometimes the spouses of certain of the above demons. The twelve tshom-sna (pronounced Tamma) especially inhabit the snowy ranges.

Many of the above are local genii, fixed to particular localities. Of these the most numerous are the ‘earth-owners’ (Sa-bdag), truly local spirits inhabiting the soil, springs, and lakes, like the nagas of the Hindus. Others more malignant, called gn-an, and believed to cause pestilential disease, infest certain trees, rocks, and springs, which are avoided in consequence or made into shrines for propitiatory offerings. They are believed to belong to the army of the gigantic wild sheep, the gn-an or Ovis am-nou, which, according to early Chinese accounts, was worshipped by the Tibetans, and the horns of which are revered on the altars at the tops of the snow-capped ranges. At every temple there is or was a local spirit represented as an idol or fresco within the outer gateway, usually to the right of the door, and worshipped with wine and occasionally with bloody sacrifice; and it is given a more or less honorific name. One of the fiercest of the country fiends is Pe-kor (not Pe-hor, as spelt by some writers), who has been adopted as a special protector of monasteries by the Yellow-hat sect of Lamas. There are also the House-god, the ancestral gods, and the personal spirits of familiars, good and bad, of the individual.

The representations of these spirits at their shrines, or on altars, or in their masks at the masked dances that are held to please them, have cut some of them have the head of a beast or bird, and they are pictured by the Tibetan artists as clad in the costume of the country. The local spirits sometimes may be represented by mere sticks.

Living sacrifice is not offered to these spirits nowadays, but the dongs, effigies of animals which are offered indicate, in the opinion of the present writer, the prevalence of animal sacrifice in pre-Buddhist days. The animals most commonly represented in these ways are the dog, sheep, and yak. Actual blood and the brains and flesh of animals slain by butchers in the ordinary way are frequently offered in bowls made out of human skulls, as in Indian Saurit bees.

Of the special implements used in Tibetan demon-worship an important one is the three-cornered dagger called cup-po or phur-bu. This is used by the priests to stab and perforate the demons, or to impale them when it is stuck into the ground. What appears probably to be a Buddhist variation of this worship is the feast offered in charity to the devils from time to time. The occasion is accompanied by the blowing of human thigh-bone trumpets and the beating of skull drums and gongs, and are afterwards dismissed in an imperative way.

The evil spirits of Indian Buddhism bear the four names of the four directions in Tibetan, usually the literal etymological translation of the Sanskrit names:

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These, as well as the other deities of Indian Buddhism, are usually represented by Tibetan artists in conventional Indian dresses, in contradistinction to the indigenous deities.

L. A. WADDELL

DENES.—A most important aboriginal group of tribes north of Mexico, Saskatchewan, up to the temperamental disparity of its component parts, it affords an excellent field for the study of psychic peculiarities and the gradual development in opposite directions of the mental faculties. Within the bosom of the present-day Indian there is a marked infestation of sub-arctic forests. All its tribes, however, are more or less remarkable for their pronounced sense of dependence on the powers of the invisible world. Religious feeling and its outward manifestations pervade their whole lives, though by some careless travellers they have been regarded as destitute of any religion.

The Denes, also improbably called Athapascans, from Lake Athabaska, the habitat of one of their tribes, are divided into Northern, Southern, and Pacific Denes. The Northern Denes, whose ranks are now reduced to about 19,390 souls, people the wilds of Canada from the Churchill River, and almost from the Mackenzie to the sea. There are also the House-god, the ancestral gods, and the personal spirits of familiars, good and bad, of the individual.

The representations of these spirits at their shrines, or on altars, or in their masks at the masked dances that are held to please them, have cut some of them have the head of a beast or bird, and they are pictured by the Tibetan artists as clad in the costume of the country. The local spirits sometimes may be represented by mere sticks.

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sidered its fountain-head, its natural chief, and the controller of the children, who, after marrying, stay with him, unless the mental superiority and better circumstances of another paternal relative claim them for his own followers. They soon form groups of kindred families, over which he presides as patriarch. The matter of course, are the chief men of his family; and they take care that the social unit, the family not being recognized as such. His power, however, is very limited: directing the movements of the band, giving orders for camping, and, occasionally, very good advice are about the sum-total of his prerogatives. His influence, of course, depends greatly on the number of his suite, and their efficiency as hunters. Hence it is the Déné's ambition to have as many children as possible, especially of the male sex, acceptable to them, as proof of the birth of several children. While some unimportant men had but one wife, the majority had two, and the lodges of the chiefs might contain from two to eight. D. W. Harmon ('A General Account of the Indians on the East Side of the Rocky Mountains,' p. 224) cites one who had eleven, with more than forty children, and W. H. Dall (Travels on the Yukon and in the Yukon Territory, p. 111) expresses his belief that the Déné, when he was a factotum, had his daughter-in-law and her husband among his relatives. A few cases of polyandry were also found among the Sékanais, a Rocky Mountain tribe.

Five methods of contracting marriage may be said to have obtained among the Northern Dènes. Marriage by mutual consent was exceedingly rare before the advent of the missionaries. Some such arrangement can, however, be placed to the credit of a few mountain tribes. 'Will you pack my beaver-snares?' the dusky youth would ask of the object of his choice. A hesitating 'Perhaps' would seal her fate, and, without further ado, the couple would thenceforth become man and wife. Wooing the bride's parents, that is, working for them and endeavouring by every possible good office to become acceptable to them, was proper to the British Dénès (cf. CARRIER INDIANS). In the common gateway to sexual intercourse east of the Rockies was wrestling. Two young men would publicly wrestle for the possession of a maiden, and the same took place in connexion with any marriageable woman as well. No husband could ever consider himself secure in the company of his wife, as he was liable to see her any day snatched away from him by a stranger man. So much so, indeed, that we are still not satisfied with an account of the eastern tribes, asserts (A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort to the Northern Ocean, p. 104) that 'a weak man ... is seldom permitted to keep a wife that a stronger man thinks worthy of her notice.' He adds that some professional wrestlers 'make almost a livelihood by taking what they please from the weaker parties, without making them any return' (ib. 106). A fourth way of contracting marriage was even more suggestive of savagery. A man would simply seize by the hair and drag to his tent the object of his passion. Finally, occasions were not wanting when women were bought as so many chattels, and gradually one was reserved when the same object of traffic was later ransacked by wresting from her quondam purchaser, the unfortunate creature being thus a passive party to transactions whereby she was 'married' according to the two different methods of obtaining a partner.

From this it will be inferred how exceedingly low was the position that the woman occupied in primitive society. She was merely a drudge, the factotum of the household, a slave to her husband, buffeted even by her own male children, fobed from them though she invariably was. Her fate was more satisfactory among the Navahos; and, by reason of the rank to which she might occasion-
propped comb to scratch her head, thereby avoiding immediate contact between her head and her fingers.

So deleterious were believed to be the emanations from the menstruating woman, that the taboos of which she was subject extended even to the contact with any weapon, or implement, designed for the capture of animals. Captain G. Back records the ‘consternation’ and hasty flight of a poor woman who had unwittingly trodden on her husband’s gun—an object which the explorer declares (Narr. of the Arctic Land Expedition to the Mouth of the Great Fish River, p. 124) did not usually meet with any lighter punishment than ‘a slit nose or a bit cut off the ears.’ The same legal uncleanness attached to a new mother, and a like sequestration followed, which was then protracted to a month or five weeks after child-birth. During that period the father would not, as a rule, see his child.

Speaking of legal uncleanness, we must not forget to mention that some such state was also supposed to be consequent on the shedding of human blood. Hearne relates that, after his Déné companions had massacred over twenty inoffensive Esquimaux, all those immediately concerned in the affair considered themselves debarr'd from cooking either for themselves or for others. Before every meal they painted their upper lips and the greater part of the cheeks with red ochre. They would not drink from any other pipe than their own, nor would those who had had no hand in the massacre touch the murderer’s dish or pipe. This, as well as the abstaining from many parts of the game they ate, was regularly followed for an entire month, after which ‘the men, without a female being present, made a fire at some distance from the tents, into which they threw all their ornaments, pipe-stems, and dishes, which were soon consumed to ashes; after which a feast was prepared, consisting of such articles as they had long been prohibited from eating; and, when all was over, each man was at liberty to eat, drink, and smoke as they pleased; and also to kiss their wives and children at discretion,’ which they had previously been forbidden to do (op. cit. 206).

Much married as the Déné usually were, they regarded continence as essential for success in certain undertakings. No hunter would ever dream of leaving for any important trapping expedition, if not first being gifted with a wife. His wives for quite an extended period. Did he succeed in capturing a beaver or a bear, he would carefully see to it that no dog—an unclean animal—should be permitted to touch any of its bones. The skull and molars, especially, were reputed sacred, and were invariably stuck up on the branches of a tree or, more commonly, on the forked end of a tent-pole. The fear lest an unclean animal—dog, fox, or wolf—might profane the same by contact therewith was the reason prompting these precautions. Should such a dreadful contingency occur, the hunter immediately desisted from exerting himself in any way, being firmly persuaded that all his efforts towards trapping any game of the same species would prove futile.

To understand these superstitions and most of those relating to menstruating women, we must remember that, in the Déné cosmogony, all the present faculties of Nature were originally endowed with human-like features. They fought, and the fowls of the air, the men of the earth, were men like ourselves, the animals distinguished by potent faculties which we do not possess. These wonderful powers, though now somewhat attenuated, were supposed still to exist. A share of them possessed by a few privileged individuals constitutes what we call magic. This is the connecting link between man and beast, and also the means whereby one may commune with the world of spirits, and by whose aid a person is enabled to succeed in his quest after happiness and the necessities of life. Hence the sympathy or antipathy which may exist between hunter and animal, with the former treating the latter. The language of the best Christianized Déné has retained to this day unequivocal traces of these zoothetical ideas. If unsuccessful in his hunt after game, the modern Déné will not say: ‘I had bad luck to kill that animal,’ but: ‘Beavers or beavers,’ as the case may be, ‘did not want me.’ The spirits, which have their seats in the various parts of the universe and are co-existent with them, are good, bad, or rather noxious or friendly. The evil spirits, on the occasion of breaches of the moral law, or the neglect of the traditional observances, attack man and dwell in him, causing thereby madness, fits, and other nervous disorders, disease, and death. The kindly spirits manifest themselves to him during his sleep, or suddenly in the woods or elsewhere, under the shape of the particular entity—animal, sun, celestial phenomenon, etc.—with which they are so connected. The man’s passion mind mundane being and indwelling power are almost one and the same. This manifestation is a token of their wish to act towards him as protecting genii, in return for some consideration shown to their protectors. These are the personal totems (mamitoues), the only ones known to the unadulterated Dénéas (cf. Totemism). The adopted party will thereupon show his regard for his protector by not suffering the particular being to which he is connected, to be wounded, abused, or any manner of other way; by exposing in his lodge its spoils (if an animal, or its symbol, if a heavenly orb, etc.), or carrying on his person a reminder of it in the shape of its tail, a feather flowing from his head-dress, or a chain on his coat, consisting of a single phrase repeated ad infinitum. Magic and song, in the mind of the American native, have a most intimate correlation, and few important attempts to influence the spirits one way or another would be left to chance. There is a regular order, a form to the working and the noising of drums. Should his appeal for help be heard, he will give expression to his gratitude by burning, or throwing into the water, any piece of property on hand, goods or clothing, or in later times tobacco.

In the North this was the only kind of sacrifice known to the Dénéas. At times it took a propitiatory or routatory character, being intended to obtain favours or avert calamities. The personified elements, especially wind with the tribes dwelling on the banks of the large Northern lakes, were the most common beneficiaries of such offerings, unless we add thereto another class of spirits, which have some resemblance to the genii locorum of the Romans. These were believed to haunt places prominent for some natural peculiarity—the steepness of a hill, the magnitude or striking appearance of a rock, etc. It was usual for any wayfarer passing by such spots to offer a stone to the spirit for its material comfort and entertainment, which can be traced to the wastes of Tartary (cf. Huc, Souvenirs d’un voyage dans la Tartarie, Paris, 1839, t. 251.), and the Déné practice may even be compared with the prayer-machines set up on mountain-tops in the brutish creation.

Instead of quietly revealing itself in a dream or a vision, the mamitou occasionally prostrated the
Dénes to the extent of depriving him of his senses. In such accidents the bystanders, who, not knowing what to do, would always interfering with the spirit, he was habitual association, or being attached to, a particular spirit or genius. They would insist that the mind of the smitten individual had been attracted by some powerful spirit, with which it was communicating. To them any kind of fainting malady was much the same as an attack of the same. Romanticists have gradually realized as belonging to the class of mysterious influences. Swooning is still called by the Carriers ne-bha'-n-thê-zat, or the attack of a spirit. When loud chanting, enhanced by louder beating of drums, had succeeded in banishing the spirit, the operator was supposed to return from the spirit world, and he was looked upon with a veneration bordering on awe. Henceforth he was regarded as possessed of the mysterious powers over Nature, and the spirits controlling it, which we call magic. The history, and his intimations were reported to whenever it was a question of countering the influence of the evil spirits which cause the death — public calamities. In a word, he was a regular shaman, and the religious system of which he had become the chief representative was the shamanism of the north-eastern Asiatic races in almost all its purity (cf. SHAMANISM). Among the Navahos of the South this is still at the base of the religious edifice; but the belief in the power of men to furnish the subject of the shaman, and the influence of environment have notably modified it by the addition of rites and elaborate ceremonies based on the remembrance of the many adventures of their culture heroes (cf. NAVAHOS).

The functions of the shaman shall be found fully explained in the article SHAMANISM. Sufice it to say here that they were seven-fold among the Northern Dénes. Shamanistic conjuring with that particular American race was curative, preventive, inquisitive, religious, receptive, or magico-religious, or prophetic. A rôle which was perhaps proper to the profession in the North was that of father confessor. Auricular confession of personal delinquencies to him who might be represented as the nearest aboriginal equivalent of a priest — though he could not strictly be called by such a name for the lack of any regular sacrifice or cult — was one of the religious institutions of the prairie forests of northern Canada. Of the shaman among the Western Dénes, Harmon wrote as early as 1829:

When the Carriers are very sick, they often think that they shall not recover unless they divulge to a priest or magician even the smallest secret which they may have committed which had hitherto been kept secret. In such a case, they will make a full confession, and then they expect that their lives will be spared. They believe that to keep even a small secret, or a crime, that as fully believe that they shall suffer instant death. ("Forsaken Indian: Living West of the Rocky Mountains," in Journal of Voyages, N.Y. ed. 1868, p. 256.)

The present writer had recorded the same custom long before he saw the old trader's volume. On the other hand, in the course of his Trad. ind. du Canada nord-ouest, p. 481., P. Petitot gives a Chippewa (Eastern) text furnished him in 1863 by an old shaman of Great Slave Lake, of which the following is a partial translation:

'The man who is sick as a consequence of his sins... sit by the shaman, to whom he confesses his misdeeds. The shaman asks him many a question, remigrants him in order to discover the unknown. Finally, the patient having confessed everything, the shaman draws down on him the Far-Out Spirit, his own familiar, which, entering into the sick man, takes away his sins, whereupon disease immediately leaves him.'

The greatest importance was attached to dreams. It was through the medium of dreams that most of the powers that could not in any other way be reached, or could not be of use to man, were accessible. People appeared on their beds to the vision of the Dénes, and to this day the Dénes consider dreaming as a token of occult powers over Nature and man. For this reason they are loth to wake up any sleeping person, as he or she may just be enjoying a dream, that is, communing with the spirits. Anybody talking in his sleep is nôke's nôke's regarded as a great sorcerer or shaman.

Though the spirits are much more in evidence than any other hidden power in the Dénes theology, they were not without the notion of a Supreme Being governing the world and punishing the wicked. In the West, the nature of this ruling principle was not very clear, though it was generally recognized as present. They were the powers of the great forces — wind, rain, and snow. Thunder they still firmly believe to be a gigantic bird of the eagle genus, the winking of whose eyelids produces lightning, while the detonations are due to the clapping of its wings. This deity was, indeed, paramount and personal in the estimation of those Indians is made evident by the usual formula of their oaths. Yvttore acult'sat: 'That which is-on-high heareth me,' and Yvttore nakt'salzat: 'I say it in presence of the Celestial Tower.' The Celestial Tower), are forms used by the old Carriers to this day. The new generation has another name for the Supreme Being, based on more adequate knowledge due to the missionaries. The modern missionaries have informed them that the American Indians attribute the work of creation to a prodigal hero, of a human nature, but exceedingly powerful, generally more or less tricky and not too scrupulous, whose many deeds and miraculous adventures have left their traces in various parts of the world. This is the culture hero of the Americanists, the Esats of the Western Dénes, who borrowed his personality from the N. Pacific coast tribes, and the Finséntweyëgë, 'the One who is lost across the ocean,' of the Central Dénes, the principal tribe of the Pacific group of Dénes. But the Eastern Dénes know of a God who is Creator as well as Ruler of the universe. He is, however, less spiritualized with them than his Western kin since they lend him human attributes. Inkîfwein-wëtyëgë, 'He sits on the zenith,' is the name by which the Hare Indians know him, and, according to Petitot, that tribe makes him: 'father, father, my father is in the zenith, the mother in the nadir, and the son travels incessantly from the one to the other. The father by his mere volition made the earth and all it contains, after which he lit the celestial orbs, the sun and the moon; most of the stars and constellations were originally inhabitants of our own globe—at the prayer of his son, who, having perceived the earth during one of his voyages, sang out: '-0 my Father who sittest on high, do light the heaven's eye.'—That is the Earth (the earth) my brothers-in-law (men) have been wretched for a long time' (Petitot, Monographie des Dên-Dindjë, p. xxiii).

Most of the tribes have also a tradition pointing to the extinction of mankind by water, with the exception of the Wise One, among the Eastern Dénes, or Esats, the chief legendary hero of the Western tribes. In the legends relating these events the musk-rat and the beaver, two animals famous for their nimbleness and skill, are said to have instrumental in reconstructing the earth, after it had been destroyed through the submersion of its highest mountains.

The sacredness of the number seven among the Jews is a matter of common knowledge. That number is among the majority of the American aborigines replaced by four; but both seven and four yield in sacredness to the number two in the legends and traditions of the Western Déne tribes. By the side of, and opposition to, the Spirit of the Being of the nation is, according to Petitot, a counterpart of our devil in the theology of the North-eastern tribes. If we are to believe that author, the knowledge of such an entity preceded the advent of the missionaries, and it was called the 'Bad One,' the 'Forsaken One,' the 'He that passed through heaven,' etc., according to the
DENÉS

various localities. The older Carriers call him today by the first-mentioned name; but the present writer is inclined to believe that they owe this notion to intercourse with the whites.

No tribe worshiped the Deity in any way; no cult of any kind, sacred dances or public prayers, obtained in the North. The only dance whose object was not mere recreation took place in connection with the scalp dance (cf. PRODIENCIES AND PORTENTS [Amer.]). But in the South the Bushwaees have elaborate rites and know of public praying, though their requests are addressed more to the personified elements and their culture-heroes, or semi-deified ancestors, than to the Supreme Deity.

As to man, he is believed to be made up of a perishable body and a transformable, and therefore surviving, soul—if this be the proper word for an element which is perhaps as much the effect as the cause of life. The name given it by most tribes literally means in the West 'warmth.' Yet it is to-day used to designate the principle of life, while the Eastern Denés have for the soul animating the body words varying according to the dialects, though all the above noted words are counterparts for the Lat. spiritus. Analogous terms serve in the West to express not the vital principle, but the outward sign of life, breath, and, by extension, life itself.

But on this principle, or physical condition, there is ne-tsen, man's shadow, usually called 'second self.' This is a reflexion of the individual personality, invisible in time of good health, because then confined within its normal seat, the body, but which on the approach of sickness wanders out of its home, and roams about, seldom seen but often heard. Its absence from its proper corporeal seat, if too prolonged, infallibly results in death.

Finally, ne-zul in the Dené psychology may be said to represent the second surviving principle after death. Strictly speaking, the word refers to the impalpable, dematerialized remnants of one's individuality, or a transformed self adapted to the conditions of the next world. That world is very generally believed to be situated underground, and watered by a large river, in which the shades catch small fry for their subsistence, visiting their nets in double canoes—a craft otherwise unknown in N. America. Their condition there seems to be unchangeable as long as they have not perished in the last funeral rites according to the customs of their tribes are constantly wandering, fed on mice, toads, toetus, and squirrels, or even cast into the waters of the big river instead of being ferried across, while others are reported to be playing ten on the grass, or dancing to the tune of a song, the main burden of which is the words she'ga ts'áchine, 'we sleep separated from one another,' i.e. 'there is no more any matrimonial union between us.'

Metempsychosis was strongly believed in by the Eastern Denés. Petiott writes in his Monographie des Dené-Dinkjè, p. xxx: 'I have been unable to eradicate from the mind of a certain girl the persuasion that, before her birth, she had lived under the name and with features unknown to me, nor could I prevent an old woman from claiming the child of her neighbour, under the pretext that she recognized in him the moral image of her deceased son. I am personally acquainted with several such cases.'

The art of CARRIER INDIANS makes it clear that such survivals are not exceptional to the East. Yet, we must add that the Western Denés now seem to have entirely discarded them, while the beliefs connected with menstruating women, the spirits, and shamanism still lurk in the minds of many, and are professed by a few. With others, they are at best obsolescent. This re-incarnation of the soul did not always result in a mere exchange of bodies of a similar kind. The author just quoted further says that he has known a poor mother who was lamenting because an old shaman had assured her that she had seen her dead son walking by the shore of the lake under the form of a bear. He adds: 'It is seldom that we see any man of influence die without hearing soon after his former companions claim that they have seen him metamorphosed into a bipedal caribou, a bear, or an elk.'

The original mode of disposing of dead bodies in the North seems to have been by enclosing them within rough wigwams of skin, long propped at the ends, which were raised from 3 ft. to 7 ft. above ground on stout poles or posts. Any object which might have belonged to the deceased either accompanied him in his final retreat into the earth, burnt, or hidden in the branches of trees. Sometimes the remains were concealed within trees hollowed out for the purpose, or naturally hollow through age and decay; but in the East it was much more usual simply to abandon them where they fell. They were never buried, except among the Chilcotins, a South-western tribe, while their neighbours, the Carriers and the Babines, cremated them, after the custom of the coast Indians.

Such were the Denés when first met by the whites. The Apaches were the first representatives of the nation to make the acquaintance of the pale-faced strangers, in the persons of the Spaniards of Mexico. Then, in the North, the first signs of our civilization occurred in the vicinity of Hudson Bay, where the Fur Trading Company named after that inland sea established posts, from one of which Arthur Dobbs wrote in 1744 the earliest printed reference to the Denés, which is, so far as we know, from the writer's knowledge. In 1771-72, Samuel Hearne, one of the traders, reached the Arctic Ocean in the company of a large band of Eastern Denés, who then perpetrated the unprovoked massacre of Eskimos that nearly exterminated the tribe. Though the writer was unable to note the period of the massacre, he tells us that in 1796, descended the noble stream now known under his name, and in 1798 penetrated as far west as the Pacific Ocean, always accompanied by a few Northern Denés, who did not succeed in securing him a peaceful reception at the hands of all the new Dené tribes. About 1811, the Yellow-Knives repeated on the poor Eskimos the exploit of Hearne's companions, killing thirty of them near the mouth of the Coppermine River, which were the last survivors of the former band of Denés, acting under provocation, destroyed Port Nelson, on the Liard River, and murdered its inmates. Ten years thereafter (1823), the Dog-Ribs and Hares, long oppressed by the Yellow-Knives, fell upon them unawares and cut off a large number of them. Then came the visits of the Arctic explorers, Sir John Franklin, Captain G. Back, and Dr. King, Thomas Simpson, Sir John Richardson, etc. The dates attached to their respective works in the following bibliography are safe indications of the epochs of their travels among the Denés.

Finally, we have the missionaries. The Catholics reached Isle-à-la-Crosse in 1845, Lake Athabasca in 1847, Great Slave Lake in 1852, Peace River in 1855, and the Lower Mackenzie in 1859. Father Petiot, a prolific ethnographer, was the first minister of the gospel to visit Great Bear Lake, which he did for the first time in the course of 1866. The mission work has since had good, if not always good, prospects; and has made numerous converts well received, and readily made numerous proselytes: 1859 saw the establishment of the first Protestant mission at Fort Simpson, on the Mackenzie, after which outposts were started among the Lou- sianne Indians of the Rocky Mountains. Today practically the entire nation in the North is Christian, about nine-tenths having adopted the Catholic faith, and the remainder the Protestant.

See HUPAS and NAVAHOS for Central and Southern Athapascans.
DEOGARH—DEVRISS


A. G. MORICE.

DEOGARH.—(Sk. deve-goda, “fort of the gods’).—A town in the Santal Parganas of Bengal, lat. 24° 30’ N., long. 80° 42’ E., containing the home Baidyanath’s temple. Devgaogarh, Devygarh, Natha, “lord of physicians,” an epithet of Siva. By a folk etymology the place is connected with one Bajij, a member of a Dravidian tribe, who by one account was a Gwāla, or cowherd, by caste. It is said that he was so distinguished by his laziness and indolence of the Brahman priests of the shrine, that he vowed that he would daily, as evidence of his contempt for them, strike the image of the god with his club. One day, as he perpetrated this, the idol spoke and blessed him because, though not a worshipper, had rescued the carelessness of his priests. When asked to claim a boon from the god, Bajij prayed that he might be known as Natha, “lord,” and that the temple be built after his name. This wish was granted, and the sacred spot has been known since that as that of Bajijnath. It has been suggested without any valid reason that the legend implies some connection between the primitive cultus and the rites of the Dravidian tribes. According to the Hindu legend, the temple is of ancient date. It is built of large stones; Rāmakāya, king of Lālka or Ceylon, who in the epic of the Rāmakāya is the ravisher of Sīth, wife of Rāma. It is said that he got possession of a famous idol of Siva to aid him on his flight with Rāma, and on his way south hauled to purify himself at the site of Deoghar. Finding no water, he dashed his hot into the ground and formed a pond. End, when the Rāmakāya was set down, seeing the place to be fair, it refused to move further with Rāma, and has been there ever since, known by the name of Maheva Rāṇaśvara, “lord Rāṇa’s.” The same story is told to account for the position of many other sacred images in India (Cunningham, Archaeological Survey Reports, viii. 143 ff.; Oppert, Original Inhabitants of Bharata-varsha, 1869, Part 2, Minor Races (nearly anthropological)).

The early history of the shrine is obscure. When the British occupied the country, they tried, but with ill-success, to manage the handlings and collect the offerings of pilgrims. Finally it was decided to allow the priest who was known as ojhā (Sk. upadhāya, ‘teacher’). In front of the temple is a remarkable structure, consisting of two massive monoliths supporting a third stone of similar shape and size. It is known as the Swinging Platform (alud-mahir), and was possibly originally used in the ritual of swinging the idol. The chief temple is that of Siva, and close by is a later shrine of his spouse, Gauri, ‘the yellow, brilliant one,’ which is joined to that of her consort, Gajanana, the vulture, thus typifying the union of the god and the goddess. At the back of the god’s temple is a verandah in which suppliants for his favours—recovery from disease, the blessing of children, and so on—make their vigils. With the usual catholicity of modern Hinduism, the chief shrines are surrounded by those of the lesser gods—Rama and Lakṣmi representing Viṣṇu in this Saiva atmosphere; Sūrya, the sun god; Sākta, goddess of learning; Manasa, the snake-goddess; Hannām, the monkey-god; Kāla Binirava, god of destruction; and Annapārā, ‘she who gives wealth in grain.’ But all these shrines bear marks of neglect. To illustrate the fusion of Islam with Hinduism, Gait (Census Report Bengal, 1901, i. 176) remarks that ‘Muhammadans are often seen to carry sacred water to the shrine of Baidyanath, and, as they may not enter the shrine, pour it for a libation on the outside verandah.’


DEOON—See HOLINESS AND SIN.

DEVRISS (dareviš).—A Pers. word signifying ‘mendicant’ (corresponding with bikhāra, the name borne by the Brahman in the fourth stage of his existence), applied, in Persian and Turkish, to the ascetics of Islam, whose Arab. name is zūdlat, which appears to mean originally ‘satisfied with a little,’ in ac-
cordance with the usage of this phrase in the Qur'an (xii. 20). Its connotation does not appear to differ from that of ṣīfī (q.v.), 'weaver of wool,' a term applied by the early Islamic writer Jaḥīz († A.H. 225 = A.D. 838), Ḩayyānīn, i. 100) both to the Persian dervishes and to the monks, whose purpose in order to indulge their laziness, pretend to disapprove of labour and wage-earning, and make their mendicity a means of obtaining the reverence of their fellows. Most Muslims, indeed, take a less cynical view of the ascetic, who is supposed to abandon his possessions before taking to the mendicant life, in the belief that they stand between him and the attainment of the higher life. And, though many dervishes are mendicants, this is only with the purpose of ritualistic ceremony; the bulk of the members of Orders belong to the labouring and trading classes. In Arab. literature the name first occurs (in the form ḏarīyyah) as the epithet of one Khalīd, who in the year A.H. 201 (= A.D. 816) endeavoured to organize the citizens of Baghdad for the suppression of anarchy. In Pers. literature of the 6th and 7th centuries, and even later, the dervish is a holy man who has overcome the world; and in S. Arabia it is the usual term for the sense of shud dhīr as a term of dignity. In general, we may distinguish between ṣīfī and dervish as between theory and practice; the latter holds a certain philosophical doctrine, the former practises a particular style of life. The practice of asceticism, and the wearing of wool in indication of it, are, of course, as early as the time of Muhammad, and far earlier; according to the most authentic accounts, the Prophet himself gave little encouragement to asceticism, which rarely enters the plans of the Sufis, and was, in case of the ascetic mystics of the Orders, though not strictly adhered to, at all events. But the notion of religious exercises in addition to those prescribed by the ordinary ritual, culminating in ecstasy, meets us early in the history of Islam; and with this went theories of states and stations in the religious life which belong to the subject of Sufism.

It is not till the 6th cent. of Islam that we hear of actual Orders of ascetics; attempts which are made to trace them further back are mythological. In the earlier centuries, and in the 7th they are familiar. The unity of an Order is constituted by a special form of devotion, whereby its members endeavour to induce what spiritualists call 'the superior condition'; it usually consists in the repetition of religious formula, especially the first article of the Muslim creed, and each Order has its dhikr, as this process is called; other religious exercises of the same sort bear the titles Ṣikārah and Ṣawīyyah.

The first founder of an Order is supposed to have been 'Abd al-Qādir (q.v.) of Jīlān, who died A.H. 561 (= A.D. 1166); but that founded by Ahmad al-Rīfālī, who died A.H. 578 (= A.D. 1182), was nearly contemporaneous. Of both these persons we possess biographies, and, indeed, in the case of the former a series of works, chiefly homiletic in character. In general, the founders of Orders are historical personages; some have left works, and in other cases there are authoritative treatises, revealing the development of the formula, which, in most cases, can only be acquired through oral instruction, and by persons who have undergone probation.

The founding of Orders has gone on steadily since the 6th cent. of Islam; and their enumeration is no easy matter, since it is difficult to distinguish between independent and branch Orders. Von Hammer enumerated 36, of which 12 were supposed to have existed before the rise of the Ottoman empire, and 24 to have sprung up after that event; the former number includes some that are mythical, whereas the latter is too small. The most interesting, in some ways, is the Bektashi Order, which constitutes the body of dervishes in Islam with Christianity, and which (according to G. Jacob, who has made a special study of it) retains many vestiges of Christian doctrines and rites. Next after this comes the Naqshbandi, which is widespread; the Sūfūriyyah, Rīfā'īyyah, and Ḳāsīrūn also play important roles, while some political importance is ascribed to the Maḥmūdīyyah.

In certain provinces of the Ottoman empire there is a shāfiī order, or order of dervishes, the bulk of whom are responsible to the Government for their conduct.

The acts which enter into the life of the member of an Order are in part disciplinary, in part devotional. The devotional acts take the form of a service, called ḥalāt, which with certain communities is daily, with others weekly; probably the form which it most commonly takes is that of the repetition of formula, especially la ṣīrūn ṣīru ṣīru, a vast number of times with various differences of intonation, or of the meaning of words; elaborate rules are given in some of the books belonging to the Orders, regulating the bodily motions which should accompany the production of each syllable. Ḥudūdūr familiar to the visitor, who, going to visit the Maulawis in Sufi circles, is sometimes shown the next by the formula or a group of the formula, in some of the books which including the formulas in the service, of the Ḳīfī dervishes in Scutari, who, first sitting, and then standing on their right and left feet alternately, and bending sideways, repeat the formula of the Unity, a word which same may be seen in Cairo. At the service of the Ḥudūdūr dervishes in Tashkent, visited by Schuylcr (溉ziristan, New York, 1876, i. 159-161), the repetition of the formula was accompanied by a violent movement of the head over the left shoulder towards the heart, then back, then to the right shoulder, then down, as if directing all movements to the heart. Indeed, the directions in the books of the sect imply the use of the heart in pronouncing the formula of the Unity, though the process seems scarcely intelligible. In most of the performances the motions gradually accelerate as they proceed, and different forms of ecstasy have a tendency to be produced.

Besides the usual forms of discipline are prescribed to neophytes in many of the Orders. One of these is 'solitude,' Ḫalātūh, a discipline of the Khalwats, who are called thereafter, and who are ordered to recite long prayers in complete solitude, or to remain in the monastery or cells which cells are provided in the monasteries (called takīyyah, or Ṣawīyyah). With the Maulawis the aspirant has, it is said, to serve 1001 days in the kitchen of the Order. With some other Orders the discipline consists, like the devotion, in trials of the power to recite the formula of the Unity a vast number of times with the least expenditure of breath, and promotion is made dependent on the attainment of a certain standard in this matter.

The numbers of the Orders are also distinguished by certain peculiarities in their attire, whether in shape, substance, or colour. Great importance is attached to the head-gear, and the number of tork, or gores, of which it is composed. This word in Arabic signifies 'abandoning,' and the number is said to symbolize, perhaps, the number of occasions abandoned by the dervish. Some Orders wear gaiters; some carry stones in their belts, said to signify hunger; the Maulawis are distinguished by a wide skirt (worn at their services) called ṭanūr, or oven, which is composed of the even of misfortune whence the head has been withdrawn.

'The sheikhs of the Orders wear robes of green or white clot, and any of those who in winter line them with fur use that kind
called petit gris and zillah marten. Few dervishes use cloth for robes, but in some cases felted cloth called abdi, such as is made in some of the cities of Anatolia, is most usual. Generally all dervishes wear a sort of inner garment which is often not more than a sort of the beard. Some of the Orders still wear long hair ' (J. F. Brown, The Dervishes, p. 210).

On the tombs of some of them are mystic signs.

In general, the dervishes are credited with mystic powers, and as early as the 7th cent. of Islam we are informed of various wonders which the Kifis could perform: they could eat living serpents and go through a fire undamaged. (2) It is possible, however, that they extinguished the fire. Some of their wonders seem to have puzzled Lane, the author of Modern Egyptians (London, 1816). Oman, in his work on the Mission of Islam to the British and Portuguese (London, 1867, p. 323 ff.), describes a fire-bath undergone by a Sayyid, trusting to the power of Hussain. He had apparently taken care to drench his feet with water before walking over the coals, but those who attempted to do it, not knowing how it were done, were scalded. The Order spread, others zawiya have witnessed these miracles can often give an explanation: the serpents with which the 'Isawi play have their venom removed; similarly, in the ceremony of the Duceh, practised by the Egyptian Sufis, whose Serpents rode over the fire in the year 1901, it appears that the horse had been carefully trained, and it was arranged that he should step nowhere where serious injury could result. It is, of course, possible that in some of these cases there is no conscious effort, and hypnotism accounts for anything that is wonderful; but in many places the holy man appears to be a low form of conjurer. The biographies of the founders of the Orders have a tendency to embody many manifestations of supernatural power; but it is probable that, like those admitted into the lives of Christian saints, they are thought to be edifying rather than historical.

The Orders of dervish, an early period to a definite form of organization, of the nucleus is the zawiya, or retreat: such a place is usually built by or for the founder of the Order, and is inherited by his successors, who in most cases are his actual heirs. As the Order spreads, other zawiya are erected, which, however, maintain a filial relation to the parent institution; i.e. the presidents of the former are appointed from the latter. The name shaita is properly applied exclusively to the father of the Order, but of the Khatif, i.e. 'substitutes': it was on this principle that the successor of the Sudanese Malhi was known in Europe as the Khalifi. The non-official members of the Order are called 'disciples' (talabah or mouth). The head of a dependent dervish is called mungddom: the revenues are in charge of a trustee, or wakil.

Membership of an Order does not necessarily interfere with the normal duties of life; the dervishes of Egypt are said to belong mainly to the class of small shopkeepers. The performances are thought, however, by some observers to have a tendency to produce insanity, or, at any rate, nervous disorders. Begging is in theory forbidden by some Orders, but in practice permitted, and certain dervishes carry a bowl or wallet for the purpose.

French writers hold that the underlying idea of most of the Orders is the declaration of the Islamic world, and the eventual expulsion of Europeans in the future. Those who wrote against this are accused of a number of French writers, partly employed by the French Government to investigate this important element in their African possessions.

...The Dervishes... A. le Chatelier, Les Conferences Musulmanes du Hedjaz, Paris, 1887; L. Rinne, Maraboutes et Khouans, Algiers, 1884; P. Depont and X. Coppolani, Les Conferences religieuses musulmanes, Algiers, 1897; G. Jacob, Jdh (Abdul, 1878), Tawfiq el-Bakari, Batat el-Siddiq (Arabic), Cairo, 1223 a.h.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

DESCARTES.—i. Life and writings.—René Descartes was born on 31st March 1596. It seems to be well established, however, that the place of his birth was La Haye, in Touraine, not far from Poitiers. At eight years of age he was sent to the famous College of La Flèche, recently established by the Jesuit fathers and endowed by King Henry IV. The eight years passed at La Flèche had a profound influence on Descartes' future life, and he always spoke of his instructors with the deepest gratitude. After leaving school, young Descartes, who was provided with a moderate competency from his father, proceeded to travel, though he first of all spent some time in Paris, where he found his lifelong friend, Père Dary, who was largely biographical. In the course of the Thirty Years' War, Descartes volunteered for service with Prince Maurice of Nassau, then in Holland. But, while serving as an unpaid soldier, he did not lay down his sword; and, indeed, at this time wrote certain fragmentary works, most of which are lost, such as Meditations entitled Cogitationes Privatae—discovered comparatively late in the Library at Harewood. These early works may also be mentioned the Compendium Musicæ, which was not intended for publication, but was brought to light after the author's death. Of those enumerated in an inventory found after Descartes' death are: (1) a treatise entitled Considerations on the Sciences; (2) a paper on Algebra; (3) reflexions called Democritae; (4) observations entitled Experimenta; (5) a treatise begun under the name of Preambula; Initium Divinæ temporum, and entitled Olympia. Descartes' biographer, Baillet, who wrote very soon after his death, mentions yet another work entitled Studium Bonæ Mentis, which was addressed to a friend,—very probably Mercurius Pined and which was largely biographical. In the Cogitationes he tells of his 'conversion' in the year 1619, when with the army in its winter quarters at Neuberg, on the Danube. Smitten with remorse for sins committed, he resolved to follow after the footsteps of Truth. He then made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Loreto.

Descartes, on quitting Maurice's army, volunteered to serve with Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, and chief of the great Catholic League, in his war against Frederick, the Elector Palatine, who had been crowned at Prague in 1619. But, as far as we can judge, the young soldier was much more occupied with his speculations than with the profession which he had taken up. Indeed, it seems very doubtful whether he actually fought at the battle of Prague, which decided the Elector Frederick's fortunes. With the Elector his children fled, and, curiously enough, one of them was Elizabeth, just four years of age, and permitted to correspond with and visit him. During these exciting years the events took place which are so well described in the biographical portion of the Method, where Descartes tells of the mental struggle through which he passed, from Africa; and he tells of the up his mind as to the course he was to pursue in his future life. It was at this time that he decided to sweep away the opinions which up to that time he had embraced, so that he

'...might afterwards be in a position to admit either others more correct, or even perhaps the same which now prevail, in any other way, on the contrary, if I firmly believed,' he said, 'that in this way I should much better succeed in the conduct of my life, than if I built only upon the foundations, and upon principles which in my youth I had taken on trust.'
After the battle of Prague, Descartes joined the Bavarian army once more, but it was not long before he gave up military service and started upon his travels. After nine years' absence he returned to Paris, where he was accused of favouring the sons of Frenchmen expelled from the Netherlands. Descartes' father put him in possession of the property to which he was entitled, and he found himself in consequence in easy circumstances. He started off on further travels almost at once, and made his way to Dantzic and then to Riga, where he had redeemed his promise of making a pilgrimage to Loretto. On his return journey he made scientific investigations in regard to the height of Mont Conis. Once more he returned to Paris and he is said to have written his French treatise on the subject of geometry, in order that it might be read by any of his countrymen who chose to do so. Its conclusions had long been cogitated, and they expressed the mature result arrived at by one who desires to know not only what is true, but also why it is believed. It is a simple and sincere record of personal experience, a 'Pilgrim's Progress' of the human soul. It was not the first important book written by Descartes. Of extant treatises we have the Regula ad directionem ingenii, written almost certainly during his earlier life, but left incomplete, and a treatise called Le Monde, which was never published; but the Method has a place possessed by no other of Descartes' works in the estimation of posterity.

Descartes' next work was almost equally famous, Meditations on the First Philosophy. The Meditations is a study of Truth in its highest aspect. It is not, like the Method, a charming biography and philosophy of life: it is a more profound study of the facts of existence, and an exposition of Descartes' system in all its fullness. In this book he deals with the great question of Philosophic Doctrine. Always intent on his object, we have the materialistic or 'sensational' standpoint clearly set forth, and in his reply Descartes gives an interesting exposition of the Cartesian idealism, which he opposes to his doctrine. Arnauld, the fourth author of 'Objections,' on the other hand, is by no means so hostile as his successors and Gassendi, and to him Descartes replies with suavity and consideration. He is simply concerned about the application of Cartesian principles to the doctrines of theology and morality. His sympathies are with St. Augustine, and he holds that we must believe what we cannot know. The last 'Objections,' by the Jesuit father Daniel, are accepted by Descartes at the last time. Gassendi always follows with interest. The 'Objections and Replies' are, however, deserving of the best consideration. The difficulties that occur in accepting Descartes' doctrine, and the arguments that may be used in their defence.

The next treatise written by Descartes was the Principles of Philosophy, published in Latin in the year 1644. In this book its author enunciates the same doctrines that he set forth in the Method and the Meditations. He praises his mistress Philo-

From which of the two texts does this natural text seem to be derived?
various psychological manifestations may be rationally explained by purely mechanical causes, was safely placed for publication in <i>Elevier</i>'s hands. Then he left the 'dear solitude of Egmont for Paris, where he passed his days in Stockbridge were destined to be short. The exequient young Queen was not only occupied in endeavouring to establish an Academy of which she intended to make the most of in Paris, but also she desired to be instructed in philosophy at five o'clock in the morning, and Descartes was in the habit of coming to the house early and being called upon to explain what might have been anticipated in a bitterly cold climate. He fell ill of an inflammation of the lungs after nursing his friend Chanut through the same illness and died on 11th February 1650, at the age of fifty-four. He was buried at Stockholm, but later his remains were removed with considerable difficulty to Paris and laid in the church of St. Genevieve du Mont. In 1449 the remains were removed to the church of St. Germain-des-Prés, where Descartes was buried in the faith of his forefathers, but it was not long before serious suspicion fell upon his teaching, and his works were placed upon the Index. Cler- seil, his friend and one of the translators of his works, who after Descartes' death wrote a panegyric on his virtues, records in <i>l'ceur</i> of his desire to have his name remembered after his death, to leave the traditions of this body; suffer then this separation with joy and courage.'

In addition to the works mentioned above, there was published after his death an unfinished work entitled <i>La Recherche de la vérité par la lumière de la nature</i>, an interesting dialogue upon Cartesian principles between three friends in a country house. The dialogue appears in the <i>Programma</i>, which was written in refutation of his opponent Regius (<i>Le Roy</i>).

2. System of philosophy. — It is true in more than a traditional sense that Descartes is the father of modern philosophy. Philosophy as a word came into existence. His was an age when men were confronted with the new conception of Nature and of man, and were led to new methods of investigation. The great upheaval which we call the Reformation brought about a form of individualism which ended in a reaction against the new standards judged to be as arbitrary as the old. But the real work of the Reformation had already been brought about in Protestant and in Roman Catholic alike. Man learned to be himself, and was no longer restrained by artificial bonds. The spirit of investigation was everywhere. All phenomena of Nature were of interest, and all men tried to obtain exact knowledge, and thereby to strengthen their powers of originality and self-reliance. The 17th century—the century in which Descartes lived — was the period in which science became a reality, and in which the scientific spirit became the spirit of the age. Historically, too, it marked a period of transition. At our most bleached on the part of the House of Valois had been ended by the assassination of Henry III., and on the accession of Henry IV., religious warfare was brought to a conclusion; his death was an inexpressible loss to the French nation, least long been held captive; the hour has now come for thee to quit thy prison, to leave the traditions of this body; suffer then this separation with joy and courage.'

Descartes' work in the midst of this time of unrest and ferment was that of a great systematizer. He took all those new ideas that had come into being and endeavoured to bring them into a definite, concrete, and comprehensible system. In rejecting the old dogmas of the Schools, the New Learning came to provide something better able to satisfy the inquiring mind; it brought with it certainty of his new method. But his days of change in the world have become of infinite importance and interest, and that is not the knowledge of it, and also the knowledge of man, should be certain and definite. The problem, then, that Descartes had to deal with was the reconciliation of two sides, now come into prominence—the spiritual and the physical, the soul and the body, the point of view of orthodoxy and the point of view of science; and it is because this is a modern problem that the New Learning is needed. But Descartes' attempt to bring about this reconciliation was the first of many on similar lines. His object was to arrive at certainty—a certainty which he believed could be reached only by following definite rules laid down by his Method, and by beginning with the Doubt which is the absolute essential before any successful quest after Truth is made—'de omnibus dubitandum est,' as he expressed it, where doubt must be applied to all those inherited traditions and beliefs which form, to his mind, a mass of incongruous opinions; we must ruthlessly reject what cannot be justified to ourselves as truth; we must free ourselves from all prejudice and uncertainty, and his philosophical doubt is in nowise scepticism, but the doubt that precedes true knowledge.

Descartes' system of philosophy was thus, above all, a method, and the interesting thing about this method is that it preserved itself to this day as his life-history might. The order of his experiences was simply the order of his method writ large. This is what makes the immortal little book called by the name of the Method a masterpiece of spiritual biography, as an account of moral and mental development, as it is also a masterpiece of direct and simple style. It was in his quiet room, in that cold winter with the army on the Danube, that Descartes turned his thoughts not to seek happiness here or there, for it is only to be found within him. The world and he, the spirit and the body, mind and matter, are really one. Traditions, hypotheses, assumptions of all kinds should be rejected, and the modem spirit came into existence. His was an age when men were confronted with the new conception of Nature and of man, and were led to new methods of investigation. The great upheaval which we call the Reformation brought about a form of individualism which ended in a reaction against the new standards judged to be as arbitrary as the old. But the real work of the Reformation had already been brought about in Protestant and in Roman Catholic alike. Man learned to be himself, and was no longer restrained by artificial bonds. The spirit of investigation was everywhere. All phenomena of Nature were of interest, and all men tried to obtain exact knowledge, and thereby to strengthen their powers of originality and self-reliance. The 17th century—the century in which Descartes lived — was the period in which science became a reality, and in which the scientific spirit became the spirit of the age. Historically, too, it marked a period of transition. At our most bleached on the part of the House of Valois had been ended by the assassination of Henry III., and on the accession of Henry IV., religious warfare was brought to a conclusion; his death was an inexpressible loss to the French nation, least long been held captive; the hour has now come for thee to quit thy prison, to leave the traditions of this body; suffer then this separation with joy and courage.'

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'I had the persuasion that there was absolutely nothing in the world, that there was no sky, no earth, neither minds, nor bodies; I was not conscious of anything before, at the time the sun did not exist; I did not exist! Far from it! I assuredly existed, since I was persuaded. But I had not a doubt about it, it was impossible for me to doubt, it was the very being of the idea that flew through my mind. I am then certain that I am. It is necessary that there exist, that I exist, that I am, and that I think.'

'This is clearly a great step forward; it signifies that a new phase in philosophy has been entered on, a change of front as great as the Kantian transformation of a later date, which in a measure foreshadowed, 'I think' is present in all our ideas and even in doubt itself. We are brought back from the external and unrelated facts of consciousness to the basis of Truth on which all
other truth is founded. We have arrived at the conception of thought as the groundwork of all knowledge. Further on in the Meditations he says that in thought is found that which properly belongs to the self.

"The mind is not capable of thought. I am — I exist; this is certain; but how often? As often as I think; for perhaps it would not be I, but the mind, which I should really wish to think, that should at the same time cease to be. I now admit nothing that is not necessarily true; I am, therefore, precisely speaking, only a thinking body, a mind understanding a reason — terms whose signification was before unknown to me."

In this we have a firm foundation on which we can build, setting aside the old disputations of the Schools and great 'dualisms' and 'otherisms.' Understanding or reason is for the first time made the basis in a philosophic comprehension of the world as it presents itself to us. Descartes says that the outside world is not perceived in its true signification by the senses or imagination, but by the mind alone.

They [outside things] are not perceived; he says, because they are understood; that is, rightly comprehended by thought. 'I readily discover,' he goes on, 'that there is nothing more clearly apprehended than my own mind.'

Having got so far, he goes on to apply his method; he shows how, when the mind is cleared of all preconceived notions and prejudices, what is known becomes known clearly and distinctly. This signifies that we must now apply ourselves to making our knowledge absolutely certain, so that we may be sure that we are ascertaining what is true.

"I am certain that I am a thinking thing, but do I not therefore know what is required to render me certain of a truth? In the first knowledge there is nothing that gives me assurance of its truth except the clear and distinct perception of what I affirm, which would not indeed be sufficient to give me assurance that what I say is true, if I did not happen to know that anything I thus clearly and distinctly perceived should prove false, and, accordingly, if I were not to act as a general rule, that all that is very clearly and distinctly apprehended must be true."

With the attitude of doubt the so-called secondary qualities, dependent as they are on the relations of one object to another and to the sentient subject, are naturally first brought under the ban of criticism. These qualities do not appear to be fixed in any object, but they are understood, however, what possesses the two attributes of extension and capacity of motion; and hence Descartes appeals to the truths of the mathematical sciences. Even they, however, might be false; some philosophers led us to the while deceiving us in what we accept as truth. Hence we must reject even these apparent truths and fall back upon our own minds. Here again we find modes of consciousness in feeling, willing, imagining, etc., 'so that I must also abstract from these and concentrate upon myself as I am, without borrowing in any way from elsewhere.' In this way we reach Descartes' thinking substance, which, as he points out, is present and is affirmed, even as it denies or doubts; and on the other hand we have the external object as extension.

Descartes maintains that amongst the ideas that are clear and distinct we must recognize that of God as a Perfect Being of whom we have a clear and distinct conception. The idea of God cannot be, he says, be derived from our limited existence; its origin must be in one who contains all in Himself. From the idea of perfection he infers the existence of it in God as its originator. The idea of perfection involves the clearest and most logical argument which is so frequently brought forward by later philosophers. But, if such a God exists, we have a guarantee that we cannot be deceived, for such a perfect Being could not deceive us, and therefore we may accept the teaching of our consciousness. The errors of the atheists — no small class at the time, if Mersenne is to be believed — are by Descartes said to be due to their anthropological ways of looking at God, and to their forgetting the fact that, while men's minds are finite, God is infinite.

It is thus evident that Descartes considered that in his essence man is a thinking and an extended being who has a clear and distinct understanding of himself as an extended and unthinking thing, and thus that man as mind is absolutely distinct from body, and may exist without it. It is this dualistic conception of mind and body that constitutes the difficulty in forming any adequate conception of the universe according to Cartesian principles. The question arises as to how we can possibly reconcile the two sides — the outside world, or extension, as Descartes called it, on the one hand, and ideas as to consciousness, on the other. The qualities of the object are reduced to bare extension, and those of the subject to bare thought. As a matter of fact, Descartes introduced this new view of the outside world as extended, that is, as that which occupies space, and has extent, breadth, and depth; and it was to this extension that he applied the mathematical reasoning for which his name is famous. And confronting it he have the Intelligence, Thought, or Reason which apprehends this external distraction. This is the same philosophic conception. But the difficulty comes when we try to explain how the one side acts upon the other. We have before us two entities, one of which is passive and inert, and yet is acted on by a unifying intelligence eternally pure, and thus upon the relationships which make it comprehensible by us; while, on the other hand, we have the mind, which is wholly immaterial and spiritual. How is the transfer of the so-called natural to the spiritual? How does the physical action convey anything to the perceiving mind? Doubtless there was in Descartes' mind a solution of the difficulty. He would have considered that there is a unity to be found in thought, and that this is the way by no means clearly worked out. Indeed we have but intimations of it which are only comprehended in the light of later developments in thought. The mind is conscious of the infinite as having in it more reality than itself."

"Our consciousness of God is prior to our consciousness of self. For how could we doubt or desire, how could we be conscious that anything is wanting to us, and that we are not altogether perfect, if we had not in one way the idea of a Perfect Being in comparison with whom we recognize the defects of our nature?"

Though there is no doubt that Descartes' system was a dualistic one, the progress made by him in his search after truth was immense. He took knowledge as the one great and important fact, and sought out its elements as best he could. He played a notable part in the great discovery which meant so much in his age, that the world is governed by law. It has been said of him that 'he established liberty of mind and sovereignty of reason.' In his writings he brought the whole of Nature within the reign of law, and showed how both the starry heavens and the earth beneath are governed by the same inevitable physical law. He showed also how such views are consistent with a philosophic outlook. Perhaps one of his greatest claims to our gratitude rests on his work in Mathematics (see below), that is to say, not in his well-known discoveries in Geometry and in the development of the application of Algebra to the solution of geometrical problems, but in the fact that these might be, but, in the large sense of the term, in his scientific work. For Mathematics in those days included all the immense amount of work done in the direction of Physics, Astronomy, Optics, Physiology, and the other branches of science. Descartes was not an investigator of the type of the present day — a patient observer of a mass of phenomena from whose careful examination
some results might be deduced. He had his theories well defined before he began his work, and laid them down in what we should consider a dogmatic fashion. But, this granted, he applied himself to examine man in all his aspects. In Physiology, for instance, he forms his theory, and then he enunciates it, explaining how the human body might be and might act. A great deal—indeed most—of what he tells us about the physiology of the body, though very interesting and in a degree excellently not very correct, in the view of later investigation. But then Descartes has the credit of maintaining the theory of the body as a machine, a very complicated machine of course, but one which acts as a machine. He narrated what he knew to be true about the machine, and also what he considered was probably true, and formed the whole into a system which was perfectly clear and intelligible to those who had only the facts presented before them. In our view, any of those facts, both physical and physiological, are to the least degree absurd, but still it was better to have a comprehensible theory such as he gives than nothing at all. That is to say, it was better to have this false as a basis of reasoning than to remain in the confusion of the theories of the day. He pictured a physical world in which everything was explained—springs, rivers, mines, metals, seas—sometimes explaining facts that are not so well understood, in his works de Homme and La Formation du Jetus, a wonderful machine-man carrying on all the processes of digestion, circulation, growth, sleep, etc., and endowed with sense-perception and ideas, multiplied and III as the result of this wonderful clock. To him to know the beginning of things, and the laws that govern action, was to know the whole, for the operation of physical law, once set in motion, can clearly explain the rest. This was the theory that represented the pantheism of Spinoza. The Infinite alone is affirmative, the finite only is in so far as it is not; and so we are led on to the denial of the finite, and then the absolute unity swallows up all difference in itself.

In his last published treatise, the Passions de l'âme, Descartes shows how the various psychological manifestations may be explained by purely mechanical means. He sets forth there the differences between soul and body; though it pertains to soul, and heat to body. The soul cannot give heat to the body, or we should not have death: a dead man, in Descartes' view, is just a broken watch. After explaining how this world was not fixed and eternal, he considers the thought pertaining to the soul, i.e., the actions of our will which directly proceed from and depend on it, and the passions which are the various kinds of perception found in us. 'The soul from its seat in the brain spreads throughout the body by means of the spirits, nerves, and even blood, which last, participating in the impressions of the spirits, can carry them by the arteries into all the members.'

If the image which is unified in the gland inspires fear and has relation to what has formerly been hurtful to the body, the passion of fear is aroused, and then the passions of courage and the reverse, according to the temperament of the body, or the strength of the spirits impelled by the movement of the spirits, and bring with them certain movements of the body. The will, however, unlike the passions, is always free: the action or will of the soul can only be indirectly affected by the body, as it has been in one instance, by the action on the actions which bring them about, and are only indirectly affected by the soul, excepting when it is itself their cause. The soul, however feeble, may indeed obtain absolute power over the passions, although with difficulty. This was a just appreciation of the value of good and evil, and our good judgment regarding them enables us to resist the influence of our passions. 'If we clearly saw that what we are doing is wrong,' he says in the same book, 'it would be impossible for us to sin, so long as we saw it in that light.' Will and intellect must be united in the perfect man, as they are united in God. Here also we are met with the unexactly described theory of spiritual mind on matter. How the movement of the passions can be altered by reason is a question which is not answered.

[3. Services to Mathematics.—From the time of the Greeks until Descartes the work of extending the new results which had been obtained in Geometry, though Mathematics had been greatly advanced, notably by Cardan and Vieta. Descartes made great progress in Algebra, and gave new life to Geometry by the introduction of coordinates.]

Descartes was not the first to realize that a curve might be defined as the locus of a point whose distances from two given straight lines are connected by some known law, but he was the first to see that the integral in a plane can be completely determined by its co-ordinates and conversely. This was largely due to the introduction of the law of co-ordinates, and the method of the double sequence. Here, for instance, he saw that several curves might be drawn with the same axes, and their intersection found algebraically. After this, their tangents were easily determined, though Descartes' own method was indirect, and applicable only to curves with an axis of symmetry. On this axis he found the equation of a circle touching the curve at any given point, and then found the tangent to the circle at the point of contact. He defines the tangent as the limiting position of the secant.

Descartes classified curves according to the relationships of the lines moving parallel to the axes, by whose intersection it can be described, and their roots and velocities are "commensurable" (i.e., if $y$ is an algebraic function of $x$ as in equation (5), the equation $y = ax^2 + bx + c$ is the cycloid), it is "mechanical." This is roughly equivalent to the Newtonian division into algebraic and transcendental curves. In order to classify the curves, Descartes presented a table in which he analyzes his curves, and for which Pappus, which may roughly be summarized as follows: To find the locus of a point the product of whose perpendiculars is a given straight line, one may find that on others. Where $m + n = 1$ we have a straight line, where $m = 0, n = 1$ a parabola. This was known to the ancients, who had also conjectured that $m = 1, n = 2$ a conic. Descartes classified curves where neither $m$ or $n$ exceed 2 as of the first genre, where neither exceeds 3, as of the second genre, and so on. Thus one genre corresponds to two of our degrees. He also discussed curves which are the loci of a point whose distances from the fixed points are independent, in particular the Cartesian ovals, where the product of the distances is constant.

The foregoing work is found in the first two books of the Géométrie; the third book is algebraic. It is important, as introducing our modern index notation, and the use of the last letters of the alphabet for variables (Vieta had used the vowels), and the first for constants. Descartes refers to algebraic equations, and indeterminate coefficients freely, and was the first to realize the advantage of taking all the terms of an equation to one side. The method of solving equations, and a solution of cubic and quartic equations. It shows how to construct an equation with given roots, to determine the signs of the terms or coefficients, and to estimate the number of positive and negative roots, to increase or multiply the roots of a given equation by a given quantity, to eliminate its second and third degree, and so on, so that a number of roots of an equation is equal to its degree. Solutions of cubic and quartic equations are given, and Descartes believed that his method could be extended to those of higher degrees.

Descartes' mechanism is largely inaccurate, but very suggestive, being the first systematic account of the universe on mathematical principles. Of his ten Laws of Motion the first
two correspond to Newton's first Law, while the other eight are incorrect. But, by his recognition of these basic principles, and by his careful observation of a moving particle, he rendered invaluable service to Dynamics.

His work is today without characterized by great originality and boldness of thought. It is generally in a condensed form, and meant rather to be suggestive than rigidly logical, but it is none the less important as the foundation of all modern Mathematics.

Lubrano.—The tercentenary of Descartes' birth was celebrated at the Sorbonne on 31st March 1869, and in the ensuing of the following year arrangements were made for issuing a new edition of the works of Charles Adam and Paul Tannery (Léopold Cerf). This admirable work is now completed. for the first time. The two volumes to which I have, as far as possible, a complete edition of Descartes' works in the tongues in which they were written, and with an invaluable correspondence carefully edited and arranged. The first volume is a biography by M. Adam, Descartes, as vie et ses œuvres, 1888. The early editions of the collected works were two Latin texts—one by Elsevier in vols., Amsterdam, 1713, another published in 7 vols. at Frankfort, 1697. Then there is Cousin's Fr. ed. in 11 vols., Paris, 1824-26. This includes the correspondence. The main source of our information about Descartes' life comes from the Vie de Descartes, written by Hallet in 1693 in two large vols. of this a short abridgment was made, and issued in English in 1892. A modern and scientifically critical life, called The Life and Times of Descartes, published, London, 1903, by Elizabeth S. Haldane. Foucher de Careil published various manuscripts which he discovered in the 19th century. The Latin text of the Principles were translated into English by J. Veitch, London, 1896, and G. H. in a new ed. of Philosophical Works by E. S. Haldane and G. R. T. Ross has been issued (1911) by the Cambridge University Press.

Thus the recognition of Descartes' rationalism is enormous; the following works may be mentioned: J. Mill, Hist. de Descartes annes 207, and since 1857, Paris, 1871-1870; F. Boussenart, Histoire des phénomènes, Paris, 1804; A. Fouclic, de Careil, Descartes et la princesse de Palestrina, Paris, 1862; also Descartes, la princesse Elizabeth et la reine Christine, Paris, 1873; J. P. Mahaffy, Descartes, in Blackwood's Philosophical Classics, 1859; N. Smith, Studies in Cartesian Philosophy, London, 1901; Alfred Fouillée, Descartes, 1878; Longueville, L. A. Liard, Descartes, Paris, 1882; see also the various Histories of Philosophy, such as that of Kuno Fischer (Eng. tr., London, 1897), and the Ehrman edition of the Complete Works.

Descendents to Hades (Ethnic).—I. Introductory.—Myths or legends of visits paid by mortals or immortals to the underworld for some definite purpose are of common occurrence, and some are of remote origin. They are intimately connected with primitive and savage man's ideas of the dead and the dead, joined with ideas of the descent and ascent of those who have been severed from him by death. Before a separate abode of the dead was imagined, and while yet they were believed to exist in the grave or to hover round their old haunts, a living man might claim, or be looked upon as having affections, for those who have been severed from him by death. As a separate abode of the dead was imagined, and while yet they were believed to exist in the grave or to hover round their old haunts, a living man might claim, or be looked upon as having affections, for those who have been severed from him by death. 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thought have died and come to life again; and, in many cases, their minds being haunted by the current ideas of Hades, they relate as actual visits of the soul there what has been experienced in dream (Tytor, ii, 48). Such trance visits of the apparent class of spiritualism are known, and warranted by the spirit traditions where detailed stories of the visit—all greatly are—told (Plato, Rep. x; Pliny, HP vii. 52; Ashton, Shinto, 1905, p. 181; Schenck, Gesch. der ind. Visionstätt., Leipzig, 1892, p. 341; Ang. de der Chính: Ges. Worterbuch, Dusseldorf, 1836, p. 36). Or the dream experiences may occur in ordinary sleep, or accompany the hallucinations of illness. In some cases they have assumed the stereotyped form of a folk-tale. A Maori woman told of a visit of her spirit, which descended to Reinga, the place of the dead, exactly like this world. Her father’s spirit commanded her to return and look after her child, and to beware of eating the food of Reinga. She was pursued by pious demons, but this time her spirit escaped them by throwing down a root which they stayed to eat. Then her spirit rejoined her body (Shortland, Trad. and Sup. of the N. Zealanders, 1856, p. 190; for another tale see Morley, Myths, Retold, and Their Influence, p. 36). In a story from the Hervey Islands the spirit of a man apparently dead descends to Hades, but by a stratagem he escapes being eaten by the fag M i r, its ruler, who bids him return to earth (Scott, ed. of Tylor, Myths, 1860, p. 72). In a Japanese story Ono-no-Kimi died and went to Hades, but was sent back by its ruler because his allotted time was not exhausted (Hearn, Unfamiliar Japan, 1894, i, 65). Many stories of dream visits to the land of the dead are found among the American Indians, with elaborate descriptions of that land, based on current beliefs, and telling of the dangers of the way, the narrow bridge spanning the river of death, and the events of the life of the spirit there. (Ind. Tribes, Philad. 1853-6, iii. 283; Tanner, Captivity and Adventures, N. Y. 1830, p. 290, etc.).

Savage medicine-men very commonly claim the power of sending their spirits during a trance into the under-world. Thus the Eskimo angelsok is secured bound and, during a dark solemnity, visits the torngak, or spirit, in Hades. He then appears unbound and gives an account of his visit (Grantz, Hist. of Greenland, 1826, p. 269). In Melanesia and Polynesia these and other tales of descent exist (Coldington, The Melanesians, Oxford, 1891, p. 277). Sorcerers in Borneo who have visited the under world will show a piece of wood or stone given them by the spirits there (L’Anthrop., Paris, x, [1890], 728; cf. Alphonse de Quatrefages, vol. i, p. 429). Among the Karoes, necromancers claim the power of going into the unseen world to bring back the ta, or soul, of a sick man when it has wandered away (Mason, ASBle xxiv, 201). In Siberia the shaman is supposed to conduct the souls of the dead to the lower world and there secure for them a favourable welcome by gifts of brandy (Radloff, Aus Sibirien, Leipzig, 1884, ii, 321). For a Chinook instance of the souls of shamans visiting Hades to recover the soul of a sick man, see CHINKOOLS, vol. iii. p. 562.

Visions of Hades were doubtless known to the ancient world, and they may have suggested an artificial introduction of them for religious or other ends. There, at the mouth of a cave of Tefphonius in Lebanon, the inquirer, after a due ritual, descended to an underground region, where he was perhaps shown scenic representations of Hades, or, under the influence of opiate vapours or narcotics, fell into a trance and experienced in dream what he deemed to be realities. These experiences, to judge from the vision of Timarchos, were visions of the Other-world, of Tartarus and Acheron, (Plutarch’s stories, of which there are several, see Rouse, Hades, 39. 51f.). But a literary use was also made of tales of such dream experiences, and there are many accounts of descents to Hades or visions of the Other-world, of the visit of Odysseus, Plutarch’s stories of Thespiacan apparitions, (de Tert. Just. Dix.; Enseb, Prop. Evang. xi, 36), the visit of Aneas, Lucian’s story of Cleomedes (Philo, 25), as well as burlesque accounts of descents to Hades in the tales of Aristophanes, and that of Menippus told by Lucian (see also Rohde, Psyche, Freiburg, 1894, p. 289). The scenes of Hades, as described in Homer, were reproduced by Polygnotus on the walls of the Lesehe at Delphi (Paus. x. 28, 4).

A late Egyptian demonic papyrus of the 1st cent. A.D., but probably representing a story of far earlier date, tells how the high priest of Memphis, Setne Khaunna (c. 1250 b.c.), descended, under the guidance of his wife, to the lower world, where he saw the judgment of souls and the various halls of Amenti, or Hades, and the state of the dead there (Griffith, Stories of the High Priests of Memphis, Oxford, 1900, p. 45 ff). In Hindustan the beliefs of Buddhism and of the Vedanta are represented in the form of a story of a visit to hell or of visits paid there, perhaps based on actual visions induced by meditation and asceticism, and shaped in accordance with the current dogmatic beliefs. They served to buttress the latter, and were perhaps worked up from actual experiences in a previous existence. In other instances they are told of people who fell into a trance, or whose souls were summoned too soon to the Other-world and were then permitted to return to the body (Schenk, 91 f). In later Persians the Book of Arda Viraf (ed. Hang and West, Bombay, 1872) relates how this pious Parsee priest was selected by lot to take a nectaric, so that his soul might go, while he was still alive, from this world to the next and bring back a report of the fate of souls. The bliss of the righteous and the tortures of the wicked are described in detail, and the book is still read and firmly believed in by all classes of the Zoroastrian community. Several editions of it are extant. In later Judaism the authors of such works as the Book of Enoch (ed. Charles, Oxford, 1893) and the Book of the Secrets of Enoch (ed. 1896) describe visits to Sheol and to the various heavens, with their different divisions for the righteous and the wicked.

There can be no doubt that most of these narratives, especially where they describe the punishments of sinners and the bliss of the righteous, served the purpose of teaching a dogmatic eschatology and of urging men to be righteous. The same phenomena are met with in the history of Christianity. There are records of genuine visions of the Other-world such as have been experienced by the devout or imaginative in all ages, and based on recollection of what had been heard or read, as Tertullian shows of a female visionary known to him (de Anima, 9). Of such a class are the visions of SS. Perpetua and Saturus, with their reminiscences of passages in canonical or apocryphal Scriptures (Robinson, Passion of S. Perp. TS, Cambridge, 1892, i. pt. 2). But there are also innumerable literary versions of visionary or actual visits to hell, purgatory, and paradise, perhaps based on these, but in many cases borrowing freely from Greek or Jewish sources. This is most marked in the description of the various divisions of Hades (found in Egyptian, Oriental, and Jewish instances), and in the frequent mention
of the narrow and dangerous bridge of the under world, an early instance of which occurs in the Dialogues of Gregory the Great (iv. 36; see also art. III). The prototype of all these visions, to which Dante have imitated or have been inspired, is found in the Apocalypse of Peter (c. A.D. 100-150), on which many later visions are based. These stories (which, with wearisome iteration, tell how the seer or visitor or, in some cases, the soul of the dead person raised to life by an apostle or saint 1 was led through the regions of torment, of purgatory, or of paradise) were highly popular in the Middle Ages, when there existed a passionate desire for exact details of the Other-world, and they were used to enforce dogmatic teaching. But they held their place as early as the 11th cent., and also in later times in the fabliaux, by the troubadours, and by Rabearlos, who helped to discredit them (Wright, S. Patrick’s Purgatory, 1844, p. 7; Lecky, Hist. of Europ. Morks, 1850, ii. 232; Rabearlos, bk. ii. ch. 30). Their scenes were also reproduced by art, e.g. on the walls of ancient Greek churches, just as Dante’s poem affected Italian painting from the time of Dorgona onwards (see Heusy, Les Supplées de l’Enfer d’après les peintures de l’époque byzantine, Ann. de l’asso. pour Pencourag. des études grecques, Paris, 1871, p. 114 ff.). The cave of Trophonius had also its double in the Irish St. Patrick’s purgatory, expressly mentioned in the 13th century. After ritual preparation, the pilgrim was allowed to enter, and, in the windings of the cavern, under the influence of its hot vapours, he fell asleep. In most cases his dreams took the form of preconceived notions of the ruler of that region. But they sometimes had the form of a new case, and sometimes the pilgrim perished in the cavern (Wright, 139, 153, 155). Possibly some scenic representations may have been used, and there seems to have been an actual bodily experience of the torments described, as the pilgrims in some of the future penalties. Several literary accounts of visits and visions at this famous spot, beginning with that of the descent of Ossain in 1153 by Henry of Savoye (of which English and French versions exist (D. Lacy, Ossain Miles, Edin., 1837; Marie de France, Poésies, ed. R. Bouquet, Paris, 1820, vol. ii.), had a great vogue in Europe.

In the Norse Elder Edda the 11th or 12th cent. Sturluson, ascribed to Snemdir, describes a son’s vision of his mother, who tells him of his death, and how he at last reached the place of torment, and saw the tortures inflicted there on various classes of sinners. Then he describes the joys of heaven. Pagan and Christian ideas are curiously intermingled, as if the poet had had his feet two feet fair at once, or was a heathen with glimpses of Christianity (Vigfusson-Powell, Corp. Poet. Boreale, Oxford, 1883, i. 292 ff.).

3. Descent to rescue a dead relative. — This series of stories is one of the most pathetic in all mythology, showing man’s instinctive belief that love is stronger than death, while the savage examples are quite as touching as those from higher levels. Of the savage legends, the most numerous versions occur among the Amer. Indians, Polynesians, and Melanesians.

A Wyandot story tells of a brother who went to the land of souls to seek his sister, who had died. He met an old man, who gave him a calabash in which to put his spirit. After several failures he captured her, and hastened back to earth. There he summoned his friends to witness the revival of the dead body, and a woman opened the calabash, and the spirit flew back to the land of souls (Codrington, 1872, i. 235). There are numerous variants of this tale, and generally there is the curious misapprehension that the brother of a wife, the soul escapes (see Looman, Prim. Superst., Philad., 1881, p. 47; Lamoignon, Moeurs des Sauvages, anses. en Nouvelle Holland, 1823, p. 365; Folklore dans les deux mondes, Paris, 1894, p. 290 ff.; W. H. 591; Blair, Anecd. of the Prim. and Savage, vol. i. p. 683). In some cases a woman’s spirit is allowed to return to her husband without her visiting the land of souls, but again she loses her, or he himself dies shortly breaking a taboo. 2


[2] This is the Maori version of the Transformation Flight, already met with in a Maori instance, 1.2.]
celebrated), the other telling of the rescue of Ἰδατ from Hades at the intervention of the gods. The present poem bears more abundant traces of the latter myth than of the former, though it also hints at a descent for purposes of rescue; Ἰδατ descends violently, and threatens to break down the doors of Hades. He is received by Paus. Dieterich, *Rel. of the Ancient Bab.*, 1887, p. 221 ff.; Jastrow, *Ed. of Bab. and Assyria*, Boston, 1899, pp. 503 ff., 588 f.; see *ERE* ii. 315f.). The recovery of Ἰδατ by Ἰδατ is also suggested by the fact that there was a Greek myth telling how Admetus descended to Hades to redeem Adonis (Tammuz) from Persephone (*Apol. of Aristides*, § 11). At the sanctuary of the Syracide *Ἀρδηφίδης* sexual relations with the priestesses representing her were believed to the one from Hades, as Adonis had been freed from it (*Euseb. Vita Const.* iii. 55; *Boussuet, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1907, p. 72).

The so-called prayer of a Nara-Nava Shaman has a certain likeness to the Ἰδατ myth. It is a kind of prayer-spell, describing the action of the gods as the shaman desires them to act. He feasts and dances and invokes them to appear in the inner world. The war-gods are therefore to descend and rescue it from the "underground witch." They pass gate after gate, seatfed after seatfed, and they work in the great circle that others than the supplicant's soul. Returning through chamber after chamber, they bring the dead to me before I am restored in beauty (*Matthews, Amer. Anthrop.*, 1888, i.).

The Greeks had several descent-myths, that of Orpheus being the best known, thanks to Virgil's version. After the death of Eurydice her image haunts him, and he determined to seek her in Hades. He descended there, and the sweet notes of his lyre enchanted their denizens. Pluto and Persephone were moved to pity. Eurydice would be restored one condition—that Orpheus should precede her and not look back till they arrived on earth. Just before reaching the fatal limit, his love overcame him. He looked round and lost her for ever (*Verg. Georg.* iv.; *Pausa. i*. x. 4-6; *Apollodorus*, ii. 3. 2).

The Orphic poem *Ερώτημα εἰς Ἅδου* has not survived, but it may have had for subject the descent of Orpheus. Foucart thinks it was a ritual poem containing instructions for the dead in Hades, like the Orphic tablets engraved on sheets of gold, and the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* (*Recherches sur l'origine et la nature des mystères d'Éleusis*, Paris, 1895, p. 7; cf. also *Dieterich, Nêpûs*, Leipzig, 1893, p. 128 f.).

Dionysos, as certain myths taught, was also said to have descended to Hades to bring back Semele, and, according to local Argive tradition, he descended to the Amarys, having shown him the way. His return from Hades was annually celebrated there, and in all probability the myth had become fused with that of his resurrection (*Pausa. i*. 31. 2, 37. 5; *Apollodorus*, iii. 5. 3). Another myth told how *Ἀλεστία*, the wife of *Ἀδμήτης*, having willingly died in his stead, was delivered by *Ἡράκλεις*, who, seeing the grief of her husband and people, descended to Hades to rescue her from death. In a variant of the myth, Persephone was his rescuer (*Apollodorus*, i. 9. 15; *Hyginus, Fab. 50*; *Eurip. Alestís*).

Another myth—the subject of a lost poem of Hesiod—related that *Θεσε芦* agreed to assist *Πρίθαρος* in carrying off *Περσεφόνη* from Hades. They descended there, but, according to one version, were not invited; for, expecting to receive gifts, they sat down on the chair of Forgetfulness, to which they were held fast by coils of serpents. *Ἡράκλεις* caused the relics of both to be cast into a cauldron, and fetched Cerberus (*Pausa. i*. 31. 5, x. 29. 2; cf. the euhemerized version, see *i*. 17. 4, and *Plut. Thes.* 31. 35; *Epit. Vat. ex Apollod. Bibl.* ed. Wagner, Leipzig, 1891, pp. 58, 155 f.). Cf. also the myth of *Casser* and *Pólux*. For the Pythagorean descent, see *Rothe*, 456; *Dieterich*, 129.

In Scandinavian mythology descent-myths are connected with Balder's death. Hermód offered to descend to Hel to recover Balder. Taking Odin's horse, he travelled for nine days through dark valleys till he reached the river Gjöll, crossed by a bridge covered with gold and guarded by Modgrud. After some delay she permitted him to cross, and at last he reached the place of the dead and saw Balder. He left his horse; Sáynir, *Rel. of the Ancient Bab.*, 1887, p. 221 ff.; Jastrow, *Ed. of Bab. and Assyria*, Boston, 1899, pp. 503 ff., 588 f.; see *ERE* ii. 315f.).
learn certain magic words from his wise lord. By avoiding the beer of *Tuana* he was able to return and describe on earth the horrors he had seen (Schiefner, *Kalewala*, Helsingfors, 1852, rone 16). A Japanese myth tells how the deity Oho-no-mochi was supposed to take a secret ladder, out of which the daughter married. The lord of Hades tried to compass his death by setting him tasks, but, after help from his wife and a friendly mouse, he finally escaped with the treasures of the god, and forced him to give the addresses of the shades (Aston, 108, *Ke-jì-kì*, 71 ff.). This myth of descent includes some common *Marchen* formulae. Herodotus (ii. 122) relates an Egyptian story of Khamsininsu (Raques III.) to the effect that he descended to Hades and played a game with Demeter (Isis) sometimes winning, sometimes losing, and that he ascended, bringing with him a gift from her a napkin of gold.

This tale is not corroborated from the monuments or texts. Possibly it is a modification of the myth of Theseus with the five days of the month at a game of dice (Plut. de Ind. 12). Some suggest that the myth may have been alluded to the name of Rameses in consequence of a representation on his temple of his playing at dice with a woman (Ancient Egypt, v. p. 93). The die was played at a game with counters, and the story of Setne tells how, having descended into the tomb of Neferetkaptah in order to obtain his magical power, they played a game at a stretch with him and were beaten, but eventually escaped with it by magical means (Griffith, 15, 18 ff.).

A Hindu myth in the Katha-Upanishad tells how Nâchiketas, delivered by his father to death, remained without food in the kingdom of Yama, who granted him fulfillment of all wishes. Nâchiketas then desired his restoration to life and reconciliation to his father, the knowledge of the sacrificial fire, and the knowledge of the nature of death. Yama offered him gifts if he would forego the last wish, but he was insistent and it was granted to him (Oldenberg, *Buddha*, London, 1892, ii. 70 ff.) to inquire of the ghost of Tiresias (Od. xi.), and the descent of Âncæa to speak with his father Anchises (En. vi.), are well-known poetic examples of seeking a boon from the world of the dead. The story of Persephone, the myth of Theseus in his *Metamorphoses*, tells how, among the tasks exacted of her before she recovered Eros, was that of going down to Hades to bring back from Persephone a box of beauty. Through innumerable perils, and subterranean races of beings, he succeeded and returned to earth, where she opened the box, to find, not beauty, but a deadly sleep. The myth of the descent of Herakles to bring the dog Cerberus from Hades (one of the labours exacted by Eurystheus) is mentioned by Homer, who says that Herakles and Athene escorted him (Od. xi. 626, II. viii. 367). But the myth was later amplified, and we learn how he descended by the entrance near Cape Temarum. After many exploits, including the liberation of Thespius from his jail, he demanded permission from Pluto to carry off the honed. This was granted provided he did it without weapons. On the shore of Acheron he met Cerberus, and, seizing him by the throat, ascended with him to earth, showed him to Eurystheus, and then returned with him to Hades (Apollod. ii. 5, 12).

Those who have seen a parallel between the labours of Herakles and the adventures of the Bab. Gilgames, and a possible derivation of the former from the latter, have pointed to the journey of Herakles to Hades and that of Gilgames beyond the limits of the world, through dangers and darkness, across the ocean and the Waters of Death (probably connected with the River of Death, the Hades), to the paradise of the Water-nymphs, that he might learn from them the secret of immortality (Sayce, *Rel. of Anc. Egypt and Bab.*, 1902, pp. 436 ff., 446; *ERE* ii. 316; Jastrow, 516). In another Bab. myth, the purpose of which may have been to show how a god superseded the ancient goddess of Hades, a conflict having arisen between the gods and Eresh-kigal, goddess of Hades, Nergal was chosen to descend to the under world to fight with the monster Eresh-kigal, gate after gate (fourteen in all), dragged the goddess from her throne, and would have slain her. But she begged for mercy, and offered to become his wife and to give him dominion in Hades, which he accepted (W. F. Albright, *El-Amarna*, Berlin, 1931, i. 104; Sayce, 288, 428).

In Scandinavian myth, Odin, in order to discover the cause of Balder's evil dreams, rode down to Niflhel, till he reached the hall where mead was standing brewed for Balder. He roused the Sibyl from her barrow by spells, and learned from her the tidings of Balder's fate (Vignisson-Powell, i. 181 ff.). For Celtic myths of visits to the under world (e.g. *Hyrnian*) to obtain the gifts of civilization, see *BLEST, ABODE OF THE* (*Celtic*), §7.

Manipanian mythology presents an interesting myth of the descent of Hibil Ziwa, before the creation of the world, to the lower realms, in order to fulfill the revenue of their rulers, the keepers of light. He descends in the night of the great Raza (an embodiment of the mysterious Name) to the seven worlds of darkness (not, of course, the regions of the dead).

In each world which he descends he remains for many thousands of years, unknown to and unseen by his lord. Finally he reaches the seventh and lowest world, and speaks to his lord, the giant Krun. Krun partially swallows him, but Hibil enters his innards to pieces and is digested, and obtains from him a pass and seal-ring by which the might of the opposing demon will be brought to nought. Then he ascends, sealing the doors of each world so that none can pass through. In the fourth world he obtains the form of its ruler and obtains by craft the Menorah and Genara, the strength of the world of darkness. By a similar charm of form he learns the greatest of all the worlds, and obtains its magic mirror. Then he leaves it, taking with him Ruhâ, daughter of his lord, pregnant with Ur, the demon who is to oppose the worlds of light. Finally, after sealing all the doors of the worlds, he returns to the light kingdom, and is hailed with joy. The remainder of the myth describes his repeated unseen visits to the imprisoned Ruhâ and Ur, their robbing of his magical talisman, and his final overpowering of them (Brandt, *Mand. Schriften*, Göttingen, 1893, i. 125 f.). The story is full of well-known folk-tale formulae, and, while the descent through seven worlds recalls that of Ishtar, he is main incident is based on that of the hero of the dragon of chaos, Tiamât (cf. Brandt, *Mand. Rel.*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 162). Another myth relates how Mandâs d'Hayâ descends to the lower worlds and confronts Gishâ and his son, and his son on Mt. Carmel and plans a revolution against the powers of light. Mandâs appears among them in their own form, whereupon they desire to make him their ruler. He agrees on condition that they reveal to him the secrets of their mysteries: when they have done this, he reveals to himself in his true form and overpowers them (Brandt, *Mand. Rel.*, 34, 38; Norberg, *Z. f. Assyriol.*, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23).

For a Burial instance of descent to seek a boon, see *ERE* ii. 9, and for a Quichê myth of two heroes descending and overcoming the lords of the underworld, *ib. 308*.

5. Descent out of curiosity.—This motive is occasionally found with. In an Ainu example, a youth, learning that a certain cave led to Hades, entered it, and, after passing through darkness, found himself in a beautiful land where he saw many of his friends and relatives. On his return he met a spirit descending, which proved to be that of a dear friend who had just died (Bateholer, 226; cf. a variant in Chamberlain, *Aino Folk-tales*, 1888, p. 42, where the visitor is ignoromously treated and never wishes to see Hades again).

Several Norse legends, reminiscences of earlier beliefs, describe the adventures of mortals who set out to seek the Land of Living Men, part of the older underworld (for these see *BLEST, ABODE OF THE* [*Tenotonic*], § 4; and for Amer. Ind. instance, *ERE* iii. 251 f.).

1 Jastrow (556) thinks that it may originally have been told of Nergal that, like Tamuz, he was carried off into Hades.
6. Descent to Hades (Ethnic).—The freeing of a soul in pain in Hades has already been found in Hindu instances. This idea, as well as that of the general release of the damned or the annihilation of their tortures, is a natural outgrowth of existing legends of rescue from Hades, but it occurs mainly in the epic period. Several kinds of this idea are found in Hindu and Buddhist mythology.

In the Rāmāyana (vii. 31.5), Rāvaṇa enters hell, and, as he advances, finds it deserted, and the souls of the dead, whom his desire to free, experience an unexpected happiness. He encounters Yama in light, and would have been worsted for the holy host, but for the intervention of the gods. Yama bestows on Rāvaṇa the tabu of Hades.

In the Mahābhārata (vii. 3.386.4), Uddhisthīka is shipwrecked, and turns to the gods. When he is about to descend to the other world, he learns that his relations are in hell, and beseeches the gods to let him share their dwelling. “What is heaven without them? alone where are they unless my heaven. He is conducted thither, and, on his coming, a cool wind arises and the torments cease. He refuses to leave hell, since his presence makes its denizens happy. Now the gods appear, and he learns that all he has undergone is but a trial of his faith. For a descent of Vishnu, as the god who destroys the universe, see Avatāra Mantra, Oxford, 1897, p. 706. In other cases, those who have transgressed slightly and are sent to hell suffer only formally because of their virtues. He is conducted to free the damned, e.g. Jánaka in the Pādu Kakūdrug (Wilson, JRS v. 299).

In the Lolita Vistara, at several moments of Buddha’s existence—he descends from heaven, on his journey to Bodh Gaya. One story is said to have been projected from his body which lit up by its splendour the 2000 worlds, caused all evil, suffering, and death to cease, and filled the breath of life into those who were in ruins. This descending to the hell Avidhāya, to the region of the pretas, and the kingdom of Yama. Darkness was the local abode of despair, of thirst and hunger, or other torment, found themselves free from pain and were filled with great joy. At Buddha’s birth he prophesies for the one who, being sent to hell, will cause the rain from the great cloud of the law to fall, and all beings will be the sufferers of Avichi and the kingdom of Yama were appeased (Lol. Vist. 1, 240, 347, 79, 80, in AMO, vol. vi., Paris, 1894). The North Buddhist legend of Avalokiteśvara, he who shows the wrongdoing way to Nirvāṇa, furnishes a striking instance of this group of descent-stories. In the Mahāmāyaviśākha-bōkha-bhārata, it is said that he would bring all misery to an end, including the tortures of Yama’s kingdom. To effect this, he visits the hell Aviti and cleverly deft to light, and saves the victors from their pains. Mild air takes the place of flames, the cauldron of boiling water in which men suffer burns, and the sea of fire is changed to a lake. The victors find themselves in a place of joy, and Yama shows him reverence. The saving work is pursued in the city of the pretas where Avalokiteśvara frees their denizens from tortures and, granting the gift of right knowledge to the damned, leads them as Bodhisattvas to the Subhāvatī world (Cowell, JRS vi., is given an opportunity to free the damned, e.g. Jānakā in the Pādu Pārāsāṅa (Wilson, JRS v. 299)."
DESCENT TO HADES (Christ's).

1. Summary.

The Descensus Christi ad inferos is an article in the doctrinal tradition of the entire Christian Church, but the several main divisions of the Church, viz. the Eastern or 'Orthodox' (§ 2), the Roman Catholic (§ 3), the Lutheran (§ 4), and the Reformed Churches (§ 5), differ greatly from one another in their Confessional interpretations of the doctrine. Moreover, while in Protestantism generally this limit, and other modern times have been abandoned, yet a few theologians have essayed to interpret the doctrine on fresh lines (§ 6). These attempts at reconstruction, it is true, fail to find justification either in Scripture (§ 7), in the Patristic Church tradition (§ 8), or in less, the idea of the Descensus is well worthy of our interest, as its original meaning, which is not identical with any of the Confessional views (§ 9), is bound up with certain fundamental conceptions in the primitive Christian interpretation of Christ's divinity, and probably asserts itself here and there in the NT as a presupposition in the minds of the writers (§ 10). The endeavour to trace the idea to influences from non-Christian religions is thus quite unwarranted (§ 11). The Descensus belongs in fact to a group of primitive Christian conceptions which are inseparable from views then current but now abandoned, and which accordingly can now be appraised only in a historical sense, i.e., as expressions of Christian beliefs of which, while adequate enough for their time, have at length become obsolete (§ 12).

2. The doctrine in the Greek Church.

In the Greek Church, or rather the Eastern of the Orthodox Churches, there is a wrongly so-called Ecumenical Creed which contains the clause 'descendit ad inferos,' viz. the Symbolon Apostolicum and the Symbolum Athanasianum, are not recognized with the Nicene Creed, the so-called 'orthodox' or 'stamningolottenianum—the third of the 'Ecumenical' Symbols—which makes no mention of the Descensus. This explains why even the more elaborate catechetical manuals emanating from these Churches sometimes ignore the doctrine altogether (e.g. Konstantinos, Kathergos, Athens, 1868, p. 46 f.). None the less, however, is the Descensus an element in the Eastern tradition. Even discounting the testimony of the Confessio orthodoxa of Petrus Majellis (i.e. 160 (Kimmel, Appendix liber, symbol. etc., Jena, 1859, pp. 73-76), which both show a levelling of Western and Eastern views regarding the Descensus, therefore, may have been framed under that influence, we have the less questionable evidence of genuinely Eastern Church catechisms of the present day, as also of recent expositions of the Eastern theology.

3. Roman Catholic doctrine.

These obscurities are avoided by the Roman Catholic doctrine (cf. Wetzer-Welcker, 'Theologie,' Freiburg, 1882-1903, vi. 124-139, and the literature given there). The dogma declaratum, it is true, is simply that Christ—as is affirmed by the Apostolicon and the Athanasianum—'descendit ad inferos' in the interval between His burial and His resurrection, and that in this Descensus His soul 'per se, non per potentiam tantum descendit.' (Conc. Senem., trad. par un Russe, Paris, 1859-60, ii. 195 f.; Androusson, Dogmatics, Athens, 1907, pp. 211-214).
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anni 1140; Denzinger, Enchiridion symbolorum 39, Freiburg, 1908, no. 385). The Symbol of the fourth Synod of Toledo (683) certainly supplements the article of the day with a clause expressing the purpose of the Descent, viz.: "to sanctify and subdue the iniquity of the devil," the same as that of the Council of Orange, 364, while the Cathachismus Romanus, which deals fully with the Desensus (i. 6, quest. 1-6), has only a 'high dogmatic, but no primary symbolic authority' (Kirchenlex. xi. 1653). There is, nevertheless, no manner of doubt that even Article in which the modern cathachism agree with the Cathachismus Romanus is to be claimed as Catholic doctrine in the sense of dogma formule (ib. iii. 1884). Hence the official Catholic doctrine of the Desensus is as follows:

The scene of the Desensus is laid in the place "quo anima sanctorum ante Christi domini adventum exipiebantur" (Cat. Rom. i. 6. 3), i.e. the forecourt of Hell (Deharbe, qu. 231, etc.), the Limbus patrum, according to Martin, 1. 388 (cf. Blesl, p. 79), or the sinus Abrahae (Lk 162, Cat. Rom., loc. cit., for 'ante quaeus Christus morreretur et resurget, coelit portae nemini unquam patentur') (cf. He 9-10; Cat. Rom., loc. cit. qu. 6). It was into this Limbus patrum, according to Martin, that Christ, in His Spirit, did not 'for potentiam tantam,' but 'et praeceptione' (Cat. Rom., loc. cit. qu. 4)—descended, in order to manifest His power and glory even in the under world (Deharbe, qu. 233. 2; Cat. Rom., loc. cit. qu. 6; 'eripiens animum spoliis') and to comfort and deliver the souls of the just held captive there, i.e. to take them to Heaven (Cat. Rom., loc. cit. qu. 3 and 6; Deharbe, qu. 233. 1 and 241). All this is probably clear enough to the laity; but the theologians of the Roman Catholic Church encounter difficulties in regard to Christ's reappearance in the sepulchre, and the places Lk 235, Ac I, and 1 P 329. All Catholic theologians solve the first difficulty in the same way as the Cat. Rom., with the help of Scholastic logic solves it:

'Christo jam mortuo, eis anima ad inferos descendit bisque tandem misit, quandum ejus corpus in sepulchro fuit: eximaeque personae aperte manifesto manifestum, quum anima eum corpore discerrett, unamque bene divinatus vel ab anima vel corpore separata est' (qu. 1).

A second difficulty arises from the fact that in Lk 235 the place in which Christ tarried after His death and of the way of His but is given as 'Paradise.' Now, clear as is the distinction made by many theologians, in harmony with the Cat. Rom., between Limbus (which involves no 'poena daenii') but only the 'carentia visionis Dei' (cf. Lods, Symbolik, Tub. 1862. i. 270) and in which, according to the Cat. Rom. (loc. cit. qu. 3), the fathers 'sine ullo doloris sensu, beatas redemptionis sp sustentati, quies habitatione frucfentitur') and the Gk. damosamator, the former is nevertheless a part of the inferi, of Hell, is it permissible then to locate 'Paradise' in Hell (cf. Kirchenlex. vi. 130)? Many theologians have done so without misgiving (cf. Martin, ii. 93: 'forcourt of Hell, sinus Abrahae or Limbus patrum, also simply called 'Paradise') but sometimes a distinction is made


between paradisus inferior and paradisus superior (= Heaven). The Cat. Rom., whose interpretation is adopted by Kirchenlex. vi. 135 and Sinmar (Dogmatik, i. 338), expands the matter more felicitously thus:

'Christi ascenstionem charismatum lucem captivitatis, coramque animas immensa hatetia gaudioque impeti; quibus etiam captivitatis et tormenti, quae in Dei visione consistit, imperitii. Quo modo si complexionem est, quod latroide pro dieris ferae, qui hominum, quae loci. Luc. 23. 43.'

Here, accordingly, the Limbus patrum, which after the liberation of the fathers is left absolutely empty, has, in virtue of Christ's presence, become Paradise, even before their departure—has been 'transformed, so to speak, into a heaven' (Kirchenlex. vi. 135).

With this particular point, however, is connected a third difficulty. Christ did not ascend to Heaven till forty days after His departure from Limbus, and only then 'did He take with Him to Heaven' the souls of the just whom He 'had liberated' from that place (cf. Lk 241). Where, then, were the souls of the fathers during these forty days? For attempts to answer this question the curious may be referred to Kirchenlex. vi. 136.

The greatest difficulty of all is presented by 1 P 329 (cf. 4). This is not one of the passages traditionally cited in support of the Desensus; the usual dicta probantia are Ac 232, 31, Eph 4, 9, 10; Mt 17, 18. This is, according to Martin, iii. 15 (cf. 1 Co 1528), 1 Thes 424; (Penetrabo omnes inferiores terras, and impavidos omnes domniestes, et illuminabo omnes sperantes in Domino), Zec 13 ("Tu quoque in sanguine testamenti tui enimseti vinctos tuos de lacu, in quo est aequum aqua"). Augustine, indeed, in a celebrated letter (ad Eusebium, Ep. cloix, al. xcix.; Migne. PL xxxiii. 769-718), in which many passages reads like a modern treatise on the Desensus, emphatically denies that the two Petrine passages bear upon the subject at all (op. cit. 5. 15, p. 715, and 7. 21. p. 717). He explains 1 P 329 as referring to a preaching of the pre-existent Christ to the contemporaries of Noah who were overwhelmed in their sins (loc. cit. 6. 17, p. 716), and applies 4 to a preaching of the gospel in the life this to the spiritually dead (7. 21. p. 717).

And this, or explanation, is expanded, with approval, by many medieval theologians, including Thomas Aquinas, who writes (Summa, 3. 52, 2 ad 8):

'His qui in carcere conclusus vivet, salus in corpore mortali, quod est quasi quidam carcer animae, spiritus suo profecto liberavit, sed in genere praedica conatus suis effectus et inspicat anima dominumque, et illuminavit omnibus sperantibus in Domino,' Zec 13 ("Tu quoque in sanguine testamenti tui enimseti vinctos tuos de lacu, in quo est aequum aqua").

At present, however, the exegesis which—largely under the influence of Hundhausen (Dissertatione Pentiologicis et Hierosolymitanae in den Apostelfursten Petrus, Mainz, 1873)—finds most favour is that which makes the earlier passage (329) refer to the Desensus. The unbelieving contemporaries of Noah, accordingly, are supposed to be mentioned only by way of example, and the statement that Christ's preaching in the under world was vouchsafed even to such repentant souls in the place of perdition is narrowed down to mean that His preaching was made known to the condemned without a special Desensus to them at all, or, in other words, that the effects of the Desensus extended also to the lost (Sinmar, 1. 339 ff., following Hundhausen, p. 350). Now this modification of the text itself is 1 P 329 brings it into harmony with a view which Aquinas (Summa, 3. 52, 2c) had advanced without reference to that passage...
the language of Scripture to make it suit Catholic dogma. Thus, after expounding the doctrine of the Descent to the limbus patrum, they cite the passage in question in the following form: 'He descended to the dead, but in soul He went to the spirits who were in prison, and preached, i.e. proclaimed redemption to them' (Grosser Katechismus f. d. Bistummer Bepoern, p. 75; Paderborner Kat., p. 33; similarly the Quaestiones 8—Dehauer, op. 231, and Frierer Kat., p. 26). It is a singular fact that Aquinas (Summa, 3, 52, 2) speaks also of an 'effectus' of the Desensus upon the souls in Purgatory: 'Hillis qui defeaturbant in purgatorio speandi delecta dedit. And in a special quasuo (3, 52, 8) he even discusses the problem whether Christ, in virtue of His Desensus, delivered souls also from Purgatory, and solves it as follows:

'But souls are not taken, quales etiam nunc virtute passionum Christi a purgatorio liberantur, tales sibi prohibet per desensus Christi ad inferos a purgatorio esse liberantur.'

The strange thing is that Aquinas should think of souls as being in Purgatory at the time of the Desensus. The Catholic doctrine is that all who have died in original sin (which could not be absolved before the death of Christ) are in Hell. Even the saneti patres who believed in the Messiah, and who, according to Aquinas (3, 49, 5 od 1), had to believe that their actual sins and their faith and works, must be regarded as having been in Hell, or, at least, in the 'fore-court' thereof, by reason of their original sin; and it is believed even today, that when the children of Christian parents die in an unchristianized and not yet cleansed from original sin, they go to Hell—to a region, it is true, resembling that in which the patres dwelt, viz. the limbus infantum (Loofs, Symbolik, I, 209). Unless, therefore, there have been exceptions to the rule of this doctrine (the Innocents whose festival occurs on the 28th of December need not be regarded as forming an exception, since their baptism of blood would avail instead of baptism by water, and their soul therefore go to the limbus patrum), or unless a great migration from Hell to Purgatory took place at the instant of Christ's death—a theory likewise not easy to accept—we must believe that Purgatory was as empty at the death of Christ as the limbus patrum was after His Desensus.

4. Lutheran doctrine.—The doctrine of the Desensus set forth in the Formula of Concord, and thus regarded by orthodox Lutherans as bearing the seal of their Church, is of a peculiar character. It cannot be understood without a retrospective glance at Luther himself. We must, however, distinguish between his real theological view and his presentation of the subject in his popular discourses. As a theologian Luther of course (a) adhered at first to the Catholic tradition (Prosnotversozung of 1513-15, Weimar ed. iii. 103, 29; 317, 37). But (b) he could not continue to hold this view after asserting that the faith of the 'fathers' for the Catholic Church, with our (ed. Predigten über I Mosis, 1557, Weimar ed., 100, 4: 'vides Adamam Christianumuisse ut nos'; Erlangen ed. [German], 33, 99). He had come to believe (cf. J. Rosthin, Lutheri Theologici, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1890, ii. 341)—even (see below)—that the 'fathers,' like departed believers in Christ, continue until the resurrection in a perfectly happy sleep of the soul, since they are, so to speak, enclosed and safeguarded in the belief in God's word as in a bosom ('Abraham's bosom', Lk 16:22; Kirchenpostille, Erl. ed. 3, 12f). Similarly, he thought that the souls of the wicked in the state of death are tormented by their unbelieving evil conscience until they are cast into Hell at the Last Day; and with reference to the 'Hell' of Lk 16:22 he writes:

'The hell mentioned here cannot be the true Hell, which will come into being at the Last Day.... But it must be a place where the soul can live, and where it has no rest: therefore it cannot be a merely temporary place. We judge, therefore, that this hell is the evil conscience—without faith and the word of God—in which the soul is buried and confined until the Last Day, when the person, body and soul together, will be cast into the really bodily Hell.'

A view of the Desensus corresponding to these ideas regarded the sleep of the soul had already been set forth by Luther in the Operations in Psalms of 1519-21:


Luther still adhered to this theory in 1530 (Enarr. in Ps. 10, Erl. ed. Opp. exeget. xvii. 125ff., ed. 242; [Germ.] xxxviii. 145ff., ed. 144); and, in fact, if we would set forth his own distinctive view of the subject, we must keep these thoughts before our minds. There is nothing to suggest that he ever abandoned the theory that Hell was the predestination, existence until the Last Day; he seems to have remained constant to the opinion to which he gave utterance in 1526:

'That there exists a special place in which the souls of the condemned are retained—as a place—it is only very obscurely an exact meaning of it—I regard as mere delusion, for even the devils are not yet in Hell' (Expos. of Jewels, Weimar. ed. xiii. 225; Erl. ed. [Germ.] xiii. 378).

But he was not quite certain that the conception of the Desensus corresponding to this idea was correct. He was in 1537 sojourning in the province of the steel and exhaustive, and, accordingly (c) while he had in 1523 sought to expound the Petrine passages on impossible lines, and in a sense which ignored the Desensus (Ausefigung d. Petrusbriefes, Weim. ed. xii. 367f., 373f., Erl. ed. [Germ.] li. 458ff. 467; in a second form, Erl. ed. lii. 152f. 162), we find that subsequently, in his lectures on Genesis (c. 1537)—which, it is true, do not survive in a verbally authentic form—he takes account of the hypothesis that the verses may throw light on the Article "descendit ad inferos" (Erl. ed. Opp. exeget. ii. 222). He deems it possible that Peter was thinking of a preaching of the mortuus Christus to mortini of the time of the Deluge, but believes that this was restricted entirely to 'infantes et alios quos scilicet de causa uel diabolicorum uel creducerent' (loc. cit.). (d) A little later Luther seems to have made a further advance. In 1543, according to Melanchthon's statement (Corpor. Rec. v. 58), he was disposed to think—--with Melanchthon himself—that Christ's preaching in Hades, as referred to in 1 Peter, might have effected the salvation of the nobler heathen; while in an edition of his lecture on Hosea, issued with his own consent by Veit Dietrich in 1545 (Letter of 16th Oct. 1545 to Veit Wette, Luther's best friend in the same city, Weimar, 1523-36, v. 261), he gives—if, that is to say, he ever read this edition of his lecture—his sanction to a similar exegesis (Erl. ed. Opp. exeget. xxiv. 339), which, however, is not found in the transcriptions of the lecture of 1524 (Weim. ed. xii. 152f. 153f.)—in the Dietrich edition. In any case, Luther was far from certain that the views of the Desensus which went beyond the position stated above (in 6) were correct. Hence, in 1544—and here we have his last utterance on the subject, for he died in the same year—after verbal transmission—he pronounced a 'non liquet' upon all conjectures that would add to the simple fact of the sojourn of Christ's spirit in inferno:
In his popular discourse Luther joins hands with the artists, whose pictures of the Descent portray Christ—i.e., in the way in which he can be portrayed, i.e., in the body—as going down to hell, dissolving Satan, taking him in truth, and carrying away those who are his (cf. Erl. ed. [Germ.] xix. 3-41). Thus, in order that 'children and simple folk' might attain to a clear idea of Christ's triumph over Satan, and to his omnipresence which became part of their receptive faith—Luther did not hesitate repeatedly (cf. even the short form of the Ten Commandments, 1529 [Weinl. ed. viii. 217 = Erl. ed. [Germ.] xxii. 8], and elsewhere, e.g. in the Hauspostille [Erl. ed. [Germ.] x. 1-17]), and notably in an Easter sermon preached at Torgau on the 13th of April 1533 [Erl. ed. [Germ.] xix. 40-54], to speak of the Descent as if 'the Lord Christ—the entire person, God and man, with body and soul—had journeyed to hell, and in person demolished hell and bound the Devil' (cf. Erl. ed. [Germ.] xix. 4 41f.). But these expositions are obviously clothed in the language of popular metaphor, and there is not the slightest doubt that they disclose their exotic character. He makes this quite clear in the exordium of his Torgau discourse:

'And it pleases me well that, for the simple, it [the Descent] should be pictured, sung, or spoken, in a manner (i.e. as represented by the artists), and I shall be quite content if people do not view themselves with great and subtle thoughts as to how it was carried out; for they did not take place in the body all, as he remained in the grave for three days' (Erl. ed. [Germ.] xix. 41).

It is instructive to note, as bearing in the same direction, what Luther adds to the words quoted above regarding the Descent of the whole person:

'Please God, the banner, doors, gate, and chains were of wood, or of iron, or did not exist at all' (op. cit. p. 45). Yet these utterances of Luther's Torgau discourse, notwithstanding their unmistakably exotic and metaphorical cast, came at length to be formulated as dogma. Owing, in some unexplained way, to local controversies regarding the Sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood, Luther's commentaries on the Descent (F. H. R. Frank, Theol. der concordienford., iii., Erlangen, 1803, pp. 418 ff.), the framers of the Formula of Concord (and even of its fore-runner, the so-called Book of Torgau) deemed it necessary to lay a special Article (ix.) of the Desensus Christi.' Their ostensible reason for so doing was merely 'simplicitatem fidei in symbolo apostolico comprehendere retinere' (J. T. Müller, Die symbol. Bücher d. evang.-luth. Kirche, stereotype ed., Göttingen, 1862, p. 868 f.). But when, in Art. ix., with a reference to Luther's Torgau discourse, they declare: 'Simpliciter ergo credimus quod tota persona Deus et homo, post sepulchrum ad inferos descenderit, Satanam devoretur, potestatem inferorum evertitur, et diabolum omniprem viniet et potentiam ripuerit' (f. 696. 2), it is clear that the statement has behind it the whole argumentation of Art. viii. on the 'Comunicatio idiomatum' (ibid. f. 697. 3).

Lutheran orthodoxy, in maintaining (in opposition to the Reformed theology: see § 5 below), as an element of the true doctrine, that the Descensus was an act which, occurring after the mortuum superavit, and immediately before the Resurrection, involved the entire person of Christ, and belonged to the state exaltationis, was simply proceeding upon the lines laid down by the Formula of Concord. But, in seeking to establish these positions, it appealed to the Petrine passages (1 P 3:9) which was not cited by that Article, asserting that the preaching of Christ was a 'praediction (verbatim) elenchet,' and therefore a 'triumphum agere' (Hallass, in H. Schmid, Die Dogmatik d. evang.-luth. Kirche, i., Frankfort, 1838, § 38, note 21).

In so doing, however, it also makes a complete surrender of the 'separatae fidei,' as its Christology compelled it to qualify the 'descendit' by the phrase 'secundum humanum naturam,' for 'secundum divinam naturam jam ante in inferno per dominium omnium reipublicae est' (Quenstedt, in Schmid, op. cit. § 38, note 29). Of course, in fact, the 'descendit' becomes more attenuated still, since, according to the doctrine of Christ's omnipresence, His humanity is—after His exaltation, to all eternity—wherever His Divinity is.

The supernaturalis motus non localus (Hallass, in loc. cit. note 22) is thus merely the first phase of the non-local ubiquitous corporis. According to the Tübingen school, indeed, the humanity of Christ was not to be separated from His non-local omnipresent Divinity, even at the beginning of His rest in the grave, or at any time, in fact, after His conceptio (Dorner, Gesch. d. prot. Theol., Munich, 1867, i. 218ff.).

5. Reformcd doctrine.—If the Lutheran doctrine may be regarded as a modification of the Catholic—and it can be explained only by reference to the latter—the view of the Reformed Churches, so far as a single generic view of the question may be attributed to them, is characterized by a complete abandonment of the Roman dogma. It is true that Zwingli, in his first discourse at Berne (Werke, ed. Schuler and Schultes, Zürich, 1829-1842, ii. 1. p. 211), kept close to the Catholic interpretation, asserting that it was common and before Christ and believed in the coming Messiah were delivered from Hades; and that later (Fidei expositio 7 [Werke, iv. 49]), while of opinion that the 'descendit' of the Apostolicon signifies only that Christ really died ('inferis enim communi communitatem esse est'), he still clung to that view, which rests upon a peculiar exegesis of 1 P 3:20. Leo Jud, again, in his Catechism of 1534, finds no more in the 'descendit' than 'vere mortuos est': 'He died and was buried—went to Hell indeed, i.e. He really died' (A. Schweizer, Die Glaubenslehre der evang.-ref. Kirche, ii., Zürich, 1847, p. 349). Then Calvin, while deeming it an error to take the 'descendit' as equivalent to 'septulstus est' (Inst. 1536 [Opp. i. 70]: 'nunc parturient comites de descensu superfluo'); emphatic repudiation in Inst. 1539-54 [Opp. i. 529] and 1559 [Opp. ii. 375]), nevertheless characterizes the Roman view as a 'fable' not only in Inst. 1539-54 (i. 694.), but also later (Inst. 1559-54, 7. 27 [f. 126 f.]; 1560-59, 9. 1560, 9); the idea that the souls of the dead are confined in a prison he regards as simply 'childish' (1559, 2. 16, 9 [ii. 376]). From 1530 to 1539 the only meaning which he drew from the Petrine passages—without applying them to the Descensus at all—was as follows:

'veritatem redipusionem per Christum partae exhibitat et plane manifestatur esse eorum spiritus qui ante id tempus defuncti fuerunt.' 'Fideis,' he believes, 'tunc pape et præsenis aspecto perspexerunt ejus visitationem; contra repulit ... omnium sibi aperte communia tunc paulo ante, ut dictum sit omnium spiritus ascenderet mortalibus malis luctus.'

To Calvin's mind the true sense of the article 'descendit ad inferos' was this:

'Christum aulitum et Deus fruus ac divini judicii hororrem et severitatem suscipit, ut irre Dei intercederet ac ejus judicati nostre mensis adhuc existente (Inst. 1536, p. 691; cf. 1559, 2. 16, 19, i. 526): 'Nihil actum est, si corpora tantum morte defunctus etiam Christus, sed omnem mensum post mortem erat, ut divinus omnium severitatem senserit, quae et irae ipse intercederet et satisfaceret justo judicii (under enim cam oportunit istum corporum capsii asternaeque mortis horrore quasi nonus manibus luctur).'

Calvin is thinking here, not of the experiences through which Jesus passed after His death, but of the agonies of soul which preceded his death. To challenge this interpretation on the ground that
it conflicts with the sequence of the Symbolical change, he regards as frivolous:

"Ubi enim quae in hominum consentius passus est Christus exspecta fuerunt, opuscula subjiciatur inviolata ibid et in-commerce non obstante quod ceram Deo sustinuit" (Inst. 1569, 2. 10, 49, 397d).

In the Reformed Churches of the succeeding period, as is shown by F. Wendelin (Systema, 1656, p. 719, in Schweizer, ii. 359), the views of Leo Jud and Calvin, taken in toto or in part, prevailed generally within the Lutheran communion (cf. Dietelmaier, pp. 170, 180, 204-209). In the Reformed Churches neither of the Confessional views referred to in § 5 ever gained a position of absolute sanctity. As a matter of fact, it was in this section of the Church—in which the serious study of historical questions was entered upon earlier than among the Lutherans—that the verdict of the Confessional interpretations was first shattered. Besides the great theologian G. J. Vossius († 1649), two renowned English scholars, John Lightfoot († 1675) and John Pearson († 1686), succeeded in undermining the confidence hitherto placed in the formulated views, and for these thinkers the Descensus was meant no more than the sojourn of the Spirit of Jesus in the realm of death. Then in the period of the Illumination the dogma largely lost its earlier signification, nor did the theology of the Reformed Church aim otherwise.

But a fresh theory of the Descensus was advanced, and found favour in many quarters. The distinctive feature of the new interpretation was that it associated the preaching of Christ in Hades with a superhuman—though not, as had been denied the opportunity in this life. The expression of 1 Pet 3:19 was regarded as a preaching of the gospel; the contemporaries of Noah (v.28) were supposed to be referred to only as examples, or as abnormally depraved, and it was thus inferred, a majore ad minus, that, if salvation was proffered to such as these, a similar invitation must be granted to all who have not been called, or called effectually, in this life. To a certain extent re-form section.—6. Modern interpretation and re-statement.—In the Greek and Roman Churches the formulated doctrine of the Descensus was largely maintained. The last above defined periods (and 3) have maintained an all but absolute predominance since medieval times; of the few divergent tendencies the more important are mentioned by Dietelmaier (Hist. dogmata de Descensus, i. 1762, pp. 128-129, 141-143, 179). Within the pale of Lutheranism, again, a great variety of views gained a footing at the very outset. Luther himself advocated more than one interpretation (cf. § 4); Johannes Agricola, in his Christi Kinderzucht, presented views similar to those afterwards maintained by Calvin (cf. G. Kauerauf, Joh. Agricola, Berlin, 1881, p. 72), and with these views, again, Joh. Aepinus of Hamburg († 1559) incorporated the theory that the Descensus was really a vicarious descent of the Spirit of Jesus into that infernum in which sinners deserve to suffer until the Final Judgment and the inception of Gehenna fire (P. H. K. Frank, Die Theologie des Descensus, 4 vols., Erlangen, 1858-66, iiii. 397-415); many others have approximated to the position of Aepinus (Frank, p. 415 f.), while Joh. Brenz (†1570), in the interests of the ubiquitas corporis Christi and the non-local character of 'Heaven' and the infernum, was inclined to favour a spiritual theory of the Descensus, which amounted to little more than the notion that the crucified Christ is supposed by human beings to have gone down to Hell and to have utterly perished (Frank, pp. 418-420; for other theologians, cf. Frank, pp. 416 f., 420-424, and for Urbanus Rheginus and Matthäusis, Dietelmaier, p. 179 f.). From the issue of the Formula of Concord till the middle of the 15th cent., however, there was no formulated doctrine of the Descensus presented in Scripture (see below, § 7) or in the tradition of the Church (§ 8) is another question.

7. Re-statement compared with Scripture.—Of the various passages of Scripture which have at one time or other been appealed to to support one or other interpretation of the Descensus drawn from the OT need not be discussed here, as it is only by an obloque
exegesis that references to Jesus Christ could be found in them. Nor do the NT passages—Mt 12, 18, Ac 2, 10, etc.—speak of a Descensus of the nature implied by the 'Orthodox,' Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinistic, or 'modern' interpretations; the only place which Augustin considers—already considered here—are 1 P 2:8 and 4, which are very generally regarded as the loci classici for the Descensus, though, as we have already seen, Augustine and Aquinas (cf. § 3), Calvin (§ 5) and—for many years at least—Luther (cf. § 4), denied that the verses in question refer to the subject at all.

1 P 4:6 must certainly be surrendered. For, while Augustine's idea that the rex pedis is equivalent to ininfé (Ep. cxviii. 7. [PL xxxii. 718]—an expression which, though it is considered here as a sojourn of Jesus, or of His soul (Ac 2), in Hades. We shall have an opportunity below (see § 10) of gauging the significance of this datum. The only place which presents any considerable preference for the first form of explanation (1.1), and especially for that of Spitta (Lb), though hardly shares the confidence with which the latter scholar refers the expression to the denomination uttered, according to the Book of Enoch (xii. 4, ed. Fleming and Radermacher, Leipzig, 1901, p. 34 ff.), over the fallen angels by Enoch: so many ideas of like nature must have been current in Apostolic times. But, even if either of these interpretations be right, the III. is the right one, i.e. if we are to postulate a preaching of Christ in the interval between His death and His resurrection, yet 1 P 3:18 gives as little warrant for the 'modern' conception of the Descensus as for all others. (§ 15). If, therefore, we consider the whole train of thought which sets out from 3:18 and reaches its middle point in 4:1; for the emphasis is laid upon the idea that the dead, though it has been their lot κρατήσαι αγέλη, never to return, is to be understood. This agrees with the traditional view which, though it was written, but who in their lifetime had—as the Christians declare—descended to Hades. This is the interpretation which follows, and which 1 Peter also adopts, so far as he knows, was never referred to in connection with the Descensus; while Irenæus, who often speaks of the Descensus, and brings many Biblical passages to bear upon it (cf. ad loc. Her. v. 31. 1, Massett [ed. Harvey, Cambridge, 1873]), moreover, was acquainted with 1 Peter and regarded it as authentic (op. cit. iv. 9. 2 [ii. 170]), never quotes the passage at all, nor, in dealing specially with the Descensus, does he even allude to it.

3. Re-statement of the modern claim, that the 'Descensus' is a term of the Latin Church tradition.—It is absolutely certain that the early Church tradition regarding the Descensus moves in an orbit quite apart from the 'modern' treatment of the conception. As regards the Western Baptist Confession, it is well known that the 'Descensus' is a term of the 'Second Advent' school of thought, which has no place in the modern-day Syriac Symbol (Hahn, Bibliothek d. Symbole, Breslau, 1897, p. 22 ff.), makes its first appearance in the Symbol of Aquileia by Rufinus (Hahn, p. 42, cf. notes 63; cf. also the Constantinian formula of 360 (Hahn, § 4), in which the 'Descensus' is found in the Fourth Syriac formula of 239 (Hahn, § 163; sa eli tē kataphēna kateklēthēna, the kindred formula of Nice of the same year (Hahn, § 164), and the Constantinopolitan formula of 360 (Hahn, § 167). But, long before these Confessions saw the light, the Descensus was regarded as important, and not only by the Latin Church, but also by all other Christian churches, as the expression of a dogma of the utmost importance, which has been and is still further sounder in the East and the West. This appears, to begin with, from the existence that among the things 'qua estatissa veritate de Christo concipita sunt' Augustine places the fact...
DESCENT TO HADES (Christ's)

"quod apud inferos fuit." (Ep. clxv. 5. 14; cf. i. 4. 12: 'Christo ad inferos descendente,' and 2. 3: 'Christum in infernum satia constat, qui eis nosi infidelis negaverat fuisse apud inferos Christum?') but in point of fact the idea of the Descensus can be clearly traced through Clement of Alexandria (cf. § 7), Tertullian (de Anima, 7 and 55, ed. Reifferscheid, Vienna, 1890, p. 308, 14 and 387 ff.), and Irenæus (adv. Haer. iii. 26. 4, Massuet, ed. Harvey, ii. 108; iv. 22. 1 [i. 228]; iv. 33. 1 [i. 256]; iv. 33. 12 [i. 267]; v. 31. 1 [i. 411], and Arians, TÜ xxi. p. 42). (Irenæus, Dial. 72, ed. Otto, 1876-81, ii. 5 and one of the 'presbyters' of Irenæus (cf. adv. Haer. iv. 27. 2 [ii. 241]). Now, what significance did these Fathers attach to the idea? In answering this question it will be well to begin with the popular account of the Descensus given in the second (i.e. the so-called Descensus) of the Gospel of Nicodemos, which probably belongs to the 4th cent. A.D. (Evangelia apocrypha, ed. Tischendorf, Leipzig, 1876, pp. 322 ff. and 389 ff.). Here it is told in most dramatic style. When Her last days end he makest Hades, set free the OT saints, and take them to Heaven, while He cast Satan, who desired to detain Him in Hades, into Tartarus (Gr. text, cap. vi. p. 329; Lat. text B, cap. viii. p. 325—326). The story was added, cap. v. p. 409: 'tradidit eum inferi potestati.'

According to this account, therefore, there are two elements in the Descensus, viz. Christ's deliverance of the OT fathers from Hades, and His victory over Satan. The latter is not found in the early Church, but is being a mythological expansion—traceable as far back as Origen (in Gen. hom. 17. 5, ed. Lommatsch, Berlin, 1831-48, viii. 290)—of the NT conception of Christ's victory over Satan combined with Ap 22. 1: the former is the deliverance of the saints—corresponds to the tradition which can be traced back to Justin's time. And this conception of the Descensus may be regarded as distinctively that of the early Church is corroborated by the following facts: (1) Irenæus (in all the passages quoted above) and Justin (loc. cit.) give Scripture proofs of the view in question, and they also cite an OT (apocryphal) passage as follows: 'Commotus est Dominus, sanctus Israel, mortuorunm sanctitatis sui, spiritus sancti, et descendit ad eos evangelizare salutem, quae est ab eo, nt salvaret eos.' (Iren. iii. 20. 4 [i. 105]; cf. A. Resch, Ausserkanon. Paralleltexte zu d. Evangelien, TÜ x. 1 and 2, p. 372 ff. (2) It is evident that the early Church's anger of Christianity, was acquainted with this view: according to Origen (c. Celsum, ii. 43 (ed. Kotschau, Leipzig, 1899, i. 109)), he speaks of Christ thus: 'μυ παντα τη των ὡν ζωται καινων εις των πατριω των ζω." (3) Marcion's conception of the Descensus is obviously a characteristic travesty of that recognized by the Church; thus, according to Irenæus (adv. Haer. i. 27. 3 [i. 218 f.]), Marcion taught: 'Calm et eis qui similes sunt ei, et Sodomaque et Aegypcis et similis et omnes omnino gentes quae in capite permissione adnigutatis ambulaverunt, salvatis esse a Domino, cum descendit in inferos, qui ante illos, qui ante illos, qui ante illos, qui ante illos. (4) Abel autem et Enoch et Nof et Nisius religiosi justi et eos qui sunt erga Abraham patriarcarum, cum omnibus prophetis et his qui placuerunt Deo, non participasse salvam salutem, unum sunt asem conmper tendantem eos, et tunc tenere suam suspiciat, non accurrerunt! (5) Jesum necesse crediderunt sancti òmnia; et poenitus recusassim animas (ipsum quidam inferos didi.)

Moreover, we cannot appeal to Rufinus as a witness against the theory that the conception of the Descensus thus travestied by Marcion was the accredited doctrine of the early Church. It may well be that Rufinus did not know what to make of the 'descendit ad inferos' in his own Symbol. His first remark regarding it is: 'visi eberi eadem videtur esse in eo, quod sequitur dictum,' while, further on, he says: 'ab omnibus ad inferos; ideo intellego 1 P 3:20, which, as he thinks, tells us 'quia opus [Christus] in inferno egerit.' (Comm. in Symbol. cap. 18 and 28 [Migne, PL xii. 356 and 361]). After all, it is quite true that the Article 'descendit ad inferos' bears essentially the same meaning as the people of that day found in the Article 'sequeultus est.' Christ went to Hades, according to the hellenists, be because He died and was buried: 'Christus Deus,' says Tertullian, 'quia et homo, mortuos secundum scripturas, et sequeultus secundum easdem, hunc quoque legi satisfacti, forma humanae mortis apertum inferos functus' (de Capta, 33 [ed. Reifferscheid, i. 388, 1-3]). We must not forget that Jews as well as Greeks regarded the grave and Hades as identical; the Didascalia Apostolorum contains a passage—one, moreover, of the quasi-Symbological character—of Jesus' liberation of the OT saints into immediate connexion with His death: 'quicruderibus est sub Paulio Pilato et domini, ut evangelizaret Abraham et Isaac et Jacob et sanctas annes universas tamen assumam quum resurrectione quam est mortuos eam.' (vi. 28, 81; cf. Tischendorf, Gr. Kanon 38711').

9. Original signification of the doctrine.—We proceed to ask whether the conception of the Descensus thus recognized by the early Church—which has been preserved most faithfully in the Orthodox Eastern Church, and still looms through the Roman Catholic doctrine, but which differs radically from the formulated views of the Protestant Churches, as also from the 'modern' conception of the Descensus as a preaching to unbelievers—was the original. But this really leads to the antecedent question whether the view shown to have been held by Tertullian, Irenæus, and Justin can be traced further back. In the Papias (Simil. ix. 16. 5) we find the theologoumenon: 'οι ανσταλεται και οι διδακαλεις ανηριζονται το δομο του νιστο του θου καινοθετεται . . . εκθεναι και τοις προσκυνεται.' Clearly, however, Irenæus knew nothing of a 'Descensus ad inferos' in the sense ascribed to it by Tertullian, Irenæus, and Justin. The present writer is, nevertheless, convinced—with J. B. Lightfoot and other scholars—that an idea of the Descensus very similar to the one, which can be traced back even in Ignatius. Speaking of the prophets, the latter says that they had hoped and waited for Jesus Christ, ετ θεσ 'συν στατους ως πιστων ανθρωπων . . . και τοις προφηταις και τοις αποστολοι και τη ολοκληρωμα.' The view to assume, then, that the ideas of Ignatius regarding the deliverance of the OT saints from Hades were identical with those of Tertullian and Irenæus? The present writer is of opinion that they were not quite identical. In order to become convinced of this we must first examine the eschatological beliefs of Irenæus and Tertullian. Here Tertullian is the clearer of the two. He says, quite unmistakably, that 'no one enters Hades before the judgment of the world, nor the great universal salva, pl deixirn clausa, cum transactio cinem mundi reserabuntur regna coeolorum'; (de Anima, 55 [ed. Reifferscheid, i. 388, 17 ff.]). Until the Last Day, therefore, the dead are in an intermediate state; the universe of Scripture, incidentally refers to 1 P 3:20, which, as he thinks,
DESCENT TO HADES (Christ's)

Win God (Osee εντολή, Rom. i. 2, ii. 1, etc.), to go to the Father's bosom.' (ib. vii. 3; cf. E. von der Goltz, Igs. als Theologie, Leipzig, 1894, p. 38). Do these words imply that Ignatius, as one about to become a martyr, longed for the 'prerogative' (cf. Tertullian's phrase quoted in preceding ed.) of 'statim genues dominum esse.' Such an interpretation seems quite at variance with the manner in which he speaks of himself elsewhere. He must have supposed, accordingly, that, although Christians will not attain the resurrection of the body until the Last Day, yet they do not fall under the bondage of death, i.e., Hades, but pass by the gate of death to eternal life. It is clear that, according to Ignatius, that which Christians experience immediately after death was imparted, in virtue of Christ's descent, also to the OT saints. That these reflections of Ignatius are of a more primitive character than those of Irenaeus and Tertullian appears probable from the fact that they exhibit a higher degree of self-consistency, and are in perfect accord in the last resort clearly a section of the 'inferi,' identical with the 'sinners Abrahae,' where 'expectandae resurrectionis saeculorum captitut.' (ib.) Irenaeus, who, it must be confessed, appears not to have fully mastered the subject of the place of the saints before him, held a view essentially the same (cf. L. Atzeberger, Gesch. d. christl. Eschatol, innerhalb d. vornic. Zeit, Freiburg in B., 1896, p. 238 ff.). But he seems to think of the πεποιθήσεως (i.e. the doctrinal opinions of the Christians) in a more traditional sense than Tertullian, and yet, according to Christian writers, he had, held with what we may call provisional bodies (cf. what is said, op. cit. p. 330, about Enoch and Elijah). Now, we see at once that, with respect to the views of Irenaeus and Tertullian, the same questions urge themselves upon us as arose in connexion with the recognized doctrine of the Eastern Church (see above, end of § 2). According to the beliefs of the two Fathers regarding Paradise, all that Christ could accomplish on the occasion of His Descentus was to open that world to those who confided in it as a place where the OT saints in a better region of Hades. Did Ignatius too share this view? And is this the original idea of the Descensus? The former question—little as Ignatius says of the matter—may, as we think, be answered in the affirmative (cf. the parallels already noted above). But the hypothesis is belied by the first of the Ignatian passages already quoted (Phil. v. 2), according to which the prophets are συναναπέραντες πνεύματος τοῦ κόσμου, i.e., they look forward, exactly like the Christians, to the ἀναστάσεα τοῦ κόσμου. It is certainly possible that Ignatius agreed with Irenaeus in believing that prophets and patriarchs had acquired provisional bodies. But the true significance of the later references to the previous writer, as he himself was concerned, he does not look forward to a sojourn in Hades; he hopes, at his approaching decease, to
made here only to a few points. (1) This earliest phase of the conception shows not the slightest influence of that high esteem accorded, from the days of the Apologists, to the pious heathen who lived before Christ; it numbers with the Church of God only the saints of the Old Covenant. (2) It does justice to the primitive Christian conviction that Christ was the θεοτόκος (Col 1:15, Col 1:15), the One who brought life (Pau, John, I P 1, Heb., Ac 4:13, 167). (3) It ignores the distinction between the Resurrection and the Ascension of Christ, as Mt 27:50, if not simply a mythical representation of the thought expressed in He 10:12, viz. that Christ set open the way into the holy place δα τοι καταστήματος.

11. Hybrid origin of doctrine excluded.—The Johannine must accordingly be regarded as a distinctly Jewish Christian idea which goes back to the later decades of the primitive Church, and as such it has a strong claim upon our interest. The conception, in fact, holds a quite peculiar position, for it is the sole vestige of an idea which, independently of the Bible—with marked modifications and variations, indeed—still retains a place in the tradition of all the main divisions of the Christian Church. Even so, however, the modern mind cannot but feel that the idea of the Christ cannot now accept it as part of our faith. The Jewish-Christian beliefs regarding Hades and the sojourn of the soul therein, as also those regarding Heaven, which underlie the idea of the Descensus, belong to a cosmology which even the most determined laudator temporis acti cannot now accept. The conception, moreover, is really inseparable from these underlying beliefs, and, when the latter crumble away, nothing of the former remains. We can appreciate the doctrine of the Descensus in a historical sense, i.e. as a conception which brings into strong relief the primitive Christian conviction

Finally, it seems to the writer to be beyond question that the idea of this is derived from Mt 27:50-54. It has been aptly observed by Reuss ('Ausserkanon Paralleltexie z. d. Evangelien,' TU x. 1 and 2, 1893-94, p. 302) that the Gospel of Nicodemos indicates the sense in which the opening of the gates and the resurrection of saints narrated in these verses was understood, since it is hardly possible to doubt that the writer of the First Gospel favoured a similar view. We might even ask, indeed, whether the rendering of the καταστήματα by τοις θανάτοις of '反之' in Mt 27:50 is not simply a mythical representation of the thought expressed in He 10:12, viz. that Christ set open the way into the holy place δα τοι καταστήματος.

12. Specifically early Christian character of doctrine.—The conception of the Descensus, as defined above (§ 9), must be regarded as a distinctly Jewish Christian idea which goes back to the later decades of the primitive Church, and as such it has a strong claim upon our interest. The conception, in fact, holds a quite peculiar position, for it is the sole vestige of an idea which, independently of the Bible—with marked modifications and variations, indeed—still retains a place in the tradition of all the main divisions of the Christian Church. Even so, however, the modern mind cannot but feel that the idea of the Christ cannot now accept it as part of our faith. The Jewish-Christian beliefs regarding Hades and the sojourn of the soul therein, as also those regarding Heaven, which underlie the idea of the Descensus, belong to a cosmology which even the most determined laudator temporis acti cannot now accept. The conception, moreover, is really inseparable from these underlying beliefs, and, when the latter crumble away, nothing of the former remains. We can appreciate the doctrine of the Descensus in a historical sense, i.e. as a conception which brings into strong relief the primitive Christian conviction
that the resurrection of Jesus Christ was something altogether different from a simple, vague image.

The descent of man. — See EVOLUTION.

DESIRE. — The inner nature and outer scope of human desire are such as to raise important questions concerning man's relation to the world and his estimate of his own life therein. In both a theoretical and practical manner desire propounds certain questions for philosophy: on the one side, it is asked whether man can desire anything but the pleasurable; on the other, it is questioned whether his attitude toward desire should be one of acceptance or rejection. Just as perception establishes a theoretical connexion between the mind and the world, so desire elaborates a volitional relation between the soul and Nature, so that man is led to wonder whether, like the animal, he could silently take his life for granted or, self-conscious and self-propelled as he is, should question the authority of natural desire over him. Owing to the problematic nature of desire, it becomes necessary to inquire concerning the exact psychological type and ethical worth of this human function; to this constructive task must be added critical considerations drawn from aesthetics and religion. Thus we must investigate what desire really is, and in what way, and to what extent, it is supposed to exercise away the human soul.

1. Psychology of desire. — The nature of desire is such as to place it between instinct and volition; it is superior to instinct inasmuch as it is a definite and conscious form of activity, while it is inferior to volition in its capacity to give a directed, impersonal idea. Belonging to the emotional process, desire has the nature of active feeling; all feeling tends to arouse activity in either mind or body, so that desire may be regarded as feeling plus activity—a process according to which a painful want is satisfied or a pleasurable experience retained. Nevertheless, desire is related to both cognition and volition; but, where such connexion is involved in relating the ego to its object as idea or act, desire follows an indirect path, which involves instinctive and personal considerations. In a certain sense, the position of desire in consciousness is exceptional; and the psychological manner this expression is performed directly, while ideas are entertained in a purely mental manner not coloured by desire; in contrast to these more staid forms of cognitive and conative activity, desire expresses a condition of intensified human interest.

(a) The volitional factor in desire occasions a problem whose nature is expressed by the question, Does one always desire pleasure? If desire were purely aotional, it could easily be pointed out that desire is ever related to the pleasurable, aversion to the painful; but the presence of conation spoils the simplicity of this hedonic arrangement, and makes necessary one which is more extensive and complicated. Perceiving the influence of the will's activity, Aristotle was led to say: 'There are many things, so to speak, which we should choose on account of something else than pleasure' ('αξιοντα γαρ επι ευτιχειας ηταν αραιομενα πληροι της επιλογης [Eth. Nic. x. 6]).

In contrast to this Aristotle's enthusiasm for desire urged a hedonism on the basis of which he insisted upon identifying desire with a sense of pleasure:

'I believe that desiring a thing and finding it pleasant, aversion to it and thinking it unpleasant, and desire desiring an object indicates a volitional decision in favour of it, as worth while, still this does not mean emotional delight in it as something pleasurable. The later hedonism of Sidgwick admits this, and its antithesis to the anxiety for the economic implications of the older hedonism, declares:

'What I am concerned to maintain is that men do not now normally desire pleasure alone, but to an important extent other things also' (Methods of Ethics, London, 1901, i. ch. iv. § 4).

In identifying the pleasurable and desirable, the hedonist has confused desire in its active condition with the passive experience of delight, but the human mind is so constituted that it can choose other than delightful experiences. From the evolutionary standpoint, desire is related to pleasure, aversion to pain, upon the basis of the hedonic law which declares that the pleasurable is indicative of the beneficial in the organism, the pain of the harmful.

Every pleasure, says Herbert Spencer, 'increases vitality; every pain decreases vitality. Every pleasure raises the tide of life; every pain lowers the tide of life' (Data of Ethics, New York, 1852, § 269).

But the claim that the pleasure-giving is equivalent to the life-increasing, the pain-giving to the life-decreasing, is based upon purely biological considerations, and is discussed by Spencer in the chapter entitled 'The Biological View'; when he advances to consider the part played by the human mind in the evolutionary plan, he repudiates the original hedonic scheme, by claiming that
man submits to guidance, not by simple, but by reasoned and independent guidance, which are far removed from the sense of bodily benefit or injury (ib. § 42). The evolutionary conception of conduct is thus called upon to admit the presence of something like a disinterested play of consciousness, whereby man, emancipated from purely biologically determined principles, chooses either pain or pleasure according to his idea of what has worth for the will.

(b) The cognitive factor in desire appears first of all in the presence of a presentative element which involves the idea of an object or end, so that recognition as well as conation tends to separate desire from the realm of purely instinctive feeling. As Sully says, 'where there is no knowledge, there can be no desire' (The Human Mind, ii. 190).

Such knowledge consists in the memory of former pleasurable experiences which we would have repeated, or the idea of similar feelings which we could realize. The perceptible appreciable result to be obtained by activity in the direction of the desired object distinguishes desire from instinct, which functions immediately without the idea of an end. As Bergson has expressed it, 'there are things instinct alone finds, but it never seeks them' (L'Evolution créatrice, 1910, p. 164). On the other hand, desire is directed not only to the object as such, but to the pleasure of the object, to an object rather than merely some pleasurable experience with its qualities, where one reads a book or listens to an opera, not merely for the attendant pleasure of the personal or the performance itself, but for an end that the person or having heard such an opera. Desire is satisfied, not merely by pleasure, but by means of a conscious experience with an object, such as a foreign country which one visits. With its broad interests, the intellect transcends immediate pleasures, and advances to the idea of thrill which is afforded by contact with reality. In this way, art, which necessarily demands the disinterested, may mean more to the mind than actual life, just as tragic art, with its constant suggestion of pain and defeat, may be more entertaining than the comic, with its ideas of happiness and success. Through his desire for intellectual excitement, man has demonstrated his ability to rise above pleasure, just as he has shown in their performance that he can give of value to him than to entertain pleasurable emotions. Desire thus involves an ideal as well as a purely cognitive element, for by its very nature it contrasts the actual condition of the ego with an ideal; the ideal of the future is the not yet attained. This reference to the future is indicative of the difference between desire and pleasure; for, where pleasure is necessarily contemporaneous, desire is ever antipatatory, so that, as pleasure enters, desire departs. One desires pleasure when he does not possess it, but, when pleasure comes, the delight in it dispels the mere desire for it. In this way arises the larger question concerning happiness, which is sometimes conceived of as the possession of the good, sometimes as the pursuit of it.

(c) In addition to the conative and cognitive in desire, there is a third element, without recognition of which the problem of desire cannot be sufficiently presented; this is the egoistic. Desire indicates a form of activity streaming forth from the ego, while it is aimed at a form of experience calculated to affect the ego's condition. In themselves, both action and thought possess an impersonal character, emanating from the authentic forms of reality found in the outer world; desire, however, makes use of these fundamental forms of mental reality only so far as they are of personal interest to the ego which desires to direct its faculties of conation and cognition in some particular channel. Desire is so identified with personal interest that esthetic and religious systems which are far removed from the sense of bodily benefit or injury (ib. § 42).

The evolutionary conception of conduct is thus called upon to admit the presence of something like a disinterested play of consciousness, whereby man, emancipated from purely biologically determined principles, chooses either pain or pleasure according to his idea of what has worth for the will.
Desire directed towards an end. But in the moral consciousness of man the actual desire cannot be an end, and, therefore, moral morals, which arose ideologically in conduct; and yet it is suggested that, were man truly man, the intelligible rather than the empirical ego, then the spontaneous desires of the human heart would represent genuine values of spiritual life. Man as a vessel lives according to idealized desires, so that, where Nature originates through organic striving and instinctive activity, reason continues this preliminary work by creating subjective values, whose essence consists in that which would be desired by man in his moral perfection. Inasmuch as ethics must begin with man as he is, it finds it necessary to express this idea of value by means of rectitude and duty. As a result, ethics, like psychology, cannot advance beyond the limits of mediocrity and partiality. Man through desire is put in a condition of sufficiency, wherein interests take the place of ideals, and man transcends Nature only to the degree of elaborating the idea of the human species, and not that of individual human species. Thus, the logico-ethical view of man is made up by the aesthetic-religious one, according to which desire is repudiated.

3. Aesthetics of desire. In the artistic world, human desire is not accepted in its immediacy, but is subjected to spiritual scrutiny. Where the constructive mood of aesthetics prevails, desire is increased by the perception of beauty, which Stendhal (1785–1842) defined as "a promise of happiness that is interior in the soul; a poetic satisfaction of sensibility that rises from the heart, asVolume the success of the infinite and the highest perfection of the soul. The critical mood is uppermost, beauty is regarded as the vanishing of desire in the form of disinterested contemplation. One is aphrodisian, the other anti-aphrodisian, in its effect upon desire. Even among the Greeks, desire was not the goal of beauty, as the desiderative in aesthetics, and it was in this spirit that Plato condemned the poet, not only because his creative art yielded an inferior degree of truth, but because the excitement expressed is an inferior part of the soul—the passionate rather than the reflective. This criticism he applied to the drama especially (Rep. 604–5).

Aristotle conceived of art as having the function of producing the soul from such desires as cause distress by being in tension and strain, and over the soul; accordingly, he defines tragedy as the imitation of an action where the effect is produced by men acting and through pity and fear effecting a purification of such passions (śākṣa kāraṇāmdharmasya yāpyatahom anvairuddhikārāvāpyaṃ kārāvāpyaṃ [Poet. ch. vi. 2]). Modern aesthetics has met the problem of desire upon a basis more psychological, while it has been less rigorous than was Hellenism in its judgment of the desirable in beauty. The general effect has been to place the disinterested in the position of the desiderative, which idea was first formulated by Kant, although Burke's The Sublime and the Beautiful (1756) and Baumgarten's Aesthetics (1750–58) showed him where beauty might be found. Kant seeks to indicate the possibility of a feeling-judgment, or taste; the latter he describes by saying:

"Taste is the faculty of judging of an object by an entirely disinterested and spontaneously disinterested [Critique of Judgment, tr. Bernard, 1892, § 5]."

In Kant's mind, desire is fatal to beauty, as to virtue also; hence his insistence upon the disinterested in aesthetic feeling.

Schopenhauer was more voluntaristic, more pessimistic; hence, his doctrine of desire is more stark. Thronged by desires, with their perpetual hopes and fears, so long as we are the subject of willing, there can be no lasting happiness or peace for us. . . . Thus the subject of willing is ever stretched upon the revolving wheel of Ixion, pours water into the stew of the pot, is the ever-tirelessly pining Tantalus." (Waltz as Will und Vorstellung, § 33).

This constant condition due to human desire is relieved from time to time by satisfaction, in whose ecstatic moments the subject, raised above the desiderative, enjoys the stillness of the will to live:

'It is the process condition which Epicurus prized as the highest good, as also the condition of the gods; for we are for the moment delivered from the shameful strivings of the will, we celebrate the Sabbath of the spirits, and feel the infirmities of will, while the wheel of Ixion stands still' (48.).

Wagner follows Schopenhauer in postulating renunciation of desire as the most perfect aesthetic condition, although he finds it hard to explain how the particular art of music, which involves the highest excitement of the will, can consist with the state of stillness demanded by the aesthetic ideal (cf. Beethoven, Schriften u. Dichtungen, Leipzig, 1888, v. 9, p. 72). In the Ring des Nibelungen, Wagner indicates a double doctrine of desirelessness: first, in Siegfried, whose superabundance of power raises him above want; secondly, in Wotan, who learns to relinquish the gold of beneficent desiring (cf. Plato, Crit., Act ii.; Aristotle, Nic. Eth. 1093); in contrast to these aesthetic attacks upon desire, based upon a dread of the will to live, other Schopenhauernians consider beauty as consisting in a removal of the natural function of willing. Nietzsche thus criticizes Schopenhauer and Wagner, and returns to the views set forth by Stendhal, as also by Flaubert.

'Stendhal,' says he, 'a not less sensual but more happily constituted nature than Schopenhauer, lays stress on a different effect of beauty; beauty promises happiness. With him the very stimulation of will (interest) by beauty seems to be the fact' (cf. op. cit. iv. 48.).

In this positive treatment of desire, Nietzsche is followed by Sudermann, whose literary art constantly repudiates all restraint. With Sudermann, this affirmation of desire is carried out consciously and with apparent sincerity, and, instead of following the animal instinctiveness of Maupassant, he uses the sensual with the aim of inculcating an egoistic ethical doctrine. Much the same may be said of George Moore in distinction from Oscar Wilde, because by in and out, with purpose of developing a trans-traditional morality (J. Huneker, Overtones, New York, 1906, iv. 2). This contradiction between the two views of desire is due to a difference in interpretation of the ego and its position. Many who believe in the reality of spiritual life are inclined to eliminate desire by removing the ego from the field of activity, while those who are aware of no beyond know no reason why man should do aught but further the native tendencies towards self-realization. But, even where the ego's desires appear to be the most obvious things in experience, the artistic consciousness distrusts desire as something tending to delude the mind which appeals to the stillness of the inner life. This occasional elevation in art is the rule in religion.

4. Desire and religion. Since spiritual religion consists in a detachment from the world of impressions and a repudiation of immediate impulses, it is necessary to consider its relation to desire. With various religions, the attitude towards desire is determined in accordance with their general attitude towards the world. Thus Taoism, which regards reality as something empty of content and wanting in attributes, upholds renunciation of desire; Buddhism, with its ascetic tendency, urges its complete extirpation; Christianity, while not wanting in this critical attitude towards the natural in both man and world, advises one to train the desires.

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The leading principle in Taoism is that of emptiness and inactivity, wherein the dialectical superiority of the Tao consists (Tao Teh King, tr. Legge, 1891, chs. 11, 37). Accordingly the man of Tao seeks by the repression of desire to reduce himself to a life of inactivity. With more concise language seeks to withdraw the mind from external impressions like colours, tones, flavours, and the like (ib. ch. 12). This course of repression is further called 'returning to the root'—a teaching which calls attention to the tendency on the part of all forms of vegetable life to return from their full-flowering to their original condition. 'This returning to their root is what we call the state of stillness,' says Lao-tze, who counsels the disciple to produce this state to the utmost degree (ib. ch. 16). The man of Tao is considered 'different from ordinary men, in that he has so repressed his desires as to have become infant-like and primitival. "I am like an infant, which has not yet smiled," says he. The mind is that of a stupid man; I am in a state of chaos' (ib. ch. 20, cf. chs. 23, 28). Inasmuch as the 'Tao does nothing for the sake of doing it,' the Taoist is without desire, inactive, and simple (ib. ch. 37).

Buddhism treats desire in its major rather than its minor manifestations. The Noble Truth Concerning Suffering' (in the Mahavagga, tr. Davids and Oldenberg, Oxford, 1881, i. 1). This truth is fourfold. It is based upon the individual's attachment to life, to his desire for continuous existence and attainment, that suffering is removed by detachment from desire, the way of which lies along the eightfold path wherein is found the destruction of sorrow (cf. 'Dhammaraka,' tr. Davids, SBE xi. [1906], § 38). While Hinduism repudiates belief in the lust of the flesh, Buddhism regards suffering as the consequence of desire. Buddhism seeks to identify these ideals, Windelband ('Hist. Philos. tr. Cushman, New York, 1906, § 47) believes the likeness to be but superficial. The former is the virtue of ethical indifference to all passions; the latter is passionlessness which is based upon the perfect satisfaction of all desire. On this account, it was looked upon, by both Epicureans and Cynics, as acquired only through a limitation of desire (ib. § 45). It was in this spirit that Horace wrote his famous epistle beginning 'Nil admirari proper est una' (Ep. i. vi., where Seneca expressed the same apathetic sentiment in his 'sine admiratione' (de Vita Beata, iii. 3). In de minimis non curare and aversion to future acquirement, the same attitude, concerning man to cease desiring things beyond his power (iii. 24). Marcus Aurelius rehabilitates Horace's 'nil admirari' with his own δυναμον, whereby, like Maximus his master, he extolled the present life (i. 15). See also the 'Greek' article, below.

While Christianity does not attack desire upon the same cosmological grounds as Taoism, Buddhism, and Stoicism, it does not fail to relate the function of desire which it condemns, to the world which it repudiates. In the great value-judgment of the Gospels, 'What doth it profit a man, to gain the whole world, and forfeit his life?' (MK 8:36), the principle at work is that of detachment from the world. On the psychological side, this is expressed in terms of will, where it is declared, 'Whosoever would save his life shall lose it' (6:47). This is the condition exalted by the Stoics, where the will of the rational soul is directed towards the desire—ν̑ν ãν εκδιακονεῖ (1 Th 4:7); St. Peter speaks of the believer as one who has escaped the corruption in the world through desire—τν̑ν κάρμαν εν ἐσπευδή (2 P 19); and St. James speaks of the tempted man as one who is drawn away by his own desire—σπυρτίζεται ἐπεθυμία (Ja 1:14). St. John relates these forms of the mind to the world, and thus tends to give a dialectic of desire. In this way, the content of the world is likened to desire in both a sensuous and an intellectual form: πν̑ν τὸν ἐν τοῖν κάρμα, ἐπεθυμία τῆς αμβροοκτησει καὶ ἐπεθυμία τῶν ἀθροοκτησεων (1 Jn 2:16); the latter is based upon the principle of asceticism, which aims at detaching the ego from the immediate world, that it may find its true place in the world of spiritual life. This doctrine of detachment from life is now under discussion in religious circles.

While current thought accepts desire as a fact of experience and develops it according to ethics, religion, like art, refuses to take it for granted and tends to repudiate it altogether. Such a tendency appears repudiated because it leads to a futility and to the repudiation of the reality of life at the moment when life becomes ideal' (J. Huneke, Iconoclasts, New York, 1908, p. 337); and in Ernest Hello, who attacks desire under its armour of the pride of life (cf. L'Homme, Paris, 1894, Le Dieu, du désir, éd. Villiers, 1896). In a manner, J. K. Huysmans, who passed from the sensual to the spiritual, has revealed an austere world-withdrawal whose path is indicated in En Route (Paris, 1896), while its result is elaborated in La Cathédrale (1898, § 358), wherein Hello, cloistered at Chartres, glorifies the inner life, 'la vie contemplative,' which he contrasts with 'la vie active' (op. cit. 28, ch. v. p. 125, ch. xi. p. 390). Huysmans, who mentions Hello (ib. ch. vi. p. 138), reveals the same combination of Catholicism and Mysticism that guided the former to his striking attitude towards human desire. The economic interest, which to-day predominates, tends to forbid the artistic disinterestedness and religious renunciation which seek to neutralize desire, so that the present age might well be called the age of desire.


CHARLES GRAY SHAW.

DESIRE (Buddhist).—There is no more intimate, more radical self-expression of the conscious individual than that which is conveyed by the term 'desire.' It is the one genuine subjective register of the human character. A man is known by his works, but he knows himself by his desires. When these emerge, if they do emerge, in action, external limitations
of environment and opportunity permit only a distorted output of the ideal act, which had taken shape in the exalting flame of desire. Religion and ethics are therefore deeply concerned with desire. A fortiori, whether Buddhism is considered to be religion, or ethics, or both, desire should bulk very largely in its doctrines, and the attitude to it doctrinally should have held crucial in our judgments respecting them. Buddhism faces the phenomenon of desire as frankly and as critically as other systems, and perhaps even more so; and this is because it is essentially a religion and does not start from the external universe and its first or final cause, but with the heart of man.

Discounting the remote and immaterial planes of existence (rūpa-loka and arūpa-loka), the world of desires is, by Buddhism, conceived and named in terms of desire. It is kāma-rūpa-kāra, the sphere of kāma, i.e. desire understood simply as wishing for what is pleasant; and kāma-loka, 'world of desire': kāma includes both desiring (kāmattī kāma) and that which is desired (kāmīyattī kāma). Now, as might be expected, in Buddhist philosophical treatises the universe is regarded as a natural phenomenon, and is neither praised nor condemned, while, with respect to the life of laymen, kāma, that is, natural desires and the enjoyment thereof, is not, as such, condemned. In the oldest narrative of the birth of the Buddha (Dīgha-Nikāya, ii. 13; Majjhima-Nikāya, iii. 121), it is written that his mother, a lady of pure and virtuous life, was living before his birth in the enjoyment of the five modes of sense-desire (paṭhika kāmoyāna, i.e. of sights, sounds, odours, tastes, and contacts). Again, in the Sīkṣāvatāra-suttanta (Dīgha, iii. 180f., called by R. Childers 'The Whole Duty of the Buddhist Layman'), the Buddha does not warn the young layman off a single form of natural desire or enjoyment, but only says, 'It is the desires which we wanton desires. For those who had left the world and devoted their lives to holiness and missionary work, the case was different. The kāmas were for them constant sources of danger, and were considered as leading to evil, snakes, dust, bones, dreams, and other perils and disappointing objects ('Psalm of the Sisters' [Therigāthī, London, 1909, p. 144f.]). They belonged to the pursuit of sensual pleasures and the life of the world. An ascetic avoids, in his religious life, human kāmas; it is time to seek after celestial kāmas (Dīgha, iii. 60). But, for one who was aiming at the highest goal, there was really nothing to choose between either human or celestial desires and objects of desire. The word kāma was unadorned by Buddhism. He did not therefore cease to desire, for, though his quo vadis was different, he aspired to a goal none the less, and, if he obeyed the injunctions of his Order preserved in its scriptures, he pursued neither with greater ardour and singleness of purpose than he had ever felt over worldly objects.

If, in the earliest version of those scriptures surviving, viz. the Pāli Pitakas, natural desire and its objects—in a word, the kāmas—are usually mentioned in terms of depreciation, it must be remembered (1) that the Pitakas were compiled by religious, and that the greater part of the Suttas are discourses addressed to religious; and (2) that Buddhism started as an evangel of protest, reform, and regeneration against worldliness and superstition, and evans do not compromise. But it is characteristic of this gospel that it does not seek to quench earthly desires (mundana kāma) by heavenly desires (ābhīva kāma).

In the first place, the summa bonum of arhatship, of complete emancipation of heart and mind, could be won only in this earthly region of the kāma-loka, with the single exception of the highest sphere of the arūpa-loka, where it was believed that some mortals attained parinibbāna, i.e. completion of perfected life and final death, who here, on their way to perfection, had not only lived to touch the Path, but had begun to tread it! (Dīgha, ii. 200; Sānāgutta, v. 346, etc.); yet this parinibbāna is never regarded as a climax and glorious consummation, but rather as an epilogue to the life here below of those who, in a 'world of desire,' and in virtue of unceasing desire, had attained to the assurance of victory in spiritual evolution (nibbāna).

Secondly, whereas the Buddhist Dhamma is essentially a method for diverting and transforming the nature of desire, before those whose quest was for the highest, no supranandana place as the proper object of desire, nor before any one did it hold up a superhuman being or person in that light. It is true that re-birth is a natural phenomenon, and is neither praised nor condemned, while, with respect to the life of laymen, kāma, that is, natural desires and the enjoyment thereof, is not, as such, condemned. In the oldest narrative of the birth of the Buddha (Dīgha-Nikāya, ii. 13; Majjhima-Nikāya, iii. 121), it is written that his mother, a lady of pure and virtuous life, was living before his birth in the enjoyment of the five modes of sense-desire (paṭhika kāmoyāna, i.e. of sights, sounds, odours, tastes, and contacts). Again, in the Sīkṣāvatāra-suttanta (Dīgha, iii. 180f., called by R. Childers 'The Whole Duty of the Buddhist Layman'), the Buddha does not warn the young layman off a single form of natural desire or enjoyment, but only says, 'It is the desires which we wanton desires. For those who had left the world and devoted their lives to holiness and missionary work, the case was different. The kāmas were for them constant sources of danger, and were considered as leading to evil, snakes, dust, bones, dreams, and other perils and disappointing objects ('Psalm of the Sisters' [Therigāthī, London, 1909, p. 144f.]). They belonged to the pursuit of sensual pleasures and the life of the world. An ascetic avoids, in his religious life, human kāmas; it is time to seek after celestial kāmas (Dīgha, iii. 60). But, for one who was aiming at the highest goal, there was really nothing to choose between either human or celestial desires and objects of desire. The word kāma was unadorned by Buddhism. He did not therefore cease to desire, for, though his quo vadis was different, he aspired to a goal none the less, and, if he obeyed the injunctions of his Order preserved in its scriptures, he pursued neither with greater ardour and singleness of purpose than he had ever felt over worldly objects.
As on a crag, on crest of mountain standing,  
A man may reach the people far below,  
Even so to Thon, O Wisdom fair, ascending  
Of the terraced heights of truth, Look down, from grief released, upon the nations  
Sunken in grief, oppressed with birth and age.  
Art thou, therefore, the Conqueror in the world?  
Thou freed from debt!  
Lord of the pilgrim-band,  
With averted eyes and bowed head  
Teach us the Truth—therefore we'll understand  
(Dialogues, ii. 32; Vin. Text, i. 541).

The faith and devotion evoked by the person of the Buddha and by the nature of his doctrine are also usually described in terms of satisfied desire, namely, *pasiso, pasanna,* the passages being too numerous to quote (but cf. *Sawyutta,* v. 351, with *Buddhist Psychological Ethics,* 174 n.). Nevertheless, the desire itself for a Buddha, and for the salvation he should bring, is expressed in terms of altruistic desire for the good and happiness of all men. It is 'out of compassion for all creatures, for the advantage and the welfare and the happiness of gods and men,' that a Buddha arises.

Who from all ill and sorrow hath released  
Me and so many many stricken folk  
(Theravada, 453; cf. Dialogues, i. 1114, p. 241).

Mediately therefore, in the desire for the Buddha, the impersonal desire for universal good, as well as the desire for personal salvation, finds expression. This is 'desire' as the English word is not English, we might say, is elastically won by the *Dhamma* to devote their lives to it, a career of mental and moral training was prescribed, which, judging by the terms employed, called into exercise the emotional and volitional, no less than the intellectual, faculties. The exercises might be in the expansion of a concept or sentiment—satisfaction, irradiation (*phara*), they called it—or in concentration of attention and will (*samadhi, jhana,* etc.), or in control of consciousness, recollection, self-collectedness (*sati)* (exercised whenever possible) in no case, however, was the training to be carried on with cool impassivity, except in certain advanced stages. The sincere student is constantly described as being aglow or ardent (*uttari*), strenuous or earnest (*appamutto*), full of energy and endeavour (*viriya, viyadha, ussotthi*), and filled with eager active desire (*tibbachanda*); but the emotional side of consciousness is not encouraged, except in intimate connexion with the conative or volitional. The desire, therefore, for intense knowledge, which is as unselfish as our own 'desire,' which, like 'desire,' is sometimes used with a sensual or passionate import, is more allied to will than *kama* is, and is explained by commentators as meaning *kuttam-kamottari.* Few concepts, indeed, are of greater interest in Buddhist culture than this evolution of *chanda.* For instance, *dakkha,* the generic term for 'ill,' 'misery,' or 'pain,' is said to be 'rooted' in *chanda* (*Sawyutta,* iv. 328), as, indeed, are 'all states of consciousness' (*Abhutatara,* iv. 330). On one occasion the end of the Buddha's system of holy living is called the removal of desire (*chanda-pa*khana *Sawyutta,* v. 272). Yet this is stated to be accomplished by certain exercises in which *chanda* is called into play. 'What then,' is an inquirer's comment, 'would you put away desire by desire?' And the Thera replies to the Brahman: 'Was there not desire, elict, thought, deliberation in your mind, when you set out to find me in this garden? And now that you have found me, is not all that abated?' Again, a homely simile of the ass who does not make himself into a valued ox by walking after the herd saying 'I, too, can bellow,' serves to illustrate that the mature student is his displaying eager active desire (*tibbachanda*) for the highest virtues and the most advanced mental development (*Abhutatara,* i. 229).

Finally, the Buddha is represented in the *Avata-majjhikas,* in which he proclaims his wish to dispel the passion with which a bhikkha 'might desire' (*abhinikkhecit*), may severly be satisfied ('Buddhist Suttas,' *SBE* xii. 210 ff.

Hence in Buddhist ethics, desire is, as much, not only not immoral, but an indispensable instrument for attaining higher (no less than meaner) ends; it becomes a source of danger only when the object of desire is such as to engender no lasting satisfaction to desire when it is attained.

And hence it is strictly in accordance with the spirit of the older writings, if with an added tinge of intense emotion, when the author of the *Milinda Questions* desires that *Abhikusa* be realized, not by quiescent meditation, or in hypnotic trance, much less by mortification of desire, but by rational discontent, strong anguish, and longing, followed by a forward leap of the mind into peace and calm, then again a transient zeal, in which the aspirant 'strives with might and main along the path,' and so on.

It had been the fate of Buddhism, before the authorities quoted above became accessible, to become for the general English reader synonymous not only with pessimism but with the 'extinction of desire.' And the error still persists. This is largely due to the fact that the earliest translators of the canonical works of Buddhism were for the very reason that they had a psychological training. The anthologies of the *Dhamma* and *Sutta-Nipata* were rendered into English prose by those various Indologists, Max Muller and Fausboll, and between them they render no fewer than sixteen, or sixteen and a third, books, moral, or vicious, or unregulated desire, by the one unqualified word 'desire.' St. Hilaire, Burnouf, and Fouxon do much the same disservice with the one over-worked word *desire.* Warren (Buddhism in Tibet), Warburg (Buddhism in Japan), and so on. On the other hand, it is not to a desire, a yearning, an impulse, a resolution, that the founder of Buddhism is represented as having renounced the world and dedicated his life to the service of his fellow-men. See also art. Love (Buddhist).


C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

**DESIRE** (Greek).—I. Socrates and the pre-Socratics.—The beginning of ethical investigation in ancient Greece is usually assigned to Socrates. And, no doubt, Socrates did in a special manner direct men's attention to ethical principles and concepts, and give the impulse to the further study and elaboration of the philosophy of morals. He was also who, by his rigorous insistence on self-control (*epheirese*) as the supreme virtue, gave the special prominence to a gentler, a more passive, a higher and a lower nature, with the tendency on the part of the lower (the desires) to usurp the mastery; thereby initiating a point of view that was to dominate Greek philosophy henceforth, definitely formulated for all time by Plato. Moreover, he himself could 'saw delights and live

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laborious days' better than any man of his time, so that he could not only teach robust ethical doctrine, but show it also by example. But, long before the time of Socrates, the subject of desire had thrust itself upon men's notice, and from old precepts had been emunctuated for the practical regulation of life, even though it were only from the prudential standpoints of Hesiod (see his Works and Days), the Gnostic poets, and the Seven Wise Men. This explains the existence of Orphism and Pythagoreanism, which—religious more than philosophical—had the highest welfare of the heart, that heart symbolized a system, distinctly mystical, for the purification of the soul and the cultivation of the higher life. This was avowedly ethical in its character, and, being cathartic, had the subjugation of the desires and the development of rational life as a basical principle. But, apart altogether from the poets and the moralists and the mystics, the pre-Socratic philosophers, who are usually represented as devotees of physics and physical speculation, were, like, and indispensable for life—perhaps the ethical teaching of Heraclitus of Ephesus, in particular, and of Democritus of Abdera, forms an interesting side of their philosophy. Sir Alexander Grant does them less than justice when he says: "Metis and a head of these early philosophers... seem to belong rather to the personal character of the men than to the result of their systems" (Ethics of Aristotle, 1, 103).

The great impact that inspired ethical analysis and ethical thinking came from Socrates: an epoch in Greek philosophy was marked when, under the sanction of the god at Delphi, he insisted in the way that he did on the principle 'Know thyself' (γνῶθι σεαυτόν); and the question of desire found its first impressive handling in his greatest disciple Plato, in the true Socratic spirit.

2. Plato.—(1) In his psychological analysis of human nature, Plato regarded the soul of man as consisting of three parts—the rational (δύο μορφῶν ἄτομον), the fiery or spirited (δύο θυμοῦ οῖκον), and the appetitive (δύο σωφρύματος).

There is a great temptation to interpret this as an anticipation of or foreshadowing of the modern psychological threefold division of mental processes into intellective, feeling, and conative or volitive. But, when we remember that each soul, according to Plato, had its own distinct habituation in the body—the rational soul being situated in the head or cranium, the spirited soul in the breast or thorax, and the appetitive soul in the belly, below the breathing organs, then it is clear that the three souls are represented as having their counterparts in the Ideal Bodies which are represented in the philosophical guarantors of the State, the second in the soldiers, and the third in the artisans and husbandmen—we see that the Platonic psychology is a lessoned to teach anything to be found in the psychologies of the present day.

Between the three souls, or three parts of the soul, there is a distinction of native authority or value. The rational soul, being immortal, is naturally supreme, placed where it is in the body (viz. in the commanding position of the head) in order to guide and control the others. The spirited or courageous soul is the seat of ambition, honour, and glory, and is indispensable for the individual and the state in any sphere, and is by nature ancillary to reason, though, on occasion, it may require restraint. But the third soul is that which needs careful watching and curbing—viz. the appetitive or lustful soul, the seat of desire, of insatiable passion, and, therefore, pre-eminently of lawlessness and insubordination. This is the 'black' horse of the allegory of the Charioter in the Phædrus, which must be bridled, clipped in bridle, and to which the whip has to be unsparingly applied until it is subdued and tamed. It is also the 'many-headed monster' of Republic, 588 C. From the place that the appetitive soul occupies in the body (below the head, in the region of the belly and the intestines), there is proximity in the liver, which (according to Plato) is the organ of imagination, issuing oracles in dreams and acting as a mirror registering the wishes, commands, and reprobations of the rational soul, thereby encouraging, warning, and, if need be, terrifying the recalcitrant transgressor, with the design of checking him in his wayward course.

This doctrine of desire is clearly of an ethical character, and is specially suited to ethical purpose. It is not so much a deductive logical analysis of the notion, or even a systematic psychological exposition of the subject, as a suggestive statement of the hierarchy of principles in human nature (for the different souls, though separated locally by Plato, may be united in that way in the appreciation of their various functions and a grading of them according to worth. It is, above all, an enforcement of the truth that, for the highest health and welfare of the individual, the desires must be strictly and radically checked through their very nature to tend to transgress limits, to usurp authority; and this, if unchecked, means moral shipwreck and disaster (see Appetite).

In Phædrus, however, a psychological analysis of desire occurs, viz. the division of appetites into those that are proper to the good, and those which are improper. The first desires (and the proper appetites) are those that are suited to the basical life, as beauty, and the second desires (and the improper appetites) are those that are suited to the individual's character, as patriotic love.

But Plato's doctrine of desire goes deeper than this: it penetrates to the very centre of man's being, to what may be specifically designated his natural spiritual wants. The highest form of desire is represented as philosophical Love or Eros, which is inseparably connected with the Plato's theory of Ideas and the doctrine of Reminiscence (ἀνάμνησις). The object of this kind of desire is set forth in the Phædrus as the Beautiful, as Beauty Absolute, the super-celestial Divine essence, which is reached by the individual through the mediation of the perception of beauty in objects of sense, especially in the beauty of bodily form, as seen in beautiful youths; and, in the Symposium (211 C), the mode of ascent is declared by Diotima of Sparta, as follows: 'To begin from the beauties of earth and mount upwards for the sake of that other beauty, using these as steps only, and from one going up to another, until a certain stage is reached from fair forms to fair practices, and from fair practices to fair notions, until from fair notions he arrives at the notion of absolute beauty, and by that last word we mean to say Form is, This, my dear Socrates, said the stranger of Mantinea, is that life above which others which man should live, in the contemplation of beauty absolute.'

In the Republic it is set forth as the Good, which is the supreme transcendental Idea, permeating being, and giving meaning to intelligibles and opposibles alike in the realm of Knowledge. In the Timæus, the Good is identified with God; and, as 'likeness to God' (εἰσχρώματος ὦς) is the chief end of man, according to Theaetetus, the ultimate object of man's highest desire is the Deity. Nor is the Deity a mere abstract term to Plato; it expresses the ideal of holiness, as well as of knowledge or contemplation; so that, in the assimilation of the Divine by man, character no less than intellect is involved. But, in order to become conform to the great Idea, the soul needs to be purified, and purification is a thing of degrees, so that σάρκας becomes the leading note, and σάρκας 'elected by personal effort in a Cosmos governed by God—a doctrine which is, as J. A. Lloyd used to express it (The Myths of Plato, p. 352), 'the great contribution made by Plato to the religious thought and practice of Europe.' Hence, in Protagoras (349, 350 A), 'holiness' (καθαρός) is added to the four cardinal virtues; Socrates in Xenophon called it 'purity' (εὐσεβία). With this is specially to be
associated the Platonic eschatology (for purification does not cease at a man's death), where the soul is represented as finally purified through a series of metempsychoses—as seen, for instance, in the Report, in the myth of Er, the son of Armenios, and in the doctrine of Eros, with its essentially elevating and purifying character, as described in the Phaedrus myth.

(3) In line with this is Plato's proof of the immortality of the soul (see Phaedo and Symposium), drawn from men's universal longing or desire for continued existence and for the everlasting possession of the Good—a proof that became popular in Western Christendom through St. Augustine's acceptance of it, and which finds its poetical expression in English in Addison's 'Cato' and in Tennyson's 'The Two Voices.' One view is that the desire continues to live hereafter because men everywhere cling to life 'together with good' and shrink from death; the presupposition being that whatever crops up as a general craving among men is due to an ancient necessity, but, the god of Death, because of their thirst for knowledge and their desire of being made better. They find that with Hades is true Wisdom—he has experience and is the great Philosopher; and he determines everything and isointerprets the oracles, and with himself better, they cling to him as disciples to a master. Thus desire is seen to be a stronger bond than necessity: necessity coerces, desire seduces.

Aristotle (1) In the analysis of desire as given in de Anima, Aristotle uses the term 'desire' (δέσις) generically, including in it, as species, spiritedness or passion (θυμός), appetitive desire (έστιφία), and the wish (θέλησις). Of these, wish (θέλησις) attaches to the rational part of man, and the other two to the irrational (iib. 9. 432b, 5). When, again, he enumerates and arranges in due order the functions or faculties of the soul (vegetative, sentient, conative, noetic—passive and active), and specifies the functions of the vegetative (δέσις), the sensory (αναδεσις), and the conative (τα θέλημα) soul, he has described three faculties, which sometimes he brackets along with the sensitive faculty (δάσεις και θελήμα), sometimes gives an independent position subsequent to it (i. 3. 414c, 31); and sometimes, he is in doubt as to their arrangement.

With regard to all the faculties or functions, however, it is to be remembered that the independence ascribed to any one of them is only relative; each has its place in the graded system arranged in the order of implication, the higher presupposing the lower (though not reversely)—the earlier form always exists potentially in the later' (de An. ii. 3. 414b, 29). Aristotle is very persistent on the unity of the soul; so that the faculties are not absolutely separate, as if each were self-contained.

But it is in the Ethics, in connexion with will, that we have Aristotle's fullest handling of desire; and since the two accounts together, we obtain the following summary.

Will is the desire (δέσις) of something regarded as a good, i.e. as bringing satisfaction or pleasure to the person desiring it—which is what Aristotle designates δέσις. But, obviously, if there is an object towards which desire is directed and upon which it is set, this implies an ideal or conceptual element in the process—some notion of what the object desirable and desired is; in other words, it involves imagination or representation (διάστασις). Further, inasmuch as between desire as a psychical state and the attainment of its object there is an interval of time interposed, this indicates that there is need not merely for actualization of the desired object, and, consequently, need of deliberation with a view to choice—especially when more than one set of means appear competent to effect the end. This process of deliberation in connexion with desire, or action, and habit, is Aristotle's 'things that are within our own power' (τα εφ' ἑμών), Aristotle calls δεσιμα. When deliberation is completed, choice or determination ensues. This is πράσματα, which is regarded by Aristotle as distinctive of man, the higher desiderate of the animals. In choice after deliberation δέσις again appears; for the individual identifies himself not only with the end, but with the means necessary to effect the end. Hence, deliberate choice is in separably conjoined with desire, and is termed δεσιμα δεσιμα.

From this brief analysis it is evident that Aristotle connects desire very intimately with will; maintaining, indeed, practically, that there can be no will without a desire and having it is its truth thereby established. With this may be joined an attractive Platonic thought regarding the future life and men's desire of knowledge and of virtue. In Crotalus (403, 404) the dead are represented as desiring to return to the earth. Hades, the god of Death, because of their thirst for knowledge and their desire of being made better. They find that with Hades is true Wisdom—he has experience and is the great Philosopher; and he determines everything and interprets the oracles, and with himself better, they cling to him as disciples to a master. Thus desire is seen to be a stronger bond than necessity: necessity coerces, desire seduces.

(2) It is evident, further, that, according to Aristotle, in the determination of right conduct (and here we enter the ethical bearing of the psychological doctrine) desire and reason act together—neither is sufficient by itself. Hence, πράσματα, or the practical, e.g. is explained as reason motivated by desire (πράσμα δεσιμα), or as desire guided by understanding (δέσις δεσιμα, Eth. Nic. vi. 2). The doctrine of 'the practical syllogism' brings this out distinctly.

The syllogism, as we have come to understand it, is a demonstration of practical for two reasons: first, because it deals with men's actions (πράσματα), not with their mere thinking or reasoning as logically correct; and, secondly, because it attaches to the practical or moral, not to the theoretical, reason. Being a 'syllogism,' however, it has a specific formal character—it is expressive as conclusion, and necessary conclusion, from premises, although it is not maintained that moral actions, in the case of 'the plain man,' are always conscious, voluntary or deliberate. Indeed, by the unconscious spontaneous or logical reasoning of the plain man, there is equally an unconscious spontaneous moral reasoning; but, when analyzed, it is the philosophical man who is found to be only the unsophisticated form of what may be philosophically generalized and systematized. And this systematization and analysis is what is comprehended in scholastic phraseology and assimilated to each of the other.

In the 'practical syllogism,' we are dealing with end and motive—with the idealized expression of what is a thing's being so or not so, and of the means by which it may be attained. The procedure whereby we accept an end and work towards it through desire and intellection is clearly of the nature of syllogistic reasoning, though the conclusion of the procedure is not a definite theoretical consequence satisfactory to the logical reason, but an action, or series of actions, necessitated by the principle that we adopt. It is a matter of 'principles,' of living moral principles, not of abstract propositions; and hence the conclusion is not abstract but practical, and embodied in human conduct.

And so, in the practical syllogism, Aristotle is giving a syllogistic form to action—at analyzing the process that underlies moral conduct, so as to bring out its rational character. In making choices, we need a guide; a view to action is a general principle—the principle, namely, that a man ought to do or not to do a certain kind of thing. The major premise of the resultant action. The minor premise is the perception that such and such a particular action is or is not the kind of thing that is required. This follows, as not pursuing or not doing of that particular action. The great implication in the practical syllogism is that, if one accepts a principle as a guide of life, and the end is adequately understood in terms of action that principle dictates. For example, if I allow that I ought to pursue the happiness of all, and accept the principle that happiness and well-being are the prime end, to accepting whatever conduces to the fartherance of that end, and to behaving accordingly. On what ground, however, the principles that an individual is capable of knowing in his life, Aristotle does not always determine in the same way. Sometimes he says that they are intuitive—i.e. they may be infallibly and satisfactorily, beyond the need of proof. At other times, he bases them on experience; and, still again, on moral character. The effect of this is clearly felt, I think, in general. Moreover, intuition and experience are not contradictory.
Whether or not the 'practical syllogism' is fully expressive of what exactly takes place in moral action, as Kant has rendered it (in his choice, and, therefore, for his conduct), it serves admirably to emphasize the fact that intoleration and desire enter into deliberative volition and choice, and that we cannot explain the phenomena without taking account of both, and of both acting in unison, 'like the ball and the socket in the organic unity of the joint' (οὖν ἄ γεγραμμένον [cf. An. iii. 10. 433b, 22]).

(3) Over and above this psychology of desire, with its application in ethics, Aristotle also recognizes desire as a movent power in the higher reaches of ontology and cosmology. For God to him is, first and chiefly, the Prime Mover of the universe, the Source of all motion in the world; 'Himself moved the whole. He is the object of desire ( ὄψεσις) as well as of intellective ( πνοήμα) to the universe. As otherwise expressed, God, as the unmoved eternal active principle, moves the heavens as the beloved one moves the lover: He is the attractive force, the final end, of all existence — the final cause, produces motion by being loved, and, by that which it moves, it moves all other things' (Met. xii. 7. 1072b, 4). This teleologically conceived is no myth, as Stewart (Myths of Plato, p. 259) would make it out to be: it is the measured and subdued emanating of the grand ontological conception that God of necessity is good, and that the cosmos, which, in Aristotle's view, exists from all eternity as a cosmos (a ὄντος), is more (αὐτόν) than a mere daily (μέρα) or absolutely independent, but is eternally dependent on and derived from the Deity; it exists because it is turned over towards being; it exists as an act of God and is so being sustained by Him. It is therefore emphatically asserted that the world is not fully explicable on merely mechanical principles: Mind is the ruling factor, and so the explanation of existence, to be satisfactory, must be teleological.

4. Stoics and Epicureans.—(1) We get back to a purely ethical and practical consideration of desire when we turn to the Stoics. Desire was a topic of supreme consideration with them; indeed, their doctrine of desire may almost be said to have constituted their philosophy. For to desire is to love, it is man's great characteristic that he was made to be virtuous. He is a being endowed with rational insight into the true values of things, and with power over his own inclinations and impulses. Hence, more than mere contemplative, he can sit absolutely loose to everything that is not under control of his own will,—to fortune and to fame, even to death itself,—and can find his freedom only in his love of virtue and his abnegation of his desires. A man should have one great desire, and that is the desire of virtue, of a noble life, of pure and upright character; all else is indifferent, and, if surrendered to, would sap his moral vigour and degrade his nature. 'In the world, but not of it,' should be his motto; and to be master of his own soul, supreme in the realm of his motives and intentions, is the only end that is worth pursuing. The principle underlying this was precisely that which Kant reproduced in modern times when he said: 'There is nothing in the world which can be termed absolutely and altogether good, a good will alone excepted' (opening of the Grundleg. zur Metaph. d. Sitten). To submit to any other desire but that of virtue seemed to the Stoics to be elevating what is contingent and beyond one's power — extraneous, therefore, to one's will (which alone is in one's power)—to a place which it has no right to occupy, and which, if allowed to it, can only spell ruin. Consequently, everything that is not the love of virtue is, to the Stoic, to be resisted. The desires are, one and all of them, perturbing; and it is characteristic of the wise man that he is calm, unperturbed, uncontrollable—he is self-sufficient (αὐτοκράτηρ), independent of and above every non-rational spirit of action: 'The view taken is everything; and that rests with yourself.' Despair the view, at will; and, blissful, all headlong rush into the calm, still waters, and a waveless bay' (Marc. Aurel. Med. xii. 22). The desires are not simply weaknesses, they are 'contrary to nature'; they should be not merely controlled, but eradicated.

The ideal of the Stoic is a self-governed, a self-impassive being—the embodiment of stern virtue, scorn of emotion and desire. The same might be said of the ideal man of the Cynics (g.v.), from which the Stoic conception was originally drawn: with them, in Cynic mysticism, was accompanied with a contempt for social conventions and for mental culture that was abhorrent to the Stoic.

(2) It was different with the ideal man of the Epicureans, whose maximum beneum was pleasure. And yet the Epicureans were keenly alive to the ethical danger that lurked in the desires. For, although pleasure was to them the ultimate end of action, and so the object of desire, they quite clearly recognized the tendency of the desires of man to outrun discretion and, if uncontrolled, to deprive a man of that calm and peaceful state of mind ( ἀραπαία) which was his goal. Consequently, they could counsel, and Epicurus himself did counsel: 'If you would not make Pythocles and his riches, but diminish his desires. But in this they differed from the Stoics, that, whereas the Stoics counselled the impossible task of eradicating the desires, the Epicureans, like Plato and Aristotle, counselled moderating and directing them. The desires, they saw, are a part of human nature, and, therefore, legitimate springs of action, but only if they are kept under rational control. Some of them, they said, are natural and necessary; others are useful, but not necessary; and others are neither natural nor necessary. And they recognized a distinction of worth amongst them, the goods of the mind being to them of greater value than those of the body. Hence, their Hedonism was a robust character.

'Says Epicurus: 'When I was sick, I did not converse about my bodily ailments, or discuss such matters with my visitors; but continued to dwell upon the principles of natural philosophy, and more particularly how the understanding, while participating in such disturbances of the flesh, remains one's unperverted possession of its proper good. And I would advise,' he adds, 'give the doctors a chance of blistering and making wounds, but let life go on cheerily and well' (Marc. Aurel. Med. ix. 4).

5. The Neo-Platonists.—'Back to Plato' was the cry of the Neo-Platonists; but not back to Plato through them to have only the ethical life of reason be influenced by him. On the contrary, Plotinus himself owed much to Aristotle, and some of the greatest of the Neo-Platonic teachers (e.g. Porphyry) were among the most eminent of the expositors of Aristotle. The Neo-Platonists were essentially religious philosophers and mystics, and the purification of the soul and its gradual deliverance from sense and matter was their supreme aim. Hence, they laid special stress on that part of the teaching of Plato which dealt with ἀναθεωρείσθαι, and, taking into their system Orphism and Pythagoreanism also, in so far as they served their purpose, they advocated a mode of living which, if consistently pursued, would lead to the abnegation of the world and the absorption of the individual in the Divine. The great end of all was to get away from the trammels of the body, which was regarded as by nature vile, as both a clog and a prison-house to the soul and the source of sin and ugliness that implies all that is absolutely non-virtuous, to be, as the Stoics, to be resisted. The desires are, one and all of them, perturbing; and it is characteristic of the wise man that he is calm, unperturbed, uncontrollable—he is self-sufficient (αὐτοκράτηρ), independent of and above every non-rational spirit of action: 'The view taken is everything; and
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absolutely complete, from its original source, the Universal Soul or Animis Mundi, and has to be made good by an ascent or return. The steps by which this is done are the various virtues, which, according to Porphyry and the later Platonists, form modern thought, bearing the stamp of the path of perfection and self-accomplishment.

And first there is the career of honest and worldly prudence, which reaches to the, head of the citizen (Sophist). Secondly, there is the progress in purity which ears earthy things behind, and reaches the angelic height of passionate desire (Amor); thirdly, the step is the Dodecatheon, which by intellectual energy is turned to behold the truth of things (Theoretic virtus).

Lastly, in the fourth grade, the mind purifies itself in self-sustaining virtue, making itself an “exemplar” of virtue, and is even a “father of gods” (Paradigmic virtus) (W. Walpse, Hegel’s Philosophy of Mind, Oxford, 1894, p. 19).

Not yet, however, has the soul, in its efforts to get free from matter and the thrall of the desires, reached its highest aim. That aim is union with the Absolute, undisturbed contemplation of the One, the Ineffable Being, when subject and object are identical. This is obtained, not through practical virtue or through intellectual cognition (though these prepare for it), but by moral or spiritual perfection, as explained by the suspension,” says Porphyry (Scotiamtia 30), “of all the intellectual faculties, by reposing and the annihilation of thought. As the soul now sleeps when sensing, so it is the ecstasy, or the annihilation of all the faculties of her being, that she knows that which is above existence and above truth.

Thus are the desires effectually vanquished by mysticism in absolute union with God (Eros), desire is not.


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is the name given to a movement of reform that sprang up within the Catholic Church in Germany about the middle of the 19th century. The object of the movement was to establish a type of Catholicism which should be in harmony with the spirit of the times, leaving the Church free in matters of doctrine and in the expression of his religious views, and so far take account of the spiritual sentiments of the Roman Catholics of Germany as to permit the use of their mother tongue in the services of the Church. The latter were in some respects similar to those of Febronianism in the 18th cent., which strove to make the Catholic Church in Germany independent of the Roman curia by putting an end to the spread of the work of the latter. The ‘German Catholic’ movement, however, took a course different from that of the Febronians, inasmuch as it neglected the political-eclesiastical factor, which had eventually proved the decisive factor in the conflict between the resolutions of the Ens Congress (1788); and this difference between the two reform enterprises finds outward expression in the circumstance that, whereas the movement which disturbed the closing year of the 18th century in the German archbishops, the schism of the so-called ‘German Catholics’ had not a single active supporter in the higher ranks of the clergy.

One of the vital elements in the situation which gave rise to ‘German Catholicism’ was contributed by the rise of Ultramontanism, i.e. of that movement in the Roman Catholic Church which, after the frightful disasters experienced by that Church during the French Revolution, looked to the Jesuits for its rehabilitation, made common cause with that Order, and sought to disseminate the type of religion characteristic thereof. In the period following upon the restoration of the Jesuit Order in 1814, Ultramontanism had made headway in Germany as in other countries, but it had also aroused opposition in a corresponding degree. Although the immediate occasion of the rise of ‘German Catholicism’ was given by the protest made against the proceedings of an individual bishop, yet this protest really sprang from the broader grounds of a fundamental contrast with the Ultramontane form of religion; and it was to this difference that the schismatic movement owed all the vigour—which—for no long time indeed—it was capable of putting forth.

Another potent influence in the rise and development of ‘German Catholicism’ was contributed by the progressive tendencies of the day. The reactionary policy pursued by the various governments of Europe after the Napoleonic wars was incompetent to quell the wide-spread liberal movement instigated by the great Revolution. On the contrary, the disposition to break away from the bonds of autocracy and the leading-strings of estrangement, and the striving after liberty to mould life and conduct on lines independent of hoary convention, asserted themselves and gained ground in every department of human experience—in politics, in social relationships, and even in the province of scientific research. As the Roman Catholic Church, however, is inherently conservative, and was not merely antipathetic to such longings, but was inclined rather, under the influence of the newly revived Jesuit Order, to support the path of deliverance from the prevailing welter of things in a return to the principles of the Middle Ages, it could not fail to come into conflict with the liberal spirit that was making itself felt even within its own fold.

‘German Catholicism’ appeared first of all as simply the criticism of an incident in practical religious policy, viz. the exhibition of a relic as
an object of devotion. Very soon, however, it
drew the whole course of ecclesiastical procedure
and religious doctrine within the range of its
structures. Eventually it took an decisive step of
organizing its adherents in communities, thus
placing them in the position of schismatics. That
the whole course of this development was traversed
within the term of a few weeks was due to the fact
that the adherents identified themselves with the
movement were already alienated from the Church
of Rome, and that the bishops who had to deal
with the rising lost no time in lengthy delibera-
tions, but proceeded at once to administer penalties
of such severity as to drive the refractory elements
into open rupture.

2. Origin and development.—The immediate oc-
casion of the schism was the exhibition of the seam-
less robe of Christ which belonged to the Cathedral
Church of Trévès. The 'Holy Cloth' was regarded by
that Church as its supreme treasure, and had been
exhibited previously at special seasons as an object
of reverence. When Bishop Arnold of Trévès,
ignoring the doubt cast upon the genuineness of the
cloth, reported that he had seen it on 4th November 1844, a most
extraordinary sensation was aroused. He certainly
scored a great triumph in bringing vast multitudes of
pilgrims to the city, and so far the affair formed an
effective demonstration of the power of Catholi-
cism. But, on the other hand, Ronge's method of
strengthening Christian belief gave great umbrage
to many. Those within the Roman fold who took
objection to the bishop's action found a champion
in a private named Ronge, who, in an open letter to
Arnoldi, first published in 'Injektionshefte Texter-
ländsblätter,' urged a vigorous protest against what
he called a Götzenfet, an idolatrous celebration.

Johannes Ronge was born on the 16th of October 1813, at
Breslau, as a Silesian, and was trained and eventually
ordained as a priest at Breslau. He was in the capacity of chap-
lain at Grottkau, but had been suspended on account of certain
publications, and was now a teacher at Lammershe, Upper
Silesia. Having neither inclination nor aptitude for the cler-
al office, he had become utterly alienated in spirit from the
Catholic Church, and, as he refused to retract his letter when
called upon to do so, he was sentenced to degradation and ex-
communication by his superior, the bishop of Breslau, on the
4th of December 1844. This act of censure, however, failed to
reduce him to submission; its actual effect, indeed, was to
stimulate his radical disposition to its utmost manifesta-
tion. He challenged the claims of the Roman hierarchy in numerous
published articles, and what was at first a criticism of the pro-
cedings at Trévès, developed into a full-scale assault upon
the authority of the Catholic Church as 'Der Heil'g' Götzenfet,'
instituting an open breach.

About the same time a Catholic priest named Czerski had
arrived at conclusions similar to those of Ronge, though quite
independently. Czerski was born on the 12th of September 1813,
in Western Prusia. While attending the Seminary at Poznán,
he was embroiled in a number of clerical conflicts, but at length
took office in the Cathedral Church of that town. While in
this position he made a profound study of the Scriptures, with
the result that he became quite unsettled regarding the funda-
mental institutions of the Roman Catholic Church—the princi-
ple of the Pope, the hierarchy, auricular confession, the sacrifice
of the Mass, etc. With such doubts in his heart, he was trans-
ferred to the position of vicar at Scheidenmühl, where, as
a matter of fact, the congregation was no less critically disposed
towards Catholicism than he was. It was, however, a purely
personal matter which at length brought him into direct conflict
with ecclesiastical authority; he was suspended from office
consequence of his relations with a young woman. But his
conscience would not allow him so to do, and when, renouncing his
office, he abandoned the Roman Catholic Church altogether,
they followed his example (19th October 1844). A few months
later, sentence of degradation and excommunication was passed
upon him.

Ronge's challenge found considerable support
throughout large sections of Catholicism in Ger-
many. He travelled widely as an agitator, exert-
ing himself to maintain the movement and organize
his followers. The first congregation of the new
sect was constituted at Breslau. But even in the
operations preliminary to this step the seceders
faced themselves by the difficulty of finding a common basis in the heterogeneous elements in the 'Universal Christian Church,' as its adherents
called it at first. Nor was this embarrassment
one of a merely incidental and transitory character;
the contrary, it indicated a real and inherent
weakness of the whole movement, asserting itself
whenever an attempt was made to unite the com-
munities which sprang up in large numbers through-
out the country. For the purpose of effecting such
a union, a Conference, attended by 31 delegates
from 15 congregations, was held at Leipzig, from
the 23rd to the 25th of March 1845. The proce-
dings of this Conference are given in the official
report, 'Die erste allgemeine Kirchenversammlung
der deutschen-katholischen Kirche (Leipzig, 1845),'
edited by R. Blum and F. Wigard. It was here
decided that the Constitution of the new cause should be
entitled 'Deutsch-Katholizismus,' and that the Bible as its doc-
trinal basis; a short Confession was also adopted.
It was made a proviso, however, that neither
Scripture nor this Confession was to rank as an
externalictory, but was to be regarded as standards only in so far as they
harmonized with rational thought. The verifica-
tion of Christianity in a life of Christian love was set
forth as the prime duty of the members. It was
resolved to retain the sacrament of the Lord's Supper
and the Lord's Supper (under both kinds), but to have
done with the Papacy, the hierarchy, auricular
confession, the celibacy of priests, the adoration
of saints, relics, and images, indulgences, pilgrim-
ages, etc.—In short, to effect a total rupture with
the separation from the Roman Church and its dis-
tinctive institutions. In the order for public
worship, the liturgy of the Mass and the use of
the Latin language were dissolved. The constitu-
tion of the new church was to be prepared by the
German General Assemblies to be regularly called.

Such was the ground-plan for a new religious
body, but the plan presently met with opposition
within the community itself. The abandonment
of the Apostolic Confession gave unbridgeable to
the 'German Catholics' at Berlin, and led to a separa-
tion there. Czerski himself was dissatisfied with the
resolutions of the Conference, as he had been
thwarted in his endeavour to obtain Confessional
recognition of the Divinity of Christ. Ronge's
influence on the other side proved too strong.
This difference, however, did not lead to a breach,
but, as Czerski gave way and simply claimed the right
of all parties to adhere to the results of the posi-
tion... But, while imminent disintegration was thus avoided, the
harmony was attained, and the movement became
even more revolutionary. The adherents of Ronge,
in fact, drawn together as they were by the most
diverse motives, were so united, their groupings,
formed an aggregate so heterogeneous that every attempt to secure
a basis of union came to naught. It was
maintained that even the Leipzig Confession was not
to be held as binding, and there was a general
desire to discard everything of the nature of dogma
but, of course, no real progress towards unity could
be made on such negative lines, and it still remained
impossible to define the scope and aim of the new
church, as the visible embodiment of that religion
of liberty which had lain at the bottom of the
tyranny of dogma. The outcome of this vagueness
and indecision was that many Roman Catholics, who,
while favourably disposed to a broader conception
of Christianity, were by no means ready to relin-
quish Catholicism itself turned away; 'Deutsch-
Katholizismus;' and that some who desired to see
no further dealings with Christianity allied them-
selves with the new movement. Ronge's incapacity
for grappling with this critical state of affairs soon
became evident to all, and, as there was no leading
spirit to step into his place, the cause soon lost all
its attractive power. After 1847, indeed, Ronge
was a spent force in public life. He died at Vienna
in 1887; Czerski, in 1893.
3. The 'Friends of Light' (Lichtfreunde).—The subsequent development of 'German Catholicism' reached its final stage in close connection with the history of the 'Friends of Light'—a parallel movement among Protestants which had sprung up in 1841. In that year certain Evangelical clergy in the Prussian province of Saxony instituted a society which claimed for its members the right of unrestricted scientific investigation and of complete freedom in personal development. They called themselves Protestant Friends, but were popularly known as Lichtfreunde, which became their accepted designation. Their meetings were thronged; the number of divines resorting to them constantly increased; teachers also began to attend, and soon the laity followed. As the leaders of the movement were clergymen of the National Church, collision with the ecclesiastical authorities was inevitable. In 1840 the consistorium of Magdeburg reprimanded a minister named Sintenis for having spoken of prayer to Christ as a superstition. Sentence of deposition was passed upon G. A. W. Wilke in Magdeburg and of Konigsberg; while others, such as W. E. Bultzer and A. T. Wilsicenus, anticipated formal dismissal by voluntarily abandoning their office. In all these cases the point at issue was essentially the same, viz., whether the law of the respective States should be permitted to take an independent attitude towards the doctrine and the order of public worship recognized as statutory in the National Church. The claim of liberty was obviously against the law as established. Protests were received, however, they were a matter of profound significance for the whole Evangelical Church of Germany, as the clergymen in question did not stand alone, but were supported by larger or smaller groups of members. The process of development of the church discipline was followed by secessions from the Established Church, and disaffected congregations were formed in Konigsberg, Halte, Magdeburg, Nordhausen, Halberstadt, Hanburg, and other places.  

4. Relations between the 'Friends of Light' and the 'German Catholics' down to 1858.—These two bodies soon developed intimate mutual relations to such a degree that both bodies coalesced within Protestantism and the other within Catholicism did not constitute a ground of difference, as it lay in the very nature of both movements to attenuate all the peculiar elements of the creed, and to deprecate them as of value generally assigned to them. This latter were at one time or another in the course of freedom and progress, and in both the more radical section, which aimed at disengaging religion from the prevailing ecclesiastical conditions, gained the upper hand. Between the two, accordingly, there existed an essential affinity, and it was due to something more than critical considerations that they showed a tendency to come together. The growth of this tendency was greatly hastened by the circumstance that both bodies suffered alike from the coercive measures of the public authorities; it was, in fact, persecution from the side of the various governments which brought about their union.

Where the governments of the different States regarded 'Free Protestants' and 'German Catholics' alike with suspicion, seeing in both an embodiment of the revolutionary spirit which made itself felt throughout Germany in the early forties of the 19th century. The practical expression of this猜疑 was at one time or another in many forms, and every method of repression permitted by the legal systems of the several States was resorted to. In some cases the new sects were treated as illicit religious associations, while in others the designation 'religious associations' was denied them; in many districts they were simply let alone; in others they were proceeded against with all the rigours of the law. The Revolution of 1848 put an end to this state of things and gave complete liberty of action to the 'Friends of Light' and the 'German Catholics' alike. The immediate effect of the change, in the case of the former at least, was a notable increase in the number of their congregations. This was more particularly the case in Middle and North Germany, and here it became evident that the dissentient cause found its most fruitful soil in urban populations. Another characteristic phenomenon was that the membership of the various congregations was subject to frequent and sudden fluctuations, while the lines of demarcation between 'Free Protestants' and 'German Catholics' became more and more unsettled. These facts render it difficult to obtain accurate statistics regarding the numerical strength of the movements. We must restrict ourselves to the statement that, according to the most reliable authorities, the combined membership of the two bodies during the period of their greatest vogue, i.e., before 1848 and after 1867, may be reckoned approximately at 150,000. The closeness of the relations between the two may be gauged by the fact that the third 'German Catholic' Council and the third 'Free Protestant' Conference met in the same year, 1848. The opening of the Second Empire, on the other hand, appeared to aim at suppressing all liberal tendencies in State and Church, thus inaugurating the 'period of reaction.' As both the 'Friends of Light' and the 'German Catholics' lay under suspicion, and were regarded as illegal and clerical organizations, the governments of the State, the governments resorted to every available means to render impossible the continued existence of these bodies. The first blow in the revived policy of repression was struck on the occasion of the double Convention at Leipzig in 1850. Just as the proceedings were about to begin, the police appeared upon the scene and broke up the meetings, and within the next few years all the States of Germany adopted measures against which this incensed the 'Friends of Light.' The ruthless procedure of the Prussian government in particular provoked the indignation of its victims. Even the religious services of the Free Congregations were interrupted by soldiers. Such of the judicial acts of these governments as were rendered known being that civil life were not recognized by the legislature, so that, for instance, marriages performed by them were treated as mere illicit unions. They were forbidden to celebrate the Eucharist; a rigorous examination was ordered for confirmation, or to officiate at funerals. This policy of persecution, however, was finally abandoned when Prince Wilhelm of Prussia (afterwards Emperor Wilhelm I.), in consequence of the illness of his brother, Friedrich Wilhelm IV., assumed the regency in 1858. Thereafter the 'Friends of Light' and the 'German Catholics' were able to maintain and develop their position without let or hindrance from the authorities.  

5. 'German Catholics' and Free Congregations after 1858.—In 1850 the majority of the two bodies brought the friendly relations long subsisting between them to a focus in a corporate union, thus forming the Association of Free Religious Communities (Freikirchenverband, later 'religiöse Gemeinden'). The biennial Conference of representatives from the various congregations was instituted; but the resolutions of this Conference have the validity of 'councils' merely, and apply only to questions of organization. The individual congregation accordingly has absolute freedom in the management of
its own affairs, as is meanwhile guaranteed by the constitution of the society, which provides that 'freedom to act in all religious matters according to one's own increasing knowledge' shall be one of its own accepted principles. The object of the society is set forth as 'the promotion of a practical religion independent of dogma.' In 1890 the Union embraced 24 congregations with an aggregate of 17,000 members. Twenty-four congregations with some 5890 members remained outside the Union. The majority of the original 'German Catholic' communities joined the 'Bund,' and many of these kept alive the memory of their origin by continuing to use the old name, either by itself or in conjunction with the designation freireligiöse. Amongst other appellations still in use are 'Christian Catholic' and 'Free Christian,' and even 'Bund Evangelical Catholic Church.' It is no longer possible, therefore, to draw a sharp distinction between 'German Catholicism' and the Free Religious Communities. It is only the 'Kingdom of Saxony' that the former has chosen to maintain its independence in an organized form. 'The German Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Saxony' has a membership of about 2000, and is represented in Dresden, Leipzig, and Chemitz among early large congregations.

We learn from these figures that the movement, which originated in the early forties of the 19th cent., embraces at the present day a very insignificant portion of all Protestantism. The new society soon lost its better educated adherents, and it now appears to find its main support amongst working people who have left the State Churches. The Free Religious Communities form the residual elements of an originally powerful movement, and now to their continued themselves in the horns of a practical dilemma. On the one hand, they must renounce all definite formulation of doctrine, in order to avoid falling back into the dogmatic Church; on the other hand, they condemn in other Churches; while, on the other hand, for the work of instruction, of preaching, and of gaining new members, they cannot well do without distinct principles expressive of their actual religious beliefs. In consequence of this embarrassment, the Free Religious Communities show great diversity in practice. Some still make use of the Scriptures in religious instruction; some still maintain their adherence at least to Christian ethics; but there are others who has abandoned all connexion with Christianity whatever, and take the forms of instruction, of preaching, of gaining new members, they cannot well do without distinct principles expressive of their actual religious beliefs. In consequence of this embarrassment, the Free Religious Communities show great diversity in practice. Some still make use of the Scriptures in religious instruction; some still maintain their adherence at least to Christian ethics; but there are others who has abandoned all connexion with Christianity whatever, and take the forms of instruction, of preaching, and of gaining new members, they cannot well do without distinct principles expressive of their actual religious beliefs. In consequence of this embarrassment, the Free Religious Communities show great diversity in practice. Some still make use of the Scriptures in religious instruction; some still maintain their adherence at least to Christian ethics; but there are others who has abandoned all connexion with Christianity whatever, and take the forms of instruction, of preaching, of gaining new members, they cannot well do without distinct principles expressive of their actual religious beliefs.

The Lord's Supper continues to be observed in many congregations, but Baptism has been set aside. The course of religious instruction is brought to a close by a sort of confirmation, or 'initiation of the young' (Jugendwese), which forms the gateway to full membership in the community. In this ordinance the candidates for confirmation are given a pledge that they will seek truth, do right, and live after a perfect manner. Thus the Christian element still persists in these communities in no longer the vital factor for them, and their past history goes to show that in course of time they will eliminate it altogether.


**DEVADATTA.**—A Sakya noble, probably a cousin of the Buddha, who joined the Order in the 20th year of the Buddha's movement, but held opinions of his own, both in discipline and in doctrine, at variance with those inculcated by the Master. He received a certain amount of support, both within the Order and from laymen, but seems to have remained quite a. in years before the death of the Buddha. At that date he was induced to retire in his favour, and, being refused, stood a new Order of his own. It is curious that those dissensions, and this final rupture, which must have had such an important influence on the early history of the Buddhist community (if the traces of them a thousand years afterwards), should receive so slight a notice in the earliest documents relating to Buddhist doctrine. Devadatta is not even mentioned in the Sutta Nikaya, or in the collection of longer Dialogues (the Digha Nikaya). In the other three collections of Suttas he is a few times barely referred to, in the discussion of some ethical proposition, as an example. In the minds of the editors of these collections the doctrine itself seemed so much more largely than original or historical matter, that Devadatta and his schism are all but ignored: but in the oldest collection of the rules of the Order (in the Pali Vinaya), under the head of 'Kapphila,' a chapter is devoted to the final episode in Devadatta's life. The story of the movement of the matter will therefore be most conveniently divided into: (1) the Vinaya account, (2) the isolated passages in the early books of doctrine, and (3) the later narratives.

1. The Vinaya account.—This is in the 18th bhikkhukhita (chapter) of the Sutta Vibhaiga, relating to dismissions in the Order. It commences with an account of the circumstances under which six young monks of the Sakya clan, one of whom was Devadatta, entered the Order together.

This must have been in the 20th year of the Buddha's ministry, as shown by a comparison of Theragatha, 1598, with Fl. ii. 226. The latter passage tells us that Ananda (one of the six) attained arahatship in the year of the Buddha's death; the former states that he had been 25 years in the Order before he died. Twenty-five years before the Buddha's death brings us up to the 20th year of his ministry.

Throughout the passage in question the details given concern the others. At the end it is stated that, whereas each of the other five soon attained to some particular stage of the religious life, Devadatta attained to that magic power and charm which a worldly man may stand upon only after a long period of searching. He then proceeds to Rajagaha, where the brethren inform him of Devadatta's prosperity. In reply, the Buddha discourses on the text that pride goeth before a fall, and concludes with a verse on honour ruining the true man.

In the next episode Devadatta asks the Buddha, in the presence of the king, to give up to him the...
devadatta

leadership of the Order, on the ground that the Buddha is now an old man. He is refused, and a formal act of the Chapter of the Order declares that, in future, whatever he may do, Devadatta shall be considered by the people as acting or speaking, not as a member of the Order, but for himself alone. Then Devadatta incites the Crown Prince to kill his father, and to help himself to the Buddha. The various attempts, all of which are unsuccessful, are described in detail.

There follows an episode in which Devadatta, with four adherents, whose names are given, lays before the Order five points which are incorporated in the rules of the Order. They are: (1) that the bhikkhus should dwell in the woods, (2) that they should live entirely by begging, (3) that their clothing should be exclusively made of cast-off rags; (4) that the houses in which they live should be like bhikkhu huts, and (5) that they should not eat fish or meat.

The existing rules were more elastic. It will be sufficient here to state roughly that: (1) bhikkhus were not to dwell in the woods during the rainy season—it was considered unhealthy; at other seasons they might wander about, or dwell in hermitages in the woods or forests. (2) they might beg, or accept invitations, or live on food provided at the residences of bhikkhus; (3) they might receive presents of clothing, made either personally to one bhikkhu or to the group, or to the community, or to the house where except in houses of the laity, and even there they might stay for a limited period, if on a journey; (4) they might accept any food or drink they might catch or kill for the purpose of the meal. The five points recur at Vin. iii. 171, and are therefore probably correct.

The five points were rejected. Devadatta rejoiced, and told the people that, whereas Gautama and his bhikkus were luxurious and lived in the enjoyment of abundance, he and his would abide by the strict rules of the five points. Five hundred of the younger bhikkhus accepted tickets that he issued, and joined his party. The success of the schism seemed assured.

The following and final episode introduces Devadatta, surrounded by a great number of adherents, discussing with his disciples, Sāriputta and Moggallāna, the principal disciples of Gautama, are seen approaching. On seeing them, Devadatta exults, and, in spite of a warning from Kokkālīka, he bids them welcome, and they take their seats. Devadatta makes an unlimiter but conventional speech, stretching his length far into the night. Then, feeling tired, he asks Sāriputta to lead the assembly while he rests. Devadatta falls asleep. Sāriputta leads the talk on the subject of preaching, and then Moggallāna leaves the subject of the talk. Sāriputta suggests that those who approve should return to the Buddha, and most of the assembly do so. Kokkālīka awakes Devadatta, points out what has happened, and says, 'I warned you.' Then hot blood comes forth from Devadatta's mouth. Sāriputta, on his return, proposes that the renegades who had come back should be readmitted to the Order. This Gantuana declares unnecessary, and the chapter closes with eulogizing discourse. First, we have a parable of the elephant who ate dirt and lost their beauty and died. Just so will Devadatta die. Then the eight qualifications of one worthy to be an emissary are pointed out. Next, the eight qualifications of Devadatta, which doom him to remain for an eon (kappra) in states of suffering and woe, are given. Finally, another paragraph gives three reasons for the same result.

It is probable, from the details, that the eight have been elaborated; the three, no doubt, to match the Devadatta's qualifications parallel in number with those of Sāriputta, the ideal emissary.

isolated passages.—In Majjhima, i. 192 a Suttanta is dated as having been delivered shortly after Devadatta went away. Not a word is said about him; but the discourse discusses the object of religion, which, it is said, should be cultivated, not for the sake of gain or honour, not for the sake of virtue, not for the sake of mystic concentration, not for the sake of knowledge, but which has its being in emancipation of mind.

The objects here rejected are precisely those for which, in the Vinaya passages, Devadatta is said to have striven. At Majjhima, i. 392, a Jain is urged to put Gāntana on the dharmarāja (Devadatta) to kill the Buddha. The passage is important, because it shows that, before the time when the Dialogues were composed, and a fortiori before the time when the Vinaya account arose, the episode about the future fate of Devadatta was already in existence, and was widely known in the community, and even outside of it.

The Milinda (p. 107 ff.) has a greatly altered and expanded version of this 'double horned dilemma'; and it is probable that the whole of the dilemma portion of that interesting work is based on the schism of the dilemma in this Sutta.

The Sarīputta (at ii. 240-242) has the episode of honour bringing ruin to the mean man, in the same words as Vin. ii. 188, but divided into two stories; and at i. 153 it puts the concluding verse of that episode into the mouth of the god Pārśivā. At the beginning of the Vin. i. 156 Devadatta and his followers are called 'men of evil desire.' In four passages the Anguttara has, word for word, episodes occurring in the Vinaya account. Besides these, it discusses at iii. 402 the statement about the impossibility of even befall Devadatta; and at iv. 402 ff. it discloses a view held by Devadatta that it was concentration of mind (and not the ethical training of the 'Aryan Path') that made a man an arhat.

This is the only one of these isolated passages in the oldest books which really adds anything to our knowledge of Devadatta. In the later books of the Canon there are two or three more references to him. Thus the episode at Vin. ii. 198 recurs at Udāna, v. 8, and that at Vin. ii. 203 at Itivuttaka, no. 80, and at Udāna, i. 5. Devadatta's name is included in a list of eleven leaders in the Order who are called buddha, 'awakened.' This is the only passage in the Canon which speaks of Devadatta with approval; and in none of these periods belongs to the schism. Lastly, in Vin. i. 115 it is said that Devadatta, before the rule to the contrary had been promulgated, allowed the local chapter of the Order, when the Pātimokkha was being recited, to have his confession of guilt. H. Oldenberg has shown, in the Introduction to his edition of the Vinaya, that the word, as we now have it, is composed of material belonging to three periods, the oldest of which goes back nearly, if not quite, to the time of the Buddha. The chapter analyzed above belongs to the latest of these periods. The episode found also in other parts of the Canon belong to the earliest period. The summary at the beginning of this article is based exclusively on such episodes.

3. the later notices.—In books later than the Canon, the above story of Devadatta is often told or referred to, and with embellishments which purport to add details not found in the earlier versions.

In addition to the standard story, there is one additional detail which is regarded with suspicion: namely, some are evidently added merely to heighten the edification of the narrative, all are some centuries later than the alleged facts they, for the first time, record. It will be sufficient to mention a few of the most striking.

The Mahāvastu, iii. 176, and the Mahāvamsa, ii. 21, give contradictory accounts of Devadatta's parentage. Had these two traditions (the former hand only exists in the Ganges texts, the other in Ceylon) agreed, the evidence might have been accepted. The Milinda (at p. 101) states that Devadatta was swallowed up by the earth; and

1 Aṭṭ. ii. 73; Sakh. ii. 33; Vin. ii. 185; Aṭṭ. iii. 123; Vin. ii. 185; Aṭṭ. iv. 199; and again 484 = Vin. i. 502.
DEVAYANA

(at p. 111) that, at the moment of his death, he took refuge in the Buddha. Both traditions were accepted in Ceylon in the 5th century A.D. (see the commentary on the Dharmasamudra, i. 147). A statement of Fa Hien's (Legge's tr., p. 60) shows that the first of these traditions was still current in India at the end of the 4th cent. A.D. The same authority (p. 62) tells us that they had still, at that time, followers of Devadatta who paid honour to the three previous Buddhas, but not to Gautama. This is possibly confirmed by Yuan Chwang, more than two centuries later, and in another locality; but Watters (ii. 190) thinks that the pilgrim himself may have supplied the name Devadatta. Yuan Chwang elsewhere (Watters, i. 339) credits Devadatta with the murder of the nun Uppala-vanṇā; but we have no confirmation of this unlikely story, and it depends probably on a Chinese misunder-
standing of some Indian text. We have two 5th cent. biographies of Uppala-vanṇā, and it occurs in neither.


T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

DEVAYANA.—This term in ancient Vedic thought and speculation denoted the path or paths leading to the gods, the road which the gods themselves were wont to traverse in their descent or ascent between heaven and earth. In the earliest literature of India it formed part of the recognized terminology of the priests and poets; and it passed through a long course of development and refinement, during which it gained clearness of definition, and was brought into relation with other movements of religious thought. In a lower, more popular, mechanical sense, devayana was also the car or vehicle (yajña) of a god; but no special significance or importance seems to have attached to this use of the word. The correlative to devayana, the way of the gods, was pitṛyāna, the path of the ancestors, which assumed importance only in the later speculation, and perhaps was consciously invented on the analogy of the former word, to express an inferior path or process, at a time when yajña was highly specialized and appropriated to the conception of a higher or the highest degree of bliss.

Hence in origin at least both terms belong to a lower stratum or form of religious belief, and are conceived in a material or semi-material sense. The term pitṛyāna especially answered to the primitive and wide-spread conception of the life after death, which pictures it as a meagre con-
finement of the present, reproducing the conditions and occupations of worldly existence, where the ancestors dwell in weal or woe according to their deserts, but where all is more or less unreal and speculative, and the prospect exerts no determining influence on the actions or conduct of the present individual. As the word devayana, almost from the very beginning, the term devayana, so soon as it was interpreted in the human sphere of the fortunes and destinies of men, was conceived apparently in a higher and more ethical sense, and for the most part connoted Divine escort, companionship, or guardian care, on a road which had its termination in a paradise of blessedness and good; the elements and conditions of which conception were necessarily contributed by earthly experiences, and the pleasures enjoyed were those of earth, renewed, how-
ever, in a more or less etherealized and exalted form in fellowship with beneficent and righteous gods. The travellers by the pitṛyāna attained only to a lower goal, where the superhuman associates were at the best the gods of the lower world, but where the company was for the most part those mortal men who had preceded them on the path. These all shared the same colourless and temporary existence, from which they were to tread the same cycle of renewed birth, life, and death, in this world. Thus finally, with the growth of speculation with regard to the future, and the consciousness of merit and demerit attaching to conduct and penalty, the ways of the gods and of the fathers were brought into association with the great Indian doctrines of saṁātāra, 'transmigration,' and inevitable karna; and were incorporated into the rich store of Indian beliefs that had reference to the life beyond the grave.

The earliest conception of a 'path of the gods' is to be found in the hymns of the Rigveda. There apparently it is always associated with Agni, the divine priest, the guide and messenger of the gods. Agni—both the sacrificer and the sacrificial flame—bears the offerings to the gods, and conducts the gods to receive the offerings which are prepared for them. He knows the path that leads to the gods, and is the true messenger of the gods. (ii. 12. 3, 3, 2; 'That same path 2 leads either to the gods or to the fates.' On both sides two Messengers are recognized: they search him who deserves to be selected, and allow him to pass who deserves to pass.')

The way was prepared for the philosophical development which the doctrine received in the Upaniṣads and later systems of Indian thought and teaching. The purification which the soul underwent to fit it for the communion and company of the gods was conceived as a process not completed in one act or at one time, but carried on through a series of gradated stages or degrees; and it was only at its close that the emancipated soul was admitted to the fullness of bliss.

The earliest enumeration of the 'stations' on the two paths is found in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (v. 10. 1):

'Those who know this (i.e. the so-called doctrine of the five stages, and the latter path as men after death, see note), and those who in the forest follow faith and austerity (śamāna) enter into the flame, from the flame to the sky, from the sky to the height of the moon, from the height of the moon to the six months of the sun's northward movement, from the six months to the year, from the year to the sun, from the sun to the moon, from the moon to the lightning,'

'They are led to Brahman; and it is further

1 Riggs, i. 72, 7, cit. of 2, 4, f. 1, cit. of Atharv. iii. 15, 2, etc.; and, for the paths between heaven and earth, which Agni knows (Riggs, vi, 13. 4, f. 11, etc.), see Meded. Vereen. Mythology, Strassburg, 1887, p. 35 ff.

2 i.e. the funeral fire; see SBE xii. 257 and note; and cit. of Sat. Brahman, xiii. 3. 3. 4.
explained that this is the way of the gods, from which is born (cf. iv. 15).—

* But they who live in a village (yajnattaha) practice sacrifices and slaying, enter into the smoke, from the smoke to the name of the god or the dark half of the month, from the dark half of the moon to the six months of the sun’s southward movement. But they do not reach the year. From the months they go to the world of the fathers, from the world of the fathers to the ether, from the ether to the moon. . . . Having dwelt therefrom of the good (v.15-5) ①

The same Upaniṣad uses an explanation of the fact that the moon appears as a station on both paths. On the devayāna it occupies a place beyond the sun, intermediary between that and the lightning, but in the half of the Brahman.

1. Those who know neither of these paths become worms, birds, and biting things. ③

A further question much discussed had reference to the qualifications necessary for those who on the higher path attain to light and immortality. The primary qualification was universally admitted to be knowledge, i.e. knowledge of the supreme or Brahman. Difference of opinion, however, appears to have excited the main question as to the degree of knowledge the possession of which would admit of ceived into the moon is an ancient and widely accepted view, and probably accounts for the position which the moon occupies as a station common to the two paths.

The world of Vyāga, and thence through the worlds of Indra and Prajñā-pādi to the abode of Brahman.

Having identified the passage in the Upaniṣad (v. 15), I explain at length the philosophy of the Brahman. The author of the Kaṇḍ. Up. appears to regard the moon as a testing-place or opportunity for the highest saints determined by the degree of knowledge which the disembodied soul is proved to possess. The wise find a permanent home; the ignorant are dismissed to a new earthly existence which is graduated according to their deserts. ③

 Provision is also made for those who are ignorant of the ways, i.e. for out-castes who have no knowledge of the gods and no capacity or right to study the scriptures. Elsewhere, however, this ‘third place’ appears to be conceived as a lot of punishment or degradation reserved for those who, from the philosophical thought of India the two conceptions are not incompatible, and the latter, indeed, is almost necessarily an accompaniment of the former.

Verily, man, verily, verily, I say unto you, he that persisteth in the knowledge of the world’s end, and he that doeth not, he shall perish and be cast away. Verily, the journey of the soul is broad—black and white, wet and dry, height and depth, day and night. Verily, the soul of him that is without fear is颜色.”
The same question of qualifications for the higher path, the path that led to Brahmān without return, was considered in relation to the doctrine of the yoga (g.v.). Bhāg. Gītā, viii, 24 f. appears to suggest that the immediate destiny of the yogvin, or ascetic, depends upon the time of death, whether in the half or the latter third of the northern or southern progress of the sun (SBE viii, 80 f.). Rāmacandra, however, rejects this inference, and asserts that the text enjoins on all yogins the duty of daily meditation on the two paths, quoting in proof of his contention the words that follow: 'no yogin who knows these two paths is deluded' (ib. viii, 27). The text, therefore, has no reference to the time or season of the year at which death takes place (SBE xlvii, 472 f.).

Anomalous as the development of doctrine took place in harmony with the teaching of the Vedānta, and the importance attached to knowledge of the highest Brahmān, the supreme knowledge (parā vidyā), as the one avenue of escape from attachment to the world and the possibilities of rebirth. Those, on the other hand, who were possessed only of the lower degree of knowledge (aparā vidyā), the knowledge of the Brahman nirguna ('endowed with qualities'), were still entangled in the snare of delusion and liable for a long time to be reborn. It became, then, necessary to find a link of connexion between the new metaphysics which exalted the secret esoteric wisdom, and the older authoritative teaching of the two ways. It was not possible, however, without a certain liberalization of the knowledge of Brahmān even in an inferior degree departed on the devayāna, the path of the gods, or to consign them to a lower destiny; for all such the scripture declared that there was no return. A solution of the difficulty was found in the doctrine of the kramamuktī, 'emancipation by steps or stages.' The question is discussed by Sāṅkara on Ved. Sūt. iii, 3, 29 (SBE xxxviii, 231–235; cf. ib. 124 f.), where and explains that a twofold meaning underlies the phrase 'going on the path of the gods.' In the case of those possessed of the highest knowledge, the knowledge of the unqualified Brahmān (nirguna), it is a mere phrase; for they are already in union with Brahmān, and by reason of their position in any path to which that end. But all who have only the knowledge of the qualified Brahmān (saguna) advance on that road. And, since it is said that they attain to Brahmān and do not return, it is for this reason that this path is called 'devayāna': Brahmān they eventually win perfect enlightenment and gain the highest knowledge. During this period of probation and imperfect knowledge the soul is in possession of complete bliss and unrestrained capacities of will power, etc. (āśīrayogā).

As it approaches the highest light, it finds itself, assumes a new form, and is truly and finally set free. This is the doctrine of the kramamuktī. And it is further explained that all thus enter into absolute and final emancipation at the end of the world-cycle.

A variety of the teaching concerning the paths, which is merely an elaboration of the doctrine of the two roads, and remained without further significance or development, postulated four paths from earth to the gods, which were explained as corresponding to four forms of sacrifice. Both the restriction (SBE xviii, 650–652); also on ib. 1, 17 f., iv, 3, 1 f., where the two paths are discussed, and are said to be dependent upon intellectual and works (SBE xviii, 594 f., 744 f.; see also Sāṅkara, loc. cit.).

1 Cf. also Rāmacandra on Ved. Sūt. iv, 4, 3, 7 (SBE xviii, 755 f.); Dāṇḍin, Ārya Dīpikā, Phāla, pp. 228 f. (400 f.). The Sāṅkṣārastra Upādhyāya contains a supposition or pre-ordination of the doctrine: 'When that god is known, all fetters fall off, sufferings are destroyed, and birth and death cease. From meditating on him there arises, on the dissolution of the body, the third state, that of universal lordship (āśīrayogā); but he who only is alone is satisfied' (Sūt. Up. i, 11).
DEVELOPMENT (Biological)

ated with sexual maturity. The fact is that, in studying development, we are considering the living creature in its time-relations, and definition is a matter of convenience. In the present article we propose to restrict ourselves for the most part to the problems of embryonic development.

Let us state very briefly some of the outstanding facts of development. We know that the germ-cells, and their nuclei in particular, form the physical basis of hereditary phenomena, at least the mode of development; that a genetic continuity is kept up from generation to generation by a lineage of unspecialized germ-cells, which do not share in body-making; that this accounts for like tending to be inherited; that fertilization is an intimate and orderly union of two individualities, condensed and integrated for the time being in the ovum and the spermatozoon; that the spermatozoon, besides being the bearer of the paternal half of the inheritable materials as a liberating stimulus, contributes to the egg nucleus and introduces into the ovum a peculiar little body, the centrosome, which plays an important part in the subsequent division of the fertilized egg-cell. We know that the mode of all development is by the division of nuclei and the development out of the living matter into unit-areas or cells, each presided over by a nucleus; that differentiation comes about very gradually, the obviously complex stage of the egg-plant being simple; that paternal and maternal characteristics, as far as the nuclei of the germ-cells bear these—are distributed in exact equality by the nuclear or cellular divisions, and that the paternal and maternal contributions thus form the warp and woof of the web which we call the organism, though the expression or realization of the bi-parental heritage varies greatly in individual cases. In many cases the parental contributions seem to include ancestral traits, which may be found in development or may lie latent. We know that development is a regular sequence of events which requires, stage by stage, an appropriate external environment; that there are continual interactions between the developing organism and its environment; and that there are continual mutual adjustments of the different constituents of the developing organism. In certain aspects the development appears like the building-up of a mosaic out of many independently hereditary parts of the organism; in other aspects it appears as the expression of an integrated unity, with subtle correlations between the parts, and with remarkable regulative processes working towards an unconsciously predetermined end. We know also that in a general way the individual development of organs often progresses from stage to stage in a manner which suggests a recapitulation of the steps in the presumed racial evolution.

It may be said that the data for the study of development are threefold, viz. (a) embryologists have worked out the sequence of stages in the development of a large number of types; (b) experimentalists have shown in a variety of instances that particular changes in the external conditions are followed by particular changes in the developing organism; and (c) students of heredity have distinguished various modes of inheritance which obtain, such as 'blended' and 'Mendelian.' The facts known to us are many and various, as we have briefly indicated, and they are continuously increasing in precision and penetration; yet it seems doubtful whether we have got much nearer an understanding of development as Aristotle, to whom facts were so few. It seems as if his de Generatione remained the most important contribution to the subject. How little light we have to shed not in regard to the deep problems of development, such as those suggested by the following questions: How are the heritable characteristics of the race summed up potentially within the minute germ-cells? How do they gradually manifest themselves in the individual organism? And what we call differentiation results? What is the nature of the compelling necessity that mints and cobs of the chaff are dropped out of a living organism? What is the regulative principle of the development of the many-structured organism? Is there some sort of the fully formed organism, and if so, what are the results of which the theory of development must be consistent. Thus there are numerous inquiries into the external factors of development, such as light, temperature, oxygen, and even various properties of the nutritive medium. Experiments are devised which alter or remove one factor at a time, and the significance of the factor is inferred from the resulting changes, transient or permanent, in the developing organism. It appears that an organism in an appropriate environment, that changes in this environment may occur without permanent prejudicial effects on the organism, but that the latitude of endurable change varies greatly for different types of organisms or less plastic than others. It appears that some of the environmental factors, like oxygen and water, are analogous to nutrition; that others, like the osmotic pressure or the presence of calcium salts in the water, are conditions of embryonic coherence; that others, like light and heat, are accelerants and inhibitors; and that particular combinations of factors are required as the 'liberating stimuli' of particular characters in development. But it does not appear, however, that we can speak of the environmental factors as being in any other sense directive.

A second kind of inquiry asks, What in point of fact goes on in the development of the fertilized egg-cell? We know that there is an expression of the inheritance that is just another spelling of the word development; but what processes are known to occur? This is an inquiry into the physiology of development. In the young department of science, too young for safe generalization. It is also difficult to disentangle the physiology of growth from that of development, yet every one is agreed that mere growth is not development. What processes are known to occur? (a) We know of various sets of chemical changes significant in different ways. Thus, to cite three different cases, the fermentative changes in seeds make the legacy of nutritive reserves available; the anabolic formation of nucleic substances seems to bring about cell-division; the diffusion of the products of internal secretion certainly affords the liberating stimulus to certain previously unexpressed parts of the inheritance, for instance the sex of the sprout. (b) We know also of a continuous succession of cell-divisions. That, indeed, is how all development goes on. The original idea of Roux, that there is qualitative nuclear division, shuffling the pack of inherited materials, has regard to development are many, and various, as we have briefly indicated, and they are continuously increasing in precision and penetration; yet it seems doubtful whether we have got much nearer an understanding of development, such as those suggested by the following questions: How are the heritable characteristics of the race summed up potentially within the minute germ-cells? How do they gradually manifest themselves in the individual organism? And what we call differentiation results? What is the nature of the compelling necessity that mints and cobs of the chaff are dropped out of a living organism? What is the regulative principle of the development of the many-structured organism? Is there some
A third line of investigation concerns the initial structure of the germ, and one result stands out—that in many cases the egg-cell contains pre-formed, sometimes pre-localized, organ-forming substances, which, by the process of differentiation, should develop into the corresponding structure, should development proceed. Thus, the old view of the ovum as homogeneous and isotropic has given way before experimental proof of heterogeneity. It may be that, in the heterogeneous, anisotropic cytoplasm of the egg, there is the foundation of the progressive differentiation that follows, and it may be, as Driesch and Boveri suggest, that the dividing nuclei—each a microcosm—are differently stimulated to expression in different areas of the cytoplasm, and hence they call forth new differentiations in these, in ever-increasing complexity of action and reaction.

Another line of investigation inquires into the natural influences of the parts of the developing organism. An egg divides into a ball of cells (or blastomeres), and it seems reasonable to suppose—what experiment confirms—that the prospective value of a particular blastomere depends on its position in the developing organism. If a colony of polymorphic Hydroids, such as Hydractinia, it is probable that the prospective value of any young poly—whether it is to become nutritive, reproductive, or sensory—depends, in part at least, on its position in the colony. It is not, however, in the development of an embryo, it is probable that there are subtler than spatial correlations between the developing cells or groups of cells. Driesch has especially emphasized this idea of the mutual stimulation of developing parts. Further research is necessary before we can securely estimate the action of parts upon one another. This, indeed, brings us right up against one of the distinctive riddles of development—that there is, on the one hand, so much inter-dependence of parts, and yet, on the other hand, so much power of self-differentiation.

In regard to the question so often asked, whether we can understand development in terms of chemistry and physics, the scientific answer must be that we cannot at present in the very least describe embryonic development—that wonderful individual unpacking of a racial treasure-box—in terms of chemistry and physics. There are chemical and physical processes underlying the course of development, but toward study, but a knowledge of them does not help us greatly to understand the result. There is nothing known in regard to development that is at variance with the conclusions of chemistry and physics, but we cannot give a purely chemical rendering of the observed facts. Nowhere is the autonomy of Biology clearer than here. Driesch in particular has done great service in showing that mechanistic formulae will not suffice when we come to deal with organic development, notably when we consider the localization of the various successive steps of differentiation. But many who are at one with him on that point are unable to follow the constructive hypothesis of an entelechy which exerts a directive influence on the transformations of energy that go on in development.


J. ARTHUR THOMSON.

DEVELOPMENT (Mental).—I. Introduction.

During and after the period of bodily growth and development, from infancy to adult life, the individual gradually acquires and completes his mental powers. The study of mental development has as its aim to determine the conditions which govern this gradual process, and its successive stages both in the way of attainment of special functions or capacities. It has been remarked that, while some of the lowest animals are born 'grown up,' being able from the first to secure food for themselves and otherwise to live a life similar to that of the adult, we ascend the scale of animal life the longer is the period of immaturity, infancy, or development which the individual undergoes. This is not a mere accident: the length of infancy has a direct relation to the age of the animal’s species in the evolutionary scale, in other words, to the complexity of its structure and functions, the variety of its adaptation to environment, and especially the degree of plasticity, power of modifying behaviour, which it possesses. The argument applies equally to the physical and the mental aspects of evolution.

Comparative tables show that the ratio of the period of immaturity to that of the adult life, which is an increasingly small fraction as we ascend the scale: thus chimpanzee, 1:16; chimp, 1:16; dog, 1:16; cat, 1:16; rat, 1:16; rabbit, 1:11; guinea-pig, 1:13. (Chamberlin [after Hollis and Bell], The Child, ch. 4). The same differences are to be observed from the human savage, or barbarian, Papuan, Fuegian, Bushman, Eskimo, is adult, and begins to take a man’s or woman’s part in the tribal work, at from 10 to 15 years. It is evident that the date of perfect maturity has been progressively advancing to 21, 25, and even 30 years for many of the races of man.

It must be supposed that the ordinary forces making for evolution have determined this increasing length of infancy and immaturity, the latter the following considerations: (1) Completed growth means rigidity; the more firmly a structure is organized, the more completely a habit is fixed by the organic mechanism, the more difficult it is for either structure or habit to be modified to suit new conditions; hence longer infancy means more gradual and therefore more effective adaptation to the general environment. (2) Completed development means completed adaptation to a number of special forces in the environment; the period of development is that during which selection occurs among the forces to which adaptation is to be made; thus longer infancy means ultimately more specialized adaptation to, and greater control over, the environment. (3) The main value of mental as contrasted with physical development is to give the individual a mastery of the means of economizing behavior—by selective attention, by language, by technical skill, by thinking, abstraction, and reason—the mastery of those varied means of economizing experience which the race has in its evolution perfected; such powers cannot be transmitted by physical means be re-acquired by each individual by imitation or education; the longer development corresponds, therefore, to the greater refinement of these powers, which, with regard to physical structures as well as to mental achievements, the individual must by exercise and activity acquire even those functions for which it has no natural endowment. The simple structure does not become the complex organization, without effort on the individual’s part, whether or not the individual is supposed to pass through the same stages of growth as those by which its ancestral line has come down from simpler life-forms (recapitulation theory). Hence, the higher the evolution of the race, the longer must be the period occupied by the individual to reach its type (K. Groos, Play of Animals, ch. 2, Eng. tr., London, 1888; Chamberlain, op. cit., E. Claparède, Psychol. de l’enfant, chs. 2 and 4).

2. Relation of development to evolution.—The recapitulation theory, once accepted as almost a truism, has recently met with much criticism. It has been applied to mental development most frankly and vigorously by Stanley Hall and his school. According to these writers, there are three ways in which the individual reveals the story of his race. (1) There is the actually observed correspondence between the stages and order of development and those of races of more remote origin (that is, recapitulation). (2) There is the occasional appearance, even in adult normal life, of mental forms which are echoes of primitive mental stages; these occur more especially in states of mental weakness, fatigued condition, illness, hypnotism, sleep, hypnosis ("reverberations," reminiscences"). Our souls, like our bodies, represent the organized experiences of past ancestors: fears,
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affections, thoughts, which appear even in quite healthy states, may be 'rudimentary spectres' (Stetnard Hall) due to survivals from distant ages of man. (3) A given individual may show arrest of mental development, stopping short at a stage which the race in general has long since passed; in such a case we have a 'reversion,' or an atavism (q.v.), in which the characteristics of remote ancestors dominate, in the child's development, those derived from his parents or near ancestors. The mind, like the body, thus consists of segmentary divisions or strata derived from different periods of evolution; the older strata are naturally those which are most fixed and uniform throughout a race (e.g. the primitive instincts); the more recent strata are more variable in the different individuals (e.g. the forms of intellectual development); again, the older strata represent the foundation from which the more recent have been derived, and on which, therefore, the latter must be built up by the individual: hence not only does the individual, as a matter of fact, tend to develop along racial lines, but parents and teachers ought to encourage and stimulate the younger strata to a further adequate and proportional development of all the different powers ('culture-epoch theory').

The recapitulation theory has been defended (1) in the stages at which the different senses mature; (2) in the order in which abstract ideas are acquired, at which discrimination of the different qualities within the same sensory group appears; (3) in the appearance of the different instinctive activities; (4) in the play activities of children; (5) in the successive objects of imitation which children select for themselves; (6) in the stages of intelligent behaviour, and in the development of abstract thought; (7) in the development of emotion; (8) in language. The principle has been greatly over-driven by its supporters, and probably the development and evolution is limited to the broad general lines of development and evolution respectively. Special objections apply to the culture-epoch theory both as an interpretation of the facts of observation and as a basis for educational policy, but in the course of its discussion many valuable suggestions have been made. The child is not mentally, any more than physically, a mere miniature adult; its powers do not differ merely in quantity from those of the adult; they differ also in proportion and in kind.

Nature and nurture.—The question is still very far from settled as to the respective influence in development of factors which are present in the individual at birth, and of factors which come from the environment and operate from without. The arguments for the former, in the case of mental development, are: the tendency of the individual to reach the type or standard of his race, materially as physically; the remarkably close resemblances which the adult individual shows to his parents and nearer ancestors, in character as in body—a resemblance which is still greater, in the adult body, between parent and child when both are considered at the stage of infancy or childhood; and the phenomena of atavism, so far as they are certified. Such facts suggest that, as the bodily germ-cell contains elements, or at least conditions, by which the future growth of the individual body is determined, so the mental organism is determined along definite lines, with definite limits, and definite proportions between the parts, so the mind, or perhaps we should say the brain as the basis of mind, also has its development pre-determined from the first. In support of this the statistical observations of Galton, Pearson, Heymans, and others have been adduced on the resemblances and correlations between the mental capacities of different individuals and their parents or other members of their family.

The result of Galton's observations on the prevalence of eminence and genius in different families may be placed in this form: that the chances of an eminent relative being an eminent relative are as 1 to 4, while the chances that an ordinary man, or a man chosen at random without reference to eminence, will have an eminence relative is only as 1 to 4. Again, if both parents are artistic, the probability of a child being artistic is 2 to 1; while, if neither parent is artistic, the probability is 1 to 4. Another and later statement shows that, while 35 families, of a certain relatively high degree of eminence or capacity in the fathers, will contain at least 6 sons of the same capacity, as many as 5000 families of average or mediocre ability in the fathers will be required to furnish the same number of sons of that higher degree of eminence (F. Galton, Hereditary Genius, London, 1869, Natural Inheritance, London, 1895. For further references, see J. Arthur Thompson, Heredity, London, 1903).

Again, Karl Pearson dealt with families statistically in regard to such characteristics as intelligence, vivacity, originality, popularity, temper; he had previously compared them with respect to such factors as stature and capacity of skull, stature, etc. The application of the correlation-formula may be simply explained in this way, that if every brother had always the same colour of hair, then the correlation-index would be 100; if the brothers were no more different from each other than brothers who were such a law that in every case of two brothers was tall and the other short (of course in exact proportion), then the index would be ± 100. The index for Karl Pearson and Heymans for the hair was 0.54, for the skull 0.49, for the stature 0.51; while for the most characteristic different, the hair, the index was 0.52, in other words, practically the same as the physical index. These are comparatively high degrees of correlation, and suggest that the same cause has been operative in both cases considered in the statistical measurement. Now, it is quite obvious that post-natal conditions have nothing to do with the colour of the hair or with the size of the skull; hence it is equally unlikely, he argues, that the environment has anything to do with the intellect, or vice versa, of the individual. Later, more particular and accurate tests gave similar results, although the correlations were not quite so high; in any case, the brother of a bright child is much more likely to be bright than the brother of a dull child; brightness or dullness of any type is not a product of environment, and is not due to education or environment, and not only is it the general mental character that is inherited in this way, but even quite specific characteristics in the most extreme cases, as in twins and freaks, is inherited. If the question, see E. L. Thorndike, Educational Psychology, New York, 1906, ch. 6).

On the other side, Loeb and his school are able to produce an increasing mass of evidence showing that the development of the bodily organism, since it can be enormously modified by changes in the environment, is to a large extent directly due to the action of external forces. Hence the mental development may be a product of environment and opportunity rather than of innate factors. Thus, the conclusions of Galton and Pearson, for example, are insecure so long as we do not and cannot exclude the environmental influence: just as the children of parents who are able to have healthy bodies because of the sufficient and proper food which their parents (because of their healthiness) are able to provide them, so the children of mentally gifted parents tend also to be mentally gifted because of the adequate stimulation which they receive from the conversation, the life, the surroundings of their parents, and their parents' friends; it is a question not of innate, but of external, conditioning. See, further, art. HEREDITY.

3. Relation of mental to physical development: periods of development.—It has been shown (see BODY AND MIND, BRAIN AND MIND) that the development of the mental powers is in intimate

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relation with that of the bodily organs, and especially the brain.

The term 'development' is here used in a wide sense to cover both growth and developmental proper; strictly it is preferable to reserve 'growth' for increases in size or amount of tissue, while 'development' is reserved for increases in organization and connection of parts; but these processes occur simultaneously in physical development, and it is extremely difficult to draw any line between them in mental expansion.

The stages of physical growth and maturity have been utilized by the periods of childhood generally; broadly, we may take four periods of several years each: (1) childhood, from birth to 7 years (about the time of the completion of the second dentition); (2) the period of girlhood or boyhood, from the 7th to the 14th year; (3) the period of adolescence or growth, from the 14th to the 21st year; and (4) from the 21st to the 28th year, by which time the mental development, as well as the skeletal growth, is approximately completed. The first period is also divided into infancy (the first two years, a combination of first dentition) and childhood proper (to the 7th year).

(1) Characteristic of the first period are the development of the senses, which at first are extremely imperfect; rapid body and brain growth; the acquisition of the fundamental motor coordinations—walking, grasping, climbing, etc.—and the acquisition of speech; emotions are readily excited, but are of short duration; the prominent instincts are the self-preservation ones, experimental play; The second period is marked by a slower bodily growth; the brain is relatively fixed in its size and weight before the middle of this period, but undergoes rapid development or organization during the latter half of it; the acquisition of speech and logical thought, and the development of reasoning, are accompanied by susceptibility to emotional excitement; the individual is easily fatigued; bodily and mental habits are being formed and fixed; the beginnings of abstract thought and of self-consciousness present themselves; action is co-ordinated with reflective intelligence and thought. (3) In the third stage there is, again, at the beginning; a rapid advance in the important stage, which is followed by a period of slow growth to its completion at about 21; there is a strengthening of the social consciousness; greater interest is shown in adults and their work; it is also the period of idealism, of romance, and greatly increases in social development — 'storm and stress'; the mental powers begin to be definitely fixed and proportioned; even play takes a more serious form—in tests of endurance, self-control, skill, and ability. On this important period, see Stanley Hall's Adolescence, and art. Adolescence, vol. i. p. 101. (4) The last period referred to is that in which the general mental character is finally hardened or set. (On the problem of the faculties, see the historical summary in Chamberlain, ch. 4, or Clarke, ch. 4, par. 1). The development of the brain is peculiar in this respect, that at birth it bears a higher proportion relatively to the rest of the body than at any other period of its growth; while the weight of body of the newly born infant is to that of the adult as 1 to 20, the corresponding ratio in the case of the brain alone is 1 to 3.5 (see the tables given in H. W. Donaldson, Growth of the Brain, London, 1891). Nearly the full weight of the brain, however, and therefore its completed 'growth,' is reached between the 7th and the 10th year, whereas the full stature is not attained until about the 21st year, and the body muscles increase in weight to the 50th year or later. On the other hand, the brain after the 7th year undergoes changes of great importance in its organization; growth is replaced by development, in the proper sense of the word, although there has also been some degree of development during the earlier stages.

According to Flechsig's discoveries, the sensory areas of the brain are the first that lose a functional maturity, that is, they are the first whose connecting fibres acquire the medullary sheath (Localization der gesamten Fügungen, Leipzig, 1890). The earliest fibres to be functionally organized are those which supply the skin (organ, brain); next, those which supply the eyeball (sight, hearing, smell, taste, in connexion, location, sensations of position); these connections begin to form even in the first year before birth, and are completed in the first few months after birth. Within this region are the fibres connected with the organs, and with the extremities, that are first completed; then follow those connected with the trunk, and with special muscles that are afterwards used for speech. They convey the grosser masses of sensation with which the feelings and emotions of higher knowledge. Injury to, or destruction of these regions leads to an entire loss both of visual and auditory memory, and the state which has sometimes been called 'apoplexy,' or agensis, that is, an apparent inability not only to name familiar objects or to recognize them when seen, but even to use them when placed in the hand; yet at the same time power to perform other periods of 'intellect' and term 'intelligence' might fairly be used to cover the mental activities which are retained in such a case. The parietal and per-frontal region, standing in the closest relation with the area for the tactial, kinesthetic, and organic sensations, is that which runs parallel with the development of the character, and self-consciousness; there is a certain fact about injury to it is that it will bring a loss of interest, spontaneity, and power of concentrating the attention, in short, a general derangement of the character.

The close relation between normal development of the brain and normal mental capacity, between abnormal development or one-sided development, and genius, between defective development and imbecility, etc., have been referred to elsewhere (Brain and Mind); modern appeals for improved hygiene in schools, medical inspection of children, feeding of abnormal children, special classes for defective children, and the avoidance of over-stRAIN, have their ground or justification in the intimate correlation between the development of the body and that of the mind; and, needless to say, in the case of the child, even more than in that of the adult, the health of the mind is mainly dependent upon that of the body.

4. The conditions of development.—It has already been shown (ch. 2 and 3) that the brain, as a whole, say how far development proceeds from internal, and how far from external factors. It may be urged that, just as a child will reach a certain predetermined height, provided that it obtains adequate nourishment and conditions, so, in weight and so, in length, as no amount of extra feeding or exercise will enable it to go beyond this height, while under-feeding, and under-exercise, and injury will make it fall below
it, so it is in the case of the mind. The child is born with the possibility of so much mental capacity, so much 'intelligence,' or retentive memory, so acute a sense of sight or hearing, etc.; care and practice will enable it to reach these fixed limits or pass beyond them, while neglect and want of exercise may keep it far short of them. The conclusion is that the function of the teacher or parent is limited to the providing of the necessary material for development, that the amount and direction of the development are, however, determined already by the nature which the child has received at birth. It is probable that the two most important factors in the question are, on the one hand, the activity of the child, which is partly a matter of congenital faculty, and partly a matter of healthy nutrition; and, on the other hand, opportunity of exercise and practice. The child who is constantly moving about not only improves his health in general, but also puts himself within reach of varied stimuli by which his mental powers are evoked, and in the course of time developed; while the sluggish child does not come so much within reach of stimulation, and therefore has a relatively slower development. Opportunity, both in the direction which the child may take, and in the educational advantages or disadvantages, and especially those factors which depend on the health, culture, and economic position of the parents. Nature determines that the fundamental instincts shall appear in a certain order, and has co-tended its share to the complete development; but, if stimulation and exercise are not provided, any instinct, when it appears, will remain undeveloped, and therefore the whole mental growth will suffer a certain amount of distortion.

Play and imitation.—The principal internal conditions of development are the two 'instincts,' if they may be so called—play and imitation. Play in the wide sense includes all activities or tendencies which do not contribute to the immediate needs of the organism, which are spontaneously carried out, and which give pleasure in their operation apart from any result derived from them. The natural view of play is such as is expressed in Spencer's surplus power theory, viz. that play is the outcome of the excessive amount of stored nervous energy in the young, the exercise of which is not required for the organic needs, or of the tendency or faculty of imitation, according to which the child copies adults in the conditions adult nature postulates (Principles of Psychology, 1872, vol. ii, pt. 8, ch. 9). The theory with which Groos (Play of Animals and Play of Man [Eng. tr., London, 1910], Baldwin (Pref. to Groos' Play of Animals), and others seek to replace this is that play has a biological function, viz. that of preparing the immature individual for the activities of adult life, without exposing it to danger such as would be implied if it had to acquire the same experience apart from the parent's protection. There is a 6.123 volume of the mental powers (or in each of the relative centres of the brain) a tendency to expression or exercise, and, long before there is real need for such powers, this exercise is obtained through play; thus the play of children follow roughly the stages of the race evolution, as Hugh Miller suggested (My Schools and Schoolmasters). The corresponding instincts and interests develop successively in the child's mind; as they develop in their order, each in turn seeks its own satisfaction or expression, and this takes the form of play. A specially important feature of play is that it prepares the way for intelligence, or, rather, it is the means by which intelligence gradually comes to replace the instincts in the individual; the more fixed and limited the environment of an organism is, the more rigid are its instincts, the less developed is its nervous system, and the less is its power to adapt itself to changes in the environment; on the other hand, the more varied the environment, the less rigid, although perhaps more numerous, the instinctive tendencies are, and the greater is the development of intelligence; play enables the instincts to be sufficiently exercised without dominating the development as a whole. In general, then, play is a preparation for the adult life; hence, the higher the physical and also the mental development ultimately achieved, the longer, as a rule, is the period of play; this, according to Groos, is the object, the biological function, of youth; animals do not play because they are young, but they have a period of youth in order to play. This play includes the simple experimentation of the child, as that of the infant when exercising its muscles and its senses upon the objects around it; thus it obtains experience of the qualities of objects, and at the same time strengthens and develops its own active powers. Nature has provided ample means for this experimentation-play in the pleasure which the child manifestly obtains from it, and which is, here as elsewhere, the correlative and index of the memory, or, to use another term, the latent power, of the organism.

Next follow those plays by which the organism as a whole is strengthened physically, and by which the memory is organized and experience consolidated; finally, plays in which the higher mental powers are exercised, as when children develop the instincts, are brought out and exercised. The following is Groos' classification of the plays of the child (Play of Man):—

1. Playful experimentation:
   (a) With the sensory apparatus.
   (b) With the motor apparatus.

2. Playful use of the higher mental powers.
   (1) Experimentation with the mental powers, memory, imagination.
   (2) Experimentation with the feelings (physical pain, emotional suffering, surprise, fear).
   (3) Experimentation with the will.

   (a) Playful exercise of impulse and action (Principles of Psychology, 1872, vol. ii, pt. 8, ch. 9).
and the attraction of its attention by them; (b) in the complexity of the actions imitated; (c) in the fluidity of the imitation, other actions being more limited and more faithful copies, the latter being more spontaneous, original, and dramatic in their form (cf. the development of children's ideals with age in Earl Barnes, Studies in Education, ii. [1902] and a recent study by Yarou-
duck, in Arch. de physiol, no. xxviii., July 1908. The biological function of imitation is, like that of play, to prepare the individual for adult life, while he is being protected from the dangers that might otherwise arise in the experience of the child, imitating its parents, its teachers, or its friends, acquires the habits of expression and of action which they already have, and also—a more important matter—acquires their habits of emotion, their mental attitudes. Imitation thus becomes a form of heredity, replacing physical heredity, bringing the same advantages more rapidly, and at less cost. The child tends through it to resemble its parents, not only physically but also mentally (Baldwin, Mental Development, p. 232 ff.).

5. The original activities. — The child is born with a complex nervous structure, by which adequate response is provided to a large number of stimuli from the environment, in the form of reflex, automatic, and instinctive actions. Some of these actions are carried out before consciousness, and therefore, presumably, before mind is present, or at least active; and even in later development we still find that a large part of the body is carried on quite automatically, and with-out the intervention of consciousness. The question arises as to the relation between consciousness on the one hand, and reflex activity on the other, in development. It is still sometimes argued that consciousness has no biological function, and that the whole mental development is simply a result of, and therefore sequent to, the bodily and cerebral development itself, which in its turn is determined by purely physiological and physical forces. H. Ziegler, A. Bethe, J. Loeb, J. P. Nuel, and other modernists in Comparative Psychology would entirely exclude the use of consciousness (not merely the word, but the thing) from biology. On the other side, it is held that consciousness is, or becomes, of primary importance, that the reflexes present, or provided for, at birth are organized into higher combinations, and modified on the ground of experience (Lloyd Morgan, Intro.-to Comp. Psychol., ch. 11, London, 1894; Animal Reactions, p. 190). And, in fact, that the reflex actions themselves are a product of conscious effort in the ancestors of the individual (Wundt, Physiol. Psychol., Leipzig, 1903, iii. 276 ff.). Thus consciousness or mind is now and has been in the past the main force making not merely for mental, but also for physical development and evolution. There is a law of economy by which every action, as it is repeated, becomes less and less of a conscious action, until in the end it is carried on automatically; thus the value of this is that the energy of consciousness, or the physical energy underlying consciousness, is thereby set free for other activities; wherever an action is resisted, or prevented, by any cause issuing in its ordinary way, there consciousness is immediately present; wherever a new circumstance arises which requires a different reaction from any provided by the reflex or automatic systems, there again consciousness arises. On the other hand, the less resistance there is the smoother the action, the more familiar the situation the less is consciousness directed towards it. Consciousness thus represents the 'growing point' of the organism; correlated with it are changes in the central nervous system, and in the body as a whole, which ultimately become the basis of organized intelligence and will (cf. J. Jastrow, The Subconscious, London, 1906, p. 278).

The special activities and powers involved in the process of mental development may be classified as follows: (1) the physiological reflex actions; (2) the sense-organs, sensations, and sensory reflexes; (3) perception, in relation to the primary attention-reflexes; (4) affection and instinctive behavior; (5) feelings and emotions; (6) will; (7) memory, its conditions and varieties; (8) imagery and imagery types; (9) language and abstract thought.

(1) Physiological reflexes are those connected with the circulation of the blood, the respiration, the digestion, and other processes of bodily metabolism; of these it is not necessary to treat in this connexion, since they are entirely removed from the control of the child's consciousness, except so far as they are a part of sense-processes proper, although to which reference will be made later. These processes take place at a much more rapid rate in the infant than in the adult.

The metabolic activities of the infant are more pronounced than those of the adult, for the sake, not so much of energy which are spent on the work without, as of energy which are spent in a while harnessed to the rapidly increasing life. It is a 'metabolism directed largely to constructive ends' (M. Foster, Text-book of Physiology, 1897, p. 154).

(2) Sensation. — The normal child is provided at birth with the external apparatus for all classes of sensation, and these are connected, through nerve fibres, with the central organs in the brain; but, as has been remarked above, this connexion is not immediately functional, but of considerable times after birth. The child at first is deaf, is 'light-say,' is insensitive to colours, and to a large extent to taste, so that the sense of touch and perhaps the muscular sense are the only ones which at birth show certain degree of development, and are connected with the tests which have been made, the sensitivity in general increases very rapidly in the first few years, reaching its maximum development probably about the loth year, after which there is a slight decline in sensitivity proper, although the power of discrimination remains capable of great improvement thereafter (J. A. Gilbert, Studies from Yale Psychol. Lab., 1895, 1894; E. Meumann, i. 102 ff.). The sensorial reaction-time also improves in rapidity from the time after which the reflexes are present, or provided for, at birth are organized into higher combinations, and modified on the ground of experience (Lloyd Morgan, Intro.-to Comp. Psychol., ch. 11, London, 1894; Animal Reactions, p. 190). And, in fact, that the reflex actions themselves are a product of conscious effort in the ancestors of the individual (Wundt, Physiol. Psychol., Leipzig, 1903, iii. 276 ff.). Thus consciousness or mind is now and has been in the past the main force making not merely for mental, but also for physical development and evolution. There is a law of economy by which every action, as it is repeated, becomes less and less of a conscious action, until in the end it is carried on automatically; thus the value of this is that the energy of consciousness, or the physical energy underlying consciousness, is thereby set free for other activities; wherever an action is resisted, or prevented, by any cause issuing in its ordinary way, there consciousness is immediately present; wherever a new circumstance arises which requires a different reaction from any provided by the reflex or automatic systems, there again consciousness arises. On the other hand, the less resistance there is the smoother the action, the more familiar the situation the less is consciousness directed towards it. Consciousness thus represents the 'growing point' of the organism; correlated with it are changes in the central nervous system, and in the body as a whole, which

The development of visual sensation may be taken as an illustration of the problem and of the obstacles to its solution. There is very great difficulty in determining whether a child has or has not a power to perceive and distinguish different colours. Even where speech is appealed to, the results are by no means conclusive. The earliest attempt to determine the order in which the different visual sensations are arrived at was that of Preyer in 1882 (op. cit. infra, ch. 1). The tests were begun in the third quarter of the second year of life, and continued to the fourth year. He found that the colours yellow and red were those which were most constantly and according named, or picked out when the names were given, while green and blue came last; by the beginning of the 4th year the child could name all but the very dark or light shades correctly. With a similar method Mme. Shin (op. cit. infra) found that her subject (a little girl) was successfully taught to name all the colours and to pick out red and blue correctly, before the end of the second year. By a special method, appealing to the preference of the child, as shown by its selection of one from a pair of colours, Baldwin (Mental Development, pp. 30, 50) concluded that a child of 9 months can distinguish all the colours except one of a pronounced preference for blue. The above were individual studies. From a thorough collection of test for children, by Shinn and others, from birth to 7 years, by a 'matching' method, Garbin (J. Am. Med. Ass' n., vol. xxiv., Florence, 1894) concluded that a child begins to develop the power of discrimination between different shades of the first month of life; and to distinguish different objects by their shade or brightness in the second month; it is not till the middle of the second year that he has acquired the capacity for distinguishing red from blue. Hence it is probable that the child was acquainted with red and then it is red which is first marked out; green begins to be added about the end of the second year, and yellow in the

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course of the third year, while it is not till the fourth that he can distinguish much colour. The first year's shades of the same colour become easily distinguished, but the colour vision is still relatively imperfect until the sixth year. Thus although by the end of the fifth year he cannot name any colour, and that only 25 per cent can name the six main colours given above; the power to distinguish the colour space which he can follow, in about a year or a space, the power to distinguish the colour in question. Ziegler, in 1905 (Inaugural Dissertation, Zürich, n.d., but c. 1903) found, with more accurate methods, to determine the degree of colour sensitivity in 200 children, one half boys and one half girls, at the age of beginning school in the Munich schools gave a distinct preference in accuracy of matching to orange, violet, blue, and yellow in that order, and an approximate preference which was matched. Black and white were invariably correctly placed. It does not, of course, follow that the order of correctness in matching corresponds to the order of development; on the contrary, it may be concluded that the colours were preferred on account of accommodative values, their novelty, etc. In the naming method (the child giving the name) the order of correctness was black, white, red, blue, green, yellow, with violet and orange last; the darker shades of colour the whole were better named than the lighter, presumably because they were more familiar to the children; none of the boys could name orange; but only 6 per cent of the girls. Every one of the tests employed brought out the fact, already suggested by others, that there is a much more accurate sense of colour than boys. Neither Garlisch nor Ziegler found that any one of the children they examined was colour-blind (a total of 250 in all) is well known, that colour sensitive occurs much more frequently among men than among women; in the former cases the frequency is a little from 1 to 6 per cent. It is probable that by properly devised means of training, the colour sense of children might be greatly developed, and that the mental capacity of children already improved.

(3) The development of perception from sensation takes place through the exercise of the sensory reflexes, which play a large part in the process of attention. Thus a child does not at first see objects either as clearly, as distinctly, as proportionately, as the adult instincs. In the earlier months it sees no colours, but only light and shade; it has no means of determining the distance at which any seen object is; it is unable to fix an object so as to obtain a clear image of its outlines and details; it is unable to distinguish, and indeed has no conception of, the third dimension; objects are probably seen as blobs of light and shade merely; it has no power of distinguishing a real from a reflected or imaged object; in short, it can hardly be said that the mental or object-consciousness at all, through sight (Preyer, op. cit. ch. 1). All these powers are gradually acquired through exercise and the resulting co-ordination of the movements of the eyes with the visual sensations. The two principal mechanisms in question are those of accommodation, by which the object is clearly focused, of fixation, by which the object is brought into the centre of the retina—the part of the eye which is most sensitive to form as well as to colour, and of convergence, by which binocular vision is determined, and the two eyes are guided so as to obtain single vision of solid objects. These co-ordinations are only acquired, as has been said, through exercise; and, while the interest of interest, is not presented, that it raise fails to take place. This is an illustration of the importance of environment in deciding development.

The following gives some idea of the dates at which these phenomena are observed, according to Preyer and others (cf. Kirkpatrick, op. cit. infra, ch. 4). The protective reflex closing of the eyes when bright light falls upon them is present almost immediately after birth, and is of the nature of an reflex (adaptation) to increase or decrease of light; the blinking reflex, when an object is brought close to the eye, is immediately present; but occurs after a few weeks; systole or independent movements of the two eyes and the eyelids (e.g. one eye remaining fixed, the other being moved, or the eyelids being turned downwards while the eyelids remain fixed) occur occasionally until the beginning of the second month; voluntary fixation is not complete until about the end of the first quarter year; voluntary and accidental fixation, etc.

The interpretation of visual impressions in the early months, with bodily movements not established till much later.

This history really describes the origin of the visual perceptions of space in childhood. The power of visual space is innate or acquired is impossible to answer, because it is wrongfully put. The child is not born with a space which he can distinguish or even acquire derived from the senses (Kant), but neither is it a space a product of sensations and associations formed. It is only derived from the sensations: it is a result of interaction between sensations, feelings and desires, impulses and movement. In each case the 'distinction' is conceived, but which are only realized and combined through the acquired experience of the child (cf. Wundt). Stimuli (evidence from the born-blind, who have been enabled, by an operation, to see in later life, is conflicting. It does not prove that they at first see only colours and brightness, not things or objects, as Preyer argues. It is true, however, that they are entirely incapable to appreciate distance (see B. Bourgeois, Perception and Espace, Paris, 1902, ch. 13, for a complete account of these observations, up to that date, that similar 'sync.' of sensations, feelings, and attention-reflexes goes to form the actual perceptions (extent, hardness and softness, sharpness and bluntness, etc.) and the auditory perceptions (rhythm, time-interval, melody, speech, etc.).

(4) An instinctive action is a response evoked in direct relation to a perception of some kind, while a reflex action is called out by a single sensation or by a purely physiological stimulus. It is manifest that although there is undoubtedly a much greater power of control, and liability to modification on the ground of experience, in the instinctive than in the reflex action (see discussion on Instinct and Intelligence in Prin. Journal of Psychology), it is possible that by properly devised means of training, the colour sense of children might be greatly developed, and that the mental capacity of children already improved.

Such an instinct implies three things: a need on the part of the child (organic sensation, feeling, impulse), an object capable of satisfying this need, and some consciousness on the part of the child of the possibility of the satisfaction to the want or need. It is the want or the interest which determines the direction of the attention towards the object. Thus the child's whole interest is absorbed at first by the needs of food and clothing. Food-taking and food-seeking are the first to express themselves; the giver of food, and articles used in connexion with its food, are the first objects which it learns to distinguish and recognize; later the needs of its sense-development cause interest in objects for the more sensations they give, bright lights and colours, loud noises and musical tunes, etc. At this stage the instinct of play appears, especially of experimentation play and of movement play. In its early years a child is naturally self-centred; it is biologically of advantage to the race that the individualist instincts should be strong at this time. Accordingly, its wants are strongly expressed and vigorously insisted upon. Yet there is no constant and exclusive interest in other persons, until from the fourth or fifth year, when selfishness in the strict sense of the word begins to appear, controlled, however, by the equally instinctive desire for social approval. The constant desire of the normal child, together with that directed to other children, his shyness towards strange elders, but ready acceptance as playmates of other children, about his own age, seen for the first time; his eagerness to accompany the adults of his family in all their actions; in all their activities; his constant repetition of the
actions of adults in his play; his treatment of animal pets, younger children, dolls, etc.—are illustrations of the force of the social instincts and of their part in the development of the social consciousness that be individualist and social instincts combine in (i) the impulse of self-display, adornment, etc.; (ii) the impulse to co-operate with others for common ends, in games, or in school and home life, or for mutual protection; (iii) the impulse of competition and rivalry, which tends to the rapid development of the physical and mental powers; (iv) with expanding imagination, the sympathetic feelings arise, and the impulse to help, to protect, or to defend, which the expressions of the, or of the muscular actions by which it is carried out; but there probably is some consciousness of the position of the food in the mouth, the parts of the tongue touched by it, etc., and it is by this sensation that the action is definitely initiated; it is probably only at a later stage that the muscular sensations themselves become conscious. The impulse, then, is simply the motor effect of the sensory aspect of the pleasure at the end of the food, which is then developed into a purely active movement of the mouth, etc., and is the result of a series of sensations, including the sensation of the food in the mouth, the parts of the tongue touched by it, etc.; these impulses are always in conjunction with some need of the organism, either prolonged as in the case of hunger, or momentary as in the case of physical pain. A second stage of the development of the impulse to tears is to be regarded as the stage when the child begins to select stimuli or sensations on the basis of personal interest, built up by experiences; (b) when memory occurs of the movements by which these sensations have been automatically or reflexly performed, the stage for the first time starts to form impressions which may be painful. The term ‘impression' is used to express the stage when the child begins to feel that the impressions which have previously given it pleasure, and not merely to react on impressions that have arrived of themselves. Correlatively with this, it begins to avoid consciously those impressions which have been already experienced as painful, and also to neglect or inhibit impressions which have proved indifferent to it, not being accompanied by any positive or negative feeling tone. In this development perception gradually arises through the combination of sensations of the same or different classes with each other, or with sub-conscious memory images; in this way one impression gradually becomes a sign or symbol of another. The pleasurable or pain-attachment to the direct impression is now

1 On this, see W. James, Principles of Psychology, 1895, vol. II, ch. 17 on 'Sensation,' 19 on 'The Perception of Things,' and exp. 20 on 'The Perception of Space.'
transferred to the indirect, as when the child shows pleasure at the sight of a rattle, after experience of the agreeable noise which the rattle gives in its hands, or shows pleasure at the sight of its food, before the actual tasting of it. It is unnecessary therefore to make the memory of either experience should arise, and in the vast majority of cases such memory probably does not arise; there is simply a transfer of feeling, and in consequence a transfer of action from a direct impression to a more indirect one uniformly connected with the latter. It is in the case of these indirect impressions that interest gradually develops, and that conscious and individual selection begins to take place.

(b) The movements themselves enter consciousness partly as muscular and actual experiences, partly also as visual experiences—in the case of those movements which the child can see itself carrying out. As soon as the memory begins to be able to 'fixate' such consciousness, the child learns to modify its actions, or to choose between various possible actions, in response to sensations, through remembering the success or failure of the previous reactions.

(c) In the co-ordination of movements there are also the inhibition of unessential movements, and the reinforcement and connecting together of series of necessary movements. Reflex action is excessive, uneconomical, and generally contains a large number of movements not required to the removal of the stimulus (H. Ebbinghaus, Grundzüge der Psychol., pt. i., Leipzig, 1897, p. 124); for example, the movements of a young child when irritated by a pin in its clothing. With the development of perception, the movements become more economical, and are brought under the control of consciousness, until in a particular case the necessary act is carried out in the shortest time, and with the minimum of effort. It must be supposed that in this case the impulse has come to be associated with the entire reaction, which has been constantly repeated in every experience of the kind; while those actions which were unessential, and therefore were not repeated, or not always repeated, are less firmly connected with the impulse, and become associated with other parts from it. Corresponding with this limitation in simpler cases, there is the forming of chain actions, or series of actions, in more complex cases—for example, in learning to walk; the several movements have once been brought together, the chain action through conscious effort, to be gradually cemented to each other, so that later, without conscious effort, the one tends to follow the other in the same order as that in which they were acquired (see Preyer, ch. 11). Consciousness still retains a grasp, as it were, of the whole of movements, as is shown when any resistance is met, or any error occurs; but it does so only in a general way, covering a larger and larger span in its grasp, as skill and practice increase (J. Jastrow, op. cit., chs. 2 and 4).

The terms 'habit' and 'practice' refer to the forming and cementing of such co-ordinations. When out of several possible ways of doing a thing, or of acting, one has actually been adopted, then, if the situation is repeated, the former action tends to be adopted again, merely from the fact of its earlier occurrence. The same is true of a connexion or series of actions. The greater the number of repetitions, the stronger the tendency to repeat it. This is habit, the primary and universal condition of all mental development. Since will consists, as we have seen, in selective activity, it is formally opposed to habit; but, in reality, neither it nor any other higher mental power is possible except on the basis of habit. Walking, running, listening, looking, smelling, tasting, dressing, speaking, and hundreds of other skilled actions, which form elementary parts of mental processes and habits, are in us habitual acts become unconscious and mechanical through repetition. Adults and children differ widely in the rapidity with which a habit is formed, in the tenacity with which it is retained, and in the promptness with which it is exercised. With age the power to form new habits slowly declines, and also the power to resist or overcome habits when formed. To some extent this is due to the decreasing vitality of the nervous system, but mainly to the fact that habit corresponds to the organizing of connexions between different parts of the cerebral system; the greater the number of these, and the greater their strength or firmness through repetition, the less the likelihood of a new associative connexion being formed or old ones broken up (see James, op. cit., ch. 4; Ebbinghaus, Grundzüge der Psychol., pt. ii., Leipzig, 1902, p. 672). The development of the will is also conditioned by the general changes both in the intensity of our sensations and in the manner in which they attach. At first, as we have seen, the child's feelings are entirely determined by its organic needs; later, repetition and instinctive experimentation and play bring new experiences of pleasure and pain, and this alters the connexions with the requirements of the organism; the objects of such feelings are retained in memory, and the thought of them, or the perception of them, forms new motives of action; the actions are governed by ideal rather than by direct sensory motives. (On the development and influence of feeling, see T. Ziegler, Das Gefühl, Stuttgart, 1893.)

The most direct indication of the nature of an individual's will is to be found in the characteristics of his special attention (p. 470). Neither will nor attention, however, is to be regarded as a general power, which can be directed indifferently upon this or that impression or action, or can be moved from one to the other. They are simply general tendencies for attaching themselves to particular objects, which possess certain features in common. The characteristic of acts of attention is that a part of the field of consciousness is selected from the rest, and that the mind, or the individual under observation, can be brought to attend more or less to these acts of attention. The means by which this change is effected are either external, as when the senses are focused upon the objects, and the like; or internal, as when convergent and associative ideas are called up from past experience. The underlying conditions are the intensity of the impression or idea itself, the strength of the interest to which it corresponds, the focusing of attention, and the development of the muscular system by which the focusing or 'fixating' and controlling of impressions is effected. In all these respects the child undergoes a gradual development. A distinction is usually drawn between spontaneous or natural, and voluntary or acquired, attention; the former is supposed to be characteristic of the child, the latter a product of education. These are not, however, differences in attention itself; they are differences only in the interests which lie behind the act of attention.

Thus interests are either primary—those provided by the innate instincts of the child—or secondary—those due to the acquired experience and reflexion which life and education call out.

1 On the whole question of the nature of our consciousness of movement, and its function in mental development, see Wundt, op. cit., ii. 474 f., 536 f., iii. 307 f.

2 Th. Ribot, Psychol. of Attention, Eng. tr., N.Y. 1889 (Chicago, 1890).
It is, therefore, natural that voluntary attention to objects which are primarily without interest in themselves should succeed the more elementary expressions of attention in childhood. It is clear that, where an individual is capable of prolonged primary attention, he will be incapable of the concentration which voluntary attention presupposes. This occurs, for example, both in idiot and in imbecile children, and to a certain extent causes typical differences between normal individuals also. Wherever, owing to the weakness of the brain or nervous system, sensation is less vivid, or movement is less rapid and less vigorous, or instincts and feelings less strong, there the attention will be correspondingly difficult to escape or to hold, with resulting defect in mental development. Ability to work for continuous spells, and ability, who profit by discipline, to appreciate rewards and punishers, depend mainly enough to associate them with one another and to compare them with similar experiences in the past.

A second typical difference in attention is that between concentration and distribution; the term ‘concentration’ refers to the effect which attention usually has of lowering or limiting consciousness, or at least effective consciousness, to some small portion of a real or ideal situation; the mind is absorbed by some particular interest, and impressions that would otherwise have stimulated feeling and action are kept on the verge of consciousness, or entirely repressed. The familiar illustrations of absence of mind on the part of geniuses will readily occur as an instance. Concentration or specialization is thus a condition of effective mental progress. Distribution of attention, on the other hand, refers to the power to appreciate and attend to a number of diverse impressions or ideas simultaneously; it is in many ways a valuable power, as, for example, in the teacher, who must, within his main attention is given to his subject, also have regard to the positions and actions of the different children in the class; the conductor of a choir, the director of an orchestra, and the organizer generally, are instances of the same ability. It is immaterial, for our present purpose, whether there is any real division of attention in a given moment, or whether distribution depends rather on rapid alternation of the attention from one fact to another. In the normal individual, concentration and distribution are for one another; the greater the one, the less the other. But concentration does not necessarily mean intensity, nor does distribution necessarily mean that the different impressions attended to at the moment are ineffectively appreciated. It obviously depends upon distribution and training to what extent distribution can be carried. Children, and animals also, show great concentration, where the primary instincts are involved, but defective concentration in the case of secondary interests; one of the chief problems of the teacher is to increase the concentration-value of the latter. Some children are never able to acquire this power to the normal extent, and in consequence remain all their lives an easy prey to distraction.

A third typical difference is in the steadiness or fluctuation of the attention. Meumann uses the term ‘fixating attention’ for the former of these types; it is that which is able to keep away side impressions and ideas, and to take up only the impressions that are directly before it; in this way it represents an objective, observing, recording type of mind; thus a picture, a sentence, or any group of materials, when attended to, is appreciated as it is.

The ‘fluctuating’ type, on the other hand, is liable to be caught by sensory impressions and by memories or ideas which are not directly connected with the object presented; hence it tends to transform the material given to it into a superficial outline view, passing rapidly from one to the other to imaginatively. In childhood the latter is much more frequent, and, in fact, may be regarded as a characteristic child form of attention; the power to see or hear things as they are or to be acquired by education (Menmann, i. 499 f.).

(7) Memory. In memory, three phases or functions must be distinguished — immediate memory (as illustrated by ‘learning by heart’), retention, and reproduction or recognition; these three phases are subject to different conditions, and vary independently in other in different individuals, and at different stages of mental development. Immediate memory has been shown to improve steadily with age (as tested, for example, by the number of syllables or words which can be reproduced after a single exposure, or by the length of time required to learn a given number of syllables or words by heart), and Meumann has found that even into late adult life this capacity is endowed with great improvement through practice.

The method of memorizing also changes with age, the young child depending entirely on mechanical association between the different members of the series to be learned, the adult depending more and more upon associations of meaning, upon rhythm and other forms of grouping. On the other hand, retentiveness, as measured by the rate of forgetting, or the amount forgotten after a given interval, increases with the age of the person (E. Meumann, ‘Expérimentations’, 170 f., and esp. p. 192). That is to say, young children have greater difficulty in learning than older children; with practice an individual may improve in this faculty almost up to the middle age; at the same time, children retain what they have learned for a longer time and more accurately than the adult under the same conditions. The memory which goes back to early childhood (earlier than the 5th year) are relatively rare, the fact that children seem to have become deaf before the 5th year tend to lapse of the auditory memories, and inability to acquire new auditory impressions, that children who have become blind before the 5th year, and even to some extent up to the 7th year, lose their visual memories, and rarely, if ever, in after life have visual dreams, and the corresponding phenomena in the case of amputated limbs (J. Jastrow, W. James [see M. de Manacine, Sleep, London, 1897, ch. 4])—all these facts correspond accurately with the incomplete development of the cerebral connections before the end of the 5th year. Finally, reproduction, that is, the rate, accuracy, and fertility of association, and of voluntary memory, in which there are stronger individual differences, tends to improve with age and with practice continuously up to about the 50th year.

A much-debated question is how far training or practice in one field of memory is transferable to another—a question closely connected with the question as to whether memory is a general power or faculty, or simply a combination of particular experiences which are somehow stored in the brain of the individual. In the latter case it is obvious that memorizing any particular material, while it improves in the general improvement there are occasional retardations, e.g., at the age of 10 to 12 (girls) and 12 to 14 (boys). Girls are in advance of boys till about 10, when the difference is reversed. It is said that the young profit less than adults from practice, but that any gain is more permanent.

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creases the amount we are able to recall, and through association of ideas makes it easier to learn simile or material, still do not add to our stock in any other field, or help us to acquire such more easily. Exercising the visual memory improves that memory itself, but does not improve the auditory memory, without special practice in it. Also, the greater number of observers decide against such transfer of improvement, or the possibility or value of 'formal training'; on the other hand, some recent studies (Meumann, Winch, etc.) seem to show that a very substantial gain can actually be transferred, whatever the interpretation of it may be. The interpretation to which most of the facts point is a training of the attention, that is, of the nerve-centres and muscles which are involved in the accurate and ready uptake of sensations, not in the field of observation; and those muscles also by which the control or suppression of distracting impressions, and the reinforcement of associative impressions, are carried out. Such capacities can un school teaching and the necessary use of force can be exercised by any person, from one kind of visual material to any other—and, as the experiments show that the transfer is greater with a material similar to that in which the improvement has been actually acquired, this entirely confirms the above practical conclusions are: (a) that much of what a child learns at school and afterwards forgets is not necessarily pure loss—the exercise in learning is to a great extent at least transferable to later occupation, with the appropriate mechanical and meaningless materials, for the formal exercise of the senses, and especially of the memory, seems to be indicated as a pedagogical method by the experimental results.

(8) Imagination and imagery types.—Fechner, Galton, Charcot, and other more recent observers have given ample evidence that individuals in adult life differ widely, and in certain typical forms or regards the sensorial material in which they 'think' is carried on; the visualist dealing mainly in images derived from optical experiences; the auditive in images of sound derived from acoustic experiences; and the kinesthetic or motor type in images, memories, or even 'nascent sensations' in the body, as in the case of the sensations of the past. 'Thinking,' however, has two broadly different senses, according as it means picture-thinking, as in reverie, or word-thinking, as in talking, reading, or scientific thinking. Much of our important thinking is done by means of words as signs or representatives of experiences, without employing the actual memory pictures of the experiences themselves. The majority of individuals are probably of a mixed type, both for picture and even perhaps for verbal thinking; but the enormous predominance of visual experiences in our lives compels all of us to use visual memories to a large extent, while the methods of school teaching and the necessary use of the ears and vocal muscles in speech, render most of us of an acoustic-motile type in word-thinking. Again, the majority of individuals are probably unable to give to their favourite method of imagination such an exclusive exercise or training, as is necessary to develop purity of type; a boy who is articulated to an architect, and who is by nature an auditory, must cultivate visualizing or fail in his profession. It seems to be proved that in children, perhaps owing to the method of education, auditory imagery predominates in the early years, but is more and more displaced in importance by visual imagery as age increases; again, that even in the case of visual imagery the vividness and 'warmth' of imagery decrease with age; thus, according to one report (Miss Calkins) at least 9 per cent of students have very little or no colour imagery; while in the average scientist, according to Galton, the power has all but entirely disappeared, and is entirely lost; abstract thought tends to weaken imagery—in other words, verbal tends to replace picture or object-thinking. The following are some of the indications by which the type of a given individual can be discovered by the individual, or dialogues and conversations in plays and novels (auditive), or the extent to which words and facts of skill are remembered, in the individual's accounts of them; and how far organic sensations and memories accompany the seeing or the hearing or the affecting of emotional passages in literature, etc.; also by the trade or occupation which is preferred by an individual, his hobbies, the kind of games, his education in art or in literature, and especially his creative powers in these fields.

(3) The verbal type is indicated: (a) by the way in which an individual acts about learning a heart or poem in a book; whether he does so by frequently repeating the passage over, aloud or half aloud (kinesthetic), or whether he translates the printed words into inner speech (auditive), or learns it by repeatedly thinking the words upon it and reading it aloud, or taking the passage over in the mind; (b) in the last case the subject is usually able accurately to refer to the page or book, when recalling it; the former cannot be printed up before his mental vision; he can readily find the passage in a book where he has left off reading, and can refer to any desired passage. The various slips that are made in speaking or writing are good indications of whether the subject is thinking auditive or in visual words. (c) former confusing words a sound, the latter confusing words with a similar appearance. (d) in syllables or meaningless material, the visualist retains the consonants more accurately, the auditive the vowels; and again the visualist's errors tend to be those of omission, while the auditive's tends to be errors of order or of position. (d) the visualist can with great ease read backwards a series of impressions laid to heart, since they are, as it were, printed up before his mind, while the auditory or kinesthetic has great, or at least greater, difficulty in doing the same; the one takes a short, the other a long time to accomplish. (e) the time to accomplish the task is still at all. (f) Segal (Arch. f. d. gesamte Psychol. xii, (1905)) adds the following signs: the visualist frequently shuts his eyes and covers them when recalling a memory; his recall is slower than that of the auditory; usually the latter remembers the material in groups, whereas the visualist remembers parts singly and separately. But visualists retain poetry or prose more accurately than others, and do not repeat parts already given, while auditory and kinesthetics reproduce more rapidly, but in less quantity, and often with unconscious repetitions. When he does not repeat the material in its proper order, it is with the last few words or syllables that the auditory begins; and when the task is accomplished, the material as a rule disappears at once out of the memory. In regard to the importance of these differences for mental development, it should be remembered that the question is never one of an exclusive use of a single element in imagery; that the predominance of the one over others; but occasionally there occur cases in which one or other form of imagery is completely lacking. Normally, however, every one is both an object-thinker and a word-thinker at different times, and uses in the former case alike visual, auditory, and motor imagery. Nevertheless, it is true that in children object-thinking predominates greatly over verbal thinking until about the age of 14, when, in civilized life, word-thinking begins to occupy a larger space; thus, when a child under 14 is reading or listening to speech, it tends to fill out the meaning of the words, in mind, to a much greater extent than the adult does. It has been pointed out that, while the majority of adults are visualists in object-thinking, the majority are also acoustic-motile in word-thinking. Children probably use a greater variety of kinds of imagery than adults. Nevertheless, it will be found that visual imagery predominates in the classes or forms of the objects, and in general the type is uncertain until the age of 16.
or so. There is throughout a higher prevalence of pure visualists among girls than among boys. It is of course clear that a child will learn more easily, more quickly, and retain a longer time material learned through his special and coordinating form of imagery; and conversely, that the teacher will naturally teach, and will best teach, by the use of his special form. Hence a certain amount of consideration and attention in school work, both to the type of the child and to the type of the teacher. On the other hand, as has been remarked, the average child is of a mixed type, and the average teacher also, while under normal conditions familiarity with different types is essential for all. The conclusion is that the teachers should try to convey knowledge of any subject by as many fuses as possible, and that care should always be taken to determine whether apparent incapacity in a child to learn a particular subject (e.g. geography) is not due rather to a deficiency in the type of imagery to which appeal is made than to dullness or immaturity. (A full account of recent work on this subject is to be found in E. Meumann, Exper. Psychologie, i, esp. p. 435.)

It is a matter of dispute how the power of abstraction, and thinking in general, are related to imagery; there can be no doubt that, genetically, the concrete image precedes the abstract, or symbolic, thought. But in general a training of the imaginative faculty is of great value in preparation for scientific thought and practical reasoning (see Add, L'Intelligence, Paris, 1905; E. Meumann, Intelligenz und Wissen, Leipzig, 1908). On the general subject of the psychological nature of thought and its relation to imagery, see the discussion by Titchener of the work of Ach, Binet, Block, Messer, and Watt, in his Experimental Psychology and the Thought Process, N. Y. 1909.

(9) Language and abstract thought. Many lines of evidence both from race psychology and from individual psychology go to prove that the language of a parent is in no sense whatever innate in the child, and that none even of the conditions which have led to the differentiation of its parents’ language from other languages is innate. (On this question, see L. W. Stern, Helen Keller, Berlin, 1905.) What is really innate is the instinct of expression and the various special forms which this instinct takes—facial, vocal, and manual, etc. As it is certainly on these that language has, racially, been built up, so in the child they precede all knowledge of language. As illustration of the former inference, shows that any child can learn any language with ease if provided it is brought up among a people speaking that language; and that no child has any special difficulty even in learning the language which is most remote in its sounds, signs, or grammar from the language of its parents. Again, it is known that the most complex thoughts and emotions are equally well explicable in any mode of language whatsoever, including under this not merely speech and ordinary gesture languages, but even such highly artificial languages as those taught to deaf-mutes, etc.

The stages at which a child acquires the language of its environment may be stated as follows: (1) the reflex and instinctive expressions of emotion on the child’s own part; (2) the limitation of the sounds made by its parents and other children in its speech; (3) the frequent repetition of signs and sounds—complexes found pleasant to itself; on the receptive side (4) the gradual discrimination of the sounds heard in the speech of its parents; (5) the association between a particular sound and the object at which it is directed as a child (cf. Preyer, ch. 16; Amund, Die Entwicklung von Sprochen und Denken beim Kind, Leipzig, 1889; Chamberlain, ch. 5; and Amund, Fortschritte in Kindersprachkunde, in Arch. f. d. gesamte Psychol. ii, 1894), which it is referred by the parents; (6) the formation of an image of the meaning or connotation of the words, derived from these associations (perception); and (7) the gradual concretion of such ideas by experience. The conditions of development are keen in common perception on the part of the child, opportunity of hearing varied speech in its environments and freedom to exercise its linguistic powers, in play or otherwise, as it seems inclined.

The relation of writing to speech may be touched upon here. Evidence shows that the child is car

6. Abnormalities of development. — Defective children. — Where there is an actual loss of one or more of the senses, whether through injury or defect of the organ, or from lesion of the central organ in the brain, the resulting defects are due rather to lack of material than to any defect in the mental powers themselves, and can be compensated by adequate training, as is the celebrated case of Laura Bridgman and Helen Keller show. A psychical abnormality of this kind, defective children may be grouped in the following classes: backward children, the feeble-minded, imbeciles, idiots, and the demented. The last are those who, though injury in childhood to the central nervous system, or through a disease of that system both congenital and progressive, gradually lose any acquired mental faculty they may possess, and therefore not only fail to develop further, but actually regress, perhaps to a purely instinctive or even reflex and automatism, or vegetative level. Idiocy, on the other hand, springs from a defect or defect of the cerebrum, either congenital or occurring in early childhood, carrying as its consequence a general intellectual and especially a lowered sensitivity whatsoever, organic or vegetative in movement, as a consequence of which the individual is almost or entirely unable to acquire the education which is regarded as the standard in his country and position. In this there may be all degrees, depending upon the extent of the injury, and in the period of life at which it occurs. In imbecility, there is not, as a rule, any marked physical or

1 On the following is Stern’s classification of the stages in the development of language from the point of view of the forms or sounds. (3rd quarter of the year; (4) first stage of language: stage questions about the negation of objects (3rd quartet); (5) first sentence (syntactical stage); sentences about the negative: negative sentences (end of the 3rd quarter of year); (6) restoration: subjects with a negative in the predicate (4th quarter of the year); (7) sentences with an object (for the 2nd quarter of the year); (8) sentences with a question (for the 2nd quarter of the year); (9) examination questions as to the where, how, and whither (3rd quarter); (10) questions as to why (in the 3rd year). Stern’s remarkable parallelism between the stages by which the normal child acquires its language, and the stages by which Helen Keller, beginning at the end of her 7th year, acquired the same form of development through the finger-alphabet which Miss Sullivan began to teach her at that age (op. cit. p. 48).
even cerebral defect; on the contrary, imbeciles
are frequently of great vitality, and of full physical
development; nevertheless the existence of some
functional defect of the brain is proved by the
peculiar instability of their mental character,
and, as a result, the difficulty which there is in
extending their education, mental and moral, up
to the standard of the time. These classes may
be grouped together as abnormal; their differences
from the normal are so great, and in their out-
come unfit them to so great an extent for participa-
tion in social life, that no one would seek to rank
them with either normal children or normal adults.
On the other hand, the gradual development to a
class which is, as it were, on the lower edge of the normal group; they are
simple variations, on the negative side, from the
average, corresponding to the specially talented and
gifted on the positive side. The backward
child is one who is much slower in development
than his neighbours, and in consequence falls below
the standard of his years; at school he is placed
along with children three or four years younger
than he is, post-feeble-minded, or simply
feeble-minded, again, is not only slow, but unable at
any time, or under any conditions, to overtake
the average child in education; he can, however,
taught a simple trade, and by special methods
can be brought to a level of intelligence and
morality by which he is enabled to take a place
among his fellows.

Various suggestions have been made as to the
most prominent symptom by which the degree of
defect their fellows be estimated; two, the ability to acquire
the power of speech (Esquirol, who divided idiots
and imbeciles into five classes, according to degree of
facility which they were able to acquire in this
respect); the presence or absence of primary and
secondary instincts (Dubois, etc.). Almost certainly
the most valuable of these is that on which Sollier
lays chief stress—the power of attention. The
inability of the idiot or imbecile child to learn
(whether language, industrial work, or moral
habits) depends primarily on the two characteristics
of his attention—its low intensity, or strength,
or degree of concentration, and its instability,
or liability to distraction and dissipation. The
spontaneous attention (still less the voluntary attention of the idiot cannot be
caught, except for a few objects associated with its most funda-
mental physical needs: (1) because, owing to the
brain, its sensations are excessively blunt or dulled, and (2) because for the same
reason, his organs of movement, on which the
possibility of attending depends, are also imperfect
in the highest degree. In the lowest degree of
dehydocy there is no possibility of attention; in the
second degree (simple idiots) the attention is with
difficulty and occasionally held by a few objects;
in the latter case, by efforts which strengthen the
sensitiveness, or which build up associations between
the few objects that are apprehended and the
corresponding actions; some degree of education may
be accomplished; in the former none is
possible. On the other hand, in the case of the
imbecile, it is not so much the intensity of the
attention as its stability that is at fault; it is
fugitive and unstable, unable to be retained for
the length of time by a single object; hence memory
is weak, impressions do not remain long enough
before the mind to be retained; associations are
not formed between separate sense-qualities or
between perceptions and notions; sustained activity
and serial thought are alike impossible.

The lower instincts, however, are usually sufficiently
strong to give the sensations and perceptions which
appeal to the imbecile considerable attention;
hence education is possible to a relatively
high degree, through the direction and control of
this attention by the teacher. Imbeciles may
learn to speak, although they rarely learn to write
or read; and, however feeble speech does not with
them carry the power of concentrated and deliberate
thought or reflection. On the moral side, Sollier
divides these defects by the terms extra-social,
which he applies to the idiots, and anti-social,
which he applies to the imbeciles.

The former, as the term implies, is essentially a solitary, unable
to come into relation with, or to understand any of
the purposes of, his fellows; he neither imitates
nor plays with others, and, while entirely incapable
of appreciating anti-social deeds, his weakness
overwhelmingly remains for the most part passive, inert, and
therefore harmless. The imbecile, on the other
hand, having the lower instincts strongly, and the
higher weakly (or not at all), develops, in general, almost
no doubt instinctively, with being able to
appreciate either the feelings of others,
their duties, or their rights; he has intelligence
enough to pick up and appreciate the evil, but not
the good, around him, and is not in danger both to his fellows
and to himself. In the case of the backward
and simple or weak-minded child, the attention is also
defective; the reaction time is slower, the span
or width of a single act of attention is narrower, the
portion of the most part less than in the
average child. In the case of the idiot, the
defect is primarily due to an organic lesion of
the brain, and in the imbecile to a functional defect (see art.
DEGENERATION), but in the backward
child the defect may ordinarily be found in some
sonic physical weakness, in the digestive or
other internal system, by which the brain is
relatively poorly nourished, and in consequence
both fundus and more feeble and develop more
slowly than in the average child. The evil can to
some extent be remedied by physical regimen, and
the great danger in such cases is that of intensifying
the disease by over-pressure in school work.
There can be no doubt in general, that where it is possible,
such children ought to be treated separately from others—in separate classes, or still better in separate
institutions. Binet, Decroly and Degand, and de
Sanctis have worked out series of standard mental
tests by which the degree of the
child of a given age can be diagnosed in a simple
and rapid, but adequate, way. It is natural that
some difficulty should be experienced at first in
arriving at such a series, appealing to the different
mental powers in the order of their
importance, which shall be agreed upon by a sufficiently rep-
representative number of observers; but, when it is
successfully accomplished, it will form a most
useful basis of reference, both in the initial
determination of the grade of a child and in
estimating the degree of progress which may be attained under any particular system of training
and education (see A. Binet and T. Simon, Annexé
psychologique, xi. [1905], iv. [1908].)
O. Decroly and M. Degand, Manual of Mental
Science, ix. [1910]; de Sanctis, Annexe psychologique, xi. [1906].

These tests are also discussed in Meumann, i.
557ff., and are illustrated in G. M. Whipple,

LITERATURE.—Works referring to special parts of the subject
have been mentioned in the text; among more general works are the following: J. M. Baldwin, Mental Development in
Child-Study, Lond. 1909; E. Erger, Observations, etc., sur
le développement de l'intellet et du lang., chez les enfants, Paris,
1879; M. Guyau, Education and Heredity, Eng. tr., London,
DEVOTION AND DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE


J. L. McCUTYRE.

DEVIL, DEVILISHNESS.—See Demons and Spirits.

DEVIL'S ADVOCATE.—See Advocate.

DEVĪ PĀTAN (Devi-pattana, ‘city of the goddess Devi’).—An ancient village in the Gonda District of Oudh, supposed to be one of the oldest seats of the Saiva cultus in Northern India. Legend connects the establishment of the cult in this place with Karna, the hero of the Mahabharata, and early writers have been absorbed in the story and most probably the existence of a temple at Ayodhya, and perhaps the same description for the petty shrine of the goddesses of the pre-Aryan races, who had been adopted into Hinduism. A temple is said to have been erected in the beginning of the 15th cent. by Ratanmāthi, the third in descent from the famous Gorakhnāth, the defied saint, whose worship has spread almost over the Nālī valley and many other parts of India. Its importance was sufficient to attract the attention of the iconoclast Auranzib, who partially destroyed it. This temple seems to have been dedicated to Siva, and when repaired was converted into the present building, where the shrine of the Mother-goddess in the form of Pārvati or Durgā is conducted. The religious faith in conjunction with the shrine takes place early in the spring, and is largely attended by pilgrims from the Plains and the lower slopes of the Himalaya. Benett, describing the fair in 1871, writes: ‘Some 25 buffaloes, 250 goats, and 250 pigs were sacrificed daily at the temple. Under the altar a large hole was dug, filled with sand, which was changed twice a day, and the old sand buried; all the blood was thus absorbed. There was no filth lying about, and no stench.’

LITERATURE.—Führer, Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Allahabad, 1891, p. 302; Benett, in Oudh Gazetteer (1882), i. 267. W. CROOKE.

DEVOITION AND DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE.—Introductory.—In a general sense, devotion has frequently been regarded as co-extensive with, or at least as embracing, the entire field of facts relevant to religion. Sometimes the attitude of the human will towards the Divine (however conceived), which is a common feature of all religions, and the dominant characteristic in every religion of the spirit, has been illegitimately isolated and its true function distorted; consequently devotion and religion have often been used as synonymous terms. Aquinas writes: ‘Devotio nihil est nisi quae tenet quae voluntas quaedam prompte tradendi se ad ea quae pertinent ad Dei fannulatum’ (Summa, ii.2, lxxxi. 1). But surely this definition is too wide in scope. Even where devotion has not been confused with religion, it has been regarded as a synonym for worship, or ‘whatsoever men worship for religion’s sake’ (Tomson’s marg. note [N72, 156]). But, while devotion suffuses all genuine religion, and will find expression normally in a form of worship directed towards an object or objects as spiritual, unseen, or Divine, it certainly ought not to be defined as ‘an object of religious worship.’

The idea of devotion is expressed in a concrete manner by the devotee—one set apart for a unique purpose, dedicated by a vow to the service of a deity; and perhaps we may best define devotion as the inner, intimate, essential side of worship. It is the attitude of the worshipping soul towards God; or, more widely viewed, the self-dedication to a deity, or to something which we have, or think we have, a time with some of the qualities or claims of a deity. In its higher reaches it calls into play the entire forces and resources of man’s personality.

Devotion, then, involves the deliberate movement of the will towards the object of worship.

‘Devotion signifies a life given, or devoted, to God. He therefore is the devout man who lives no longer to his own will, or the very spirit of the world, but to the sole will of God, who considers God in everything, who serves God in everything, who gives all the parts of his common life parts of piety, by doing everything in the name of God, and under such rules as are conformable to His glory’ (Law, Serious Call, Lond., 1888, ch. i).

In the theistic religions, especially in Christianity, where the blossom and fruit are incomparably rich, the definite and full determination of the will towards Deity is the first step in the direction of a devout life. The higher experiences of the consecrated life are unattainable apart from this initial and insistent act. The will of the individual is wholly determined towards the being or beings conceived as Divine, and, apart from this ardent attachment, devotion, strictly speaking, cannot exist. It is thus marked from true religion as a ‘propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man’ (J. G. Frazer, GP, 1900, i. 63) by this spontaneous self-committal.

‘True devotion springs from the will: it is the choice and the love of the highest good manifested to the soul, and, wherever the will of man is found choosing, and adhering to, the highest known Ideal of that which you have the true child of God (G. Religions, Books of Devotion, London, 1903, ch. ii).’ or, as Thomas & Kempis express it, ‘great devotion consists in giving up thyself with all thy heart to the Divine Will, in seeking the things which are thine own, either in small or in great, in time or in eternity’ (Imitation of Christ, bk. iv, ch. xcv).

In this self-determination of the soul both intellectual and emotional appetites are present in varying degrees; no movement is made apart from desire; the intellect by itself, as Aristotle pointed out, moves nothing. Some conception of the end of devotion is necessary before the heart and the affections are yielded in free spontaneity to their Divine object. Thus, in all religions which create and foster the devotional spirit—notably in the Christian religion—the soul intensely, sincerely, and lovingly desires, and moves in faith, reverence, and purity of intention towards, communion with God. Even the pagan Mysteries and the most ancient sacrificial feasts bear witness to this fact.

r. This approach of the soul towards the Divine, with its definite, conscious experience of the Divine presence, is seen in the distinctive exercises and practices of devotion. These are infinite in variety, but primacy must be given to prayer.

‘Devotion,’ writes William Law, ‘is neither private nor public prayer, but prayer whatever private or public exercise or particular parts or instances of devotion’ (Serious Call, ch. i).

Without attempting any survey of the various forms prayer, and especially the devotions of the various religions, we may mark its unrolling and universal characteristics throughout the devotional life of the varied races and generations of mankind. Remembering the true saying of Kierkegaard—that a heathen would at least an idol pray in reality to the true God, but he who outwardly and impersonally prays to the true God.
in reality prays to an idol—we see that the value of the external observance depends on the internal disposition of the suppliant. Prayer must be pure and ingenuous, forasmuch as, from any element of sophistication. Where prayer is viewed so largely and so generally, sometimes so exclusively, sometimes so vaguely, it is obvious that its possible perils are very great. Material wants and mundane considerations obtrude themselves, while the spiritual needs are crowded out, forgotten, ignored—sometimes even unrecognized. But, though not without its dangers, the act of asking a boon of the Unseen, if it be the sincere expression of the spiritually enlightened, is an act which not only describes the fervent longing of the human soul, but also suggests the intimacy of a genuine spiritual communion. It is an aspect of the great passion to establish communication with the Divine or with God, which expresses itself in an outgoing of the human spirit towards the object worshipped and adored. As such, it is an inalienable mark of the devout soul wherever placed, in crude and elementary religious environment as truly, though not as fruitfully, as in realms of high spiritual culture and atmosphere of more refined phases, it becomes not merely a spiritual intercession, but passes in a sublime elevation of soul from soliloquy to silence, from spiritual striving to contemplative calm. The higher reaches of the devotional life are sacred to the progress of the soul and the prayer of 'union' which Madame Guyon describes in her Autobiography (Eng. tr., London, 1897) as 'emptied of all form, species, and images.'

2. Allied to and often confounded with prayer is the act of praise, the tribute of homage which the human renders to the Divine. The relation between prayer and praise is so intimate that, in experience, it is found that instinctively and imperceptibly the one is constantly passing over into the other. This is so true in the hymnology of the Veda, which embody 'some of the earliest religious conceptions of the Hindus' (M. Williams, Hinduism, London, 1901, ch. ii.), as it is in the Jewish Psalms or in the spiritual songs of the Christian Church; and, although they are all primarily adapted to worship in an institutional ceremonial sense, they yet express with true poetical passion the personal devotional life of their particular age. The outward dissimilarities of certain definitions of the forces of Nature' (M. Williams, op. cit. p. 23); a post-exilic theology is implicit in the Psalter; but under all the outward forms of 'temple festivals, processions, and ceremonial' there is present and discernible the thrill of the individual soul, as, in reverence and thanksgiving, homage and gratitude, it prostrates itself before the Divine.

We may certainly affirm that beneath all external expressions, which, of course, reflect the particular sentiments (sometimes, it may be said, immature, and even repugnant, to a developed moral sense) of a people, age, or religion, the elements we have noted are all in its essence and in the difficulty, it is true, in emphasis and in the degree of intensity by which they are sustained; but it may be doubted if any one of them is ever entirely absent. From the manner in which they are present and blended, it is clear that exercise of prayer as a personal outburst in East and West does appear ultimately to result in a qualitative distinction, i.e. to be different in kind. It may, indeed, be regarded as an established fact that the place of prayer in the devotional life is seen most clearly and recorded most completely in religions where the subduing and overwhelming sense of Divine holiness, love, and beneficent energy prevails, and in which the soul's searching sense of guilt is finally submerged—not merely in mercy, but in victorious grace.

In illustration of this, we may note the contrast presented between the attitude of the devout Buddhist, who embalms his lord Gautama in the richest and most splendid sarcophagi of gold and silver, and the attitude toward God, as expressed in the superb and richly varied praise of the Sarpaganga literature (A. M. Fairbairn, Philos. of Chr. Rel., London, 1902, p. 234 f.), and the attitude of the devout Jew towards God, as expressed in the superb and richly varied praise of the Sarpaganga literature (L. T. K. Cheyne, Book of Psalms, London, 1888, p. 118). This contrast is further heightened by a consideration of Christian hymnody, in which, from the θαυματοσωτήρ, ὁδῷς, φόλα προσηλυτικά (Eph. 205) of the early Christians to the sacred lyric or hymn of the Church to-day, the holiness and grace of God are conspicuously honoured and celebrated as much in private devotion as in public worship.

3. The act of adoration, the prostration of the soul in profound reverence, utmost adoration, highest love, is usually associated with the outburst of gratitude or thanksgiving addressed to a deity. As one ascends in the scale of religions, the ethical and spiritual meaning of the adoring soul becomes more significant. In the Vedic and the prayer of 'brilliant gaiety,' passing often into hilarity and levity (as among the Greeks), was subtly united with sacred offices and exercises (cf. F. Granger, The Worship of the Romans, London, 1885, p. 271), it is clear that the outward semblances of the act could not conceivably denote the rich and profound spiritual significance which is so manifest a content of the reverent honour given by the devout Christian to the sacred and adorable Trinity.

The sentiment of adoration is seen at its highest only where the idea of God is marked by supreme moral and ethical excellence. Thus, in Chins, even where there prevails a persistent worship of ancestors which aims at the maintenance of friendly relations with the souls of the dead, or a devotion to Shang-ti and popular divinities, adoration occupies no high place in the desire of the worshippers. In Christianity, on the other hand, devotion seems impossible apart from adoration, and manifests itself as marked by the hymns which are 'addressed to certain definitions of the forces of Nature' (M. Williams, op. cit. p. 23); a post-exilic theology is implicit in the Psalter; but under all the outward forms of 'temple festivals, processions, and ceremonial' there is present and discernible the thrill of the individual soul, as, in reverence and thanksgiving, homage and gratitude, it prostrates itself before the Divine.

We may certainly affirm that beneath all external expressions, which, of course, reflect the particular sentiments (sometimes, it may be said, immature, and even repugnant, to a developed moral sense) of a people, age, or religion, the elements we have noted are all in its essence and in the difficulty, it is true, in emphasis and in the degree of intensity by which they are sustained; but it may be doubted if any one of them is ever entirely absent. From the manner in which they are present and blended, it is clear that exercise of prayer as a personal outburst in East and West does appear ultimately to result in a qualitative distinction, i.e. to be different in kind. It may, indeed, be regarded as an established fact that the place of prayer in the devotional life is seen most clearly and recorded most completely in religions where the subduing and overwhelming sense of Divine holiness, love, and beneficent energy pre-
p. 2041 f.), is the prelude to meditation proper, which
Raysbrooke defines as a ‘concentration of all the interior and exterior forces in the unity of the spirit
and in the bonds of love’ (L’Ornement des passions
spirituelles, tr. M. Maeterlinck, Brussels, 1900, bk.
iv). Meditation or active contemplation is then ‘a
long process of internal quietude, of abstraction from
sense, and of absorption in reason,’ by which the
human soul is attained to the Divine; and the self
~inhabited along with other spiritual possessions, ‘the
power of seeing into eternity’ (Theologia Germanica,
14th cent.). By this interior process of meditation the
whole personality is raised to a higher level, for the act of
contemplation, the abysmal depth of personality,
and releases mysterious spiritual forces otherwise
hidden and unknown. Of this, William Law writes in
‘The Spirit of Prayer’:

‘There is a root or depth in thee from whence all these facul-
ties issue forth and act, or, which branches from
the body of a tree. This depth is called the centre, the
found, or bottom, of the soul, and is so infinite that the
thing can stand, or give it any rest, but the infinity of God’ (The Liberal and
Psychical Writings of W. Law, ed. W. Scott Palmer, London,
1903, p. 43).

Only the spiritually strenuous and purposeful
accomplish this, for it is not merely ‘the
yielding to an instinct, the indulgence of a natural
passion for revenge.’

‘All the scattered interests of the self have here to be
collected; there must be a deliberate and unnatural act of atten-
tion, a deliberate emptying of disordinate images from
the consciousness—a hard and ungrateful task’ (E. Underhill,

Spiritual meditation is, indeed, a difficult thing.
St. Teresa, who finally achieved so much in this
respect, confessed that, when she first made the
attempt, she felt the impossibility of collecting
her thoughts and fixing her attention; and it was
not until more than fourteen years had passed
that she was able to practise meditation without the
aid of a book.

Boehme, in his Dialogues on the Super-sensual
describes the process of meditation as the cessation
of individual activity, and urges the direct and
steadfast fixing of the eye upon one point:

‘For this end, gather in all thy thoughts, and by faith press into the Centre which is held upon the Word, which is
infinite, and which hath called thee. Be thou obedient
to this call, and be silent before the Lord, sitting alone with Him
in the loud silence, and hidden and become a unity, being centered
in His unification in Himself, and attending His will in the patience of
Hope.’

This is a blessed foretaste of the supernatural satisfac-
tion of the contemplative.

5. Again, devotion is expressed, not only in the
loving fulfilment of all these duties commonly
named ‘religious,’ but more particularly and
appropriately in definite spiritual exercises. In that
great devotional classic, The Spiritual Exercises
of St. Ignatius (Eng. tr., London, 1880), the spiritual
development of the individual is shown to be de-
pendent upon the rigorous training to which the
powers of the mind, heart, and will are subjected.
After retiring into solitude and prayer of quiet
contemplation, in which the soul listens only to
the ‘whispering silence,’ the exercised spirit passes
on, in absorbed intensity, to the various methods
and rules by which the desired goal is to be attained.
Thus the value of these means of deep contemplation
lies in the fact

that, when followed in docility and fidelity with
whole-hearted abandonment, the soul is led to the
end for which it was ordained by God. They are
rules which become more and more authoritative by
constant obedience.

‘The number, length, and nature of the exercises are to be
adapted to the age, capacity, and inclination of the person in
retreat; and the way to that end is not all may find what
is suitable to their wants’ (Bodington, op. cit. 130).

All forms of spiritual exercise, whether such as
are involved in the ‘ladder’ of mystic states and
perfections of Neo-Platonic mysticism, the method
of Persian Sufism, or the way of Christian mysti-
cism, are aspects of self-discipline—of the vita
purit-propia. Self-discipline, strenuous and prolonged,
has always been deemed an essential factor in
devotion; and the devout has always been insistent
upon the renunciation of self. Whether it is the
Christian mystic who speaks of self-surrender, or
the Indian mystic who teaches that the illusion of
the finite can be overcome only by entering into the
universal life with the Soul who practices detach-
ment from all that is not God that the heart may
give itself for its only work—meditation upon the
Divine Being—a deliberate self-abandonment is
requested by each alike, though the nature of that
abandonment is variously interpreted and differ-
ently enforced. Perhaps the asceticism of our Lord
(Clem. Alex. Strom. iii. 6) supplies us with the key
to a true understanding of the place and power
of self-discipline. It does not appear that poverty,
the Gnostic Life (ed., under the inspiration of
Gerard Groot and Florisius. The importance
of the ideal has never been questioned by the
devout. According to St. Francis of Assisi,
poverty is
a treasure so high excelling and so divine that we
be not worthy to lay it up in our vile vessels; since,
is that celestial virtue whereby all earthly things
and fleeting are trodden underfoot, and whereby all
the waves of the soul are stilled, whereby all love
of the soul so freely she may join herself to God
Eternal (Fioretti, ch. xiii.).

The essence of self-discipline has been said to be
self-simplification’; this can be attained only
by the soul viewing with sacred indifference the
supernatural, deceptive, or vain things of earth.
Thus, it comes to be seen that inward and outward
poverty is the Indispensable thing; the goal
of the devout soul is, like the Kingdom of Heaven,
attainable only by ‘the poor in spirit.” It is in
such essential vital detachment, according to St.
John of the Cross, that
the spiritual feeds quiet and repose, for, coveting nothing,
nothing wears it by idleness; and nothing oppresses it by
dejection, because it stands in the centre of its own
indifference; for, as soon as it covets anything, it is immediately
exhausted thereby’ (Atent. of Mount Carmel, tr. David Lewis,
London, 1903, ch. xii. n. 10).

Fasting, ‘a piece of devotion whereby the primitive
believers effected very great things’ (Anthony
iv.), has been persistently taught, encouraged, and
practised as a form of self-renunciation and
method of self-mortification, so that it is not all
find what is suitable to their wants’ (Bodington, op. cit. 130).

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to Robertson Smith, (Ed. Sem., 2, London, 1894, p. 433), fastings of this kind, such as fasting was designed especially with a view to the partaking sacramentally of holy flesh. We may well believe this to be the fact, inasmuch as the sacrificial rites of all nations express in their devotional aspect the surrendered self of the creature to the Creator. It does not seem open to doubt that all ancient sacrifices were related to the basal belief in the possibility of communion with the Deity; and the discipline of fasting as a preparation to the partaking, however remote which is in some kind of Divine fellowship was the prescribed method of the Oriental peoples. If it is true, as has been affirmed, that 'both the idea of sacramental worship and the forms under which it is performed by the Christian Church are the almost universal heritage of mankind' (W. R. Inge's Essay in Contentio Veritatis, London, 1902, p. 279), it will not be regarded as a singular thing or strange survival that the concurrent act of fasting should appear with perennial persistence. And further, if a vital communion with the Unseen is conditioned by a transparent sincerity of will and intention, fasting may well have approved itself as a sign of, as well as a means towards, such self-discipline in the soul. Such a fast is expected in the Christian Church, where the avowed aim of the faithful is to be "one with the Lord and He with us," and the devout person seeks to present himself a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice, 12th-century fashion of fasting before communion certainly finds its explanation, if not its justification, not so much in the practice of the universal Church as in the acknowledged need of self-disciplinary exercise for those who would worthily and reverently prepare themselves for the receiving of the Lord's Supper.

"Let us," says Jeremy Taylor, "receive the consecrated elements with all devotion and humility of body and spirit; and do this hounest to it, that it be the first beverage we drink that day, unless it be in case of sickness or other great necessity; and that your body and soul both be prepared to its reception with abstinence from sensual pleasures." (Holy Living, London, 1649, ch. iv. sect. x.)

It is admitted that such fasting 'is not a duty commanded by God,' but it is undeniable a custom well sanctioned by authority of the most devout. In the more general sense, fasting has been endured by the devout almost universally; and by many saints it has been ardently embraced as a valuable means towards the discipline and correction of the human nature's insatiable hunger of the spirit. It cannot be denied that, as a spiritual exercise, evoking, training, and shaping the mysteries potentialities of the soul, fasting under its various forms does effect in many instances most fruitful spiritual developments, and justifies itself as a 'gymnastic of eternity.'

6. In this connexion we note that spiritual raptures and ecstatic experiences of peculiar significance follow, though not invariably, the self-disciplinary exercises of the devout. Catherine of Siena and Catherine of Genoa may be cited as types of devout souls who constantly resorted to the discipline of fasting, and experienced the enrichment of life which ecstatic states confer. The saints, not infrequently, considered the spiritual exercise as a means of artificially producing or inducing 'ecstasy.' This spiritual state and 'dazzling obscurity,' while it has affinities with the 'ecstasy' of philosophic communion and ecstacy of the Neo-Platonists,—must be carefully distinguished from all those extraordinary forms of ecstasy which at different periods have been sought for successfully by barbarous orgiastic worship or by rude and crude rites of initiation.

Here, obviously, the 'ecstasy' was of an illuminative character; this constituted its inner grace and spiritual value. This 'ecstasy,' according to Richard Rolle, may take the form of 'being ravished of fleshly feeling,' and on this manner saints sometimes are ravished to their profit and other men's learning; as Paul ravished to the third heaven. (The Fire of Love, ed. Lond., 1896, bk. ii. ch. vii.)

The essential mark, however, of this spiritual ecstasy would seem to be a supreme and overwhelming joy in the possession of a new knowledge gained not as the prize of toil and thought, but in the upper chambers, the rarest gifts of the Holy Ghost. Certainly such 'ecstasy' is no more the product of human sagacity than it is the fruit of an assumed or pretended sanctity.

7. This leads to a consideration of the fact previously stated, that ecstasy is a movement, from the movement of the individual will towards the Divine, such movement being expressed in the various activities already noted, the supreme phase of devotion passing from the service of God, expressed through the various forms of mysticism, to the union of all elements of religious feeling which distinguish by their intensity and seriousness communion with God. 'I sought,' says Jacob Boehme, 'only for the heart of God, therein to hide myself' (Aurora, 1687, of Jacob Boehme, translated in London, 1764, p. 257). This is no mere 'nordic condition of mental emotion,' but the end desired with an incorruptible sincerity by all devout persons at all times. Among the Greeks, for example, one secret of the attractiveness of the Eleusinian Mysteries lay in the fact that the esoteric symbolism employed therein ministered, not to a sickly dreaming, but to a magnificent desire for an intimate spiritual communion with Deity. Since the advent of the Christian Church, there has been a wide range of spiritual exercises and disciplined employments, sought, with all their fiery strength, the path which afforded close, indeed immediate, access to God—through Christ to God. This 'subjective intensity,' the inward inner necessity, the danger, witnesses to the zeal with which they pursued their quest. Thus, if the communion of man with God is to be attained, the devout soul, whether inside or outside the Christian Church, has always seen that the Divine life, potential or actual, within him must be tended with 'an intense solemnity and energy.' To the Christian, devotion is based on the certainty of communion between God and man through Christ. It springs from a faith in Christ (or, to use Luther's word, a 'right trust') which involves ultimately, if it does not embody presently, a moral union with Christ; and there is no devotion comparable for a moment with the devotion of pure spiritual humanity which is offered up by the soul that has found the new life in Christ and is entrenched in that reality of regeneration which is the certainty of its so great salvation. As Christ is the perfect means whereby the soul of man may realize itself in full and unclouded spiritual communion with its Creator, so the practice of devotion has gathered and drawn from the human life of the Lord—that consummate achievement of stainless communion—not only its supreme ideal and heroic statement, but its rarest and most precious power. 'Non comprehenditur Deus per investigationem sed per imitationem,
We must, in our devotion, as Thomas à Kempis urges, copy the life and conduct of our Lord, 'if we wish to be truly enlightened, and to be delivered from all stains of original sin' (bk. i. ch. i.). Neither must the call to fellowship with the Saviour’s sufferings be evaded or disdained, nor the eyes closed to the imperative demand for ‘mediatorial ministries.’ The passivity of Quinetian can never be the ideal of the devotionalist.

‘With him the corner-stone, The living stones conjoin; Christ and his Church are one, One Body and one Vine’

(Wesley, Hymns on the Lord’s Supper, no. 129.)

In sacrificial service, not only in sacramental worship, the devout soul shares in the joyous travail of the spiritual Kingdom, sustained by the effectual irresistible energies of the Holy Spirit of God.

8. Devotional literature is the outcome, the record, or the expression of a vital devotion. Devotion may exist and manifest its presence without any attempt to express itself in literary form; but every true book of devotion involves the pre-existing and spontaneous impulse and the works and morbid or mauldin books on devotion, whether marked by grandiloquent language or spiritual insipidity, may generally be detected by their atmosphere of moral enervation, or an asceticism that makes them unreadable by the genuinely devout man unconscious of his devotion; and all the great devotional classics, even those most intimately personal, are marked by the absence of anything approaching, in sincerest degree, the spirit of devotion. Spiritual books and works, and the spirit of devotion, are among the most spiritually moving books in the world. The great books of devotion elude our attempts to classify them, though we may trace affinities and mark divergencies. They all owe their existence to the spirit of conspicuous devotion which marked the lives of their authors; and, although respectively they exhibit the fashions of a particular age and reflect pre-eminently the spiritual needs and satisfactions of their own special time, they owe their persistent power to the presence in them of an unconscious self-revelation of spiritual insight, and the faculty of inducing and begetting a deeper devotional life in those who are in some measure the preachers of their doctrines.

9. The devotional movements, which have been established and enriched by books so widely divergent in many respects as the Sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux, where the ‘illuminative way’ is described with searching insight as the rising to the love of God with heart, mind, and soul; Tauler’s Sermons; the Theologia Germanica; A. Baker’s Holy Wisdom; Louis of Granada’s Sinners’ Guide; Sulpici’s Spiritual Combat, in which, despite obscurities and perversities, there shines the lamp of a true saint; the pious reflections of Pascal’s Thoughts; the Journal of George Fox; and the mystical Devotional Works of John Norris. Perreyve’s Journal du malade, Gratry’s Meditations, with their striking and suggestive sincerities of thought, Soucal’s Life of God in the Soul of Men, and Milman’s Love of the Atonement all unite to disclose to the expectant soul some of the angust possibilities of faith, prayer, and sacrifice. The work of Alphonso de Rodrigues, On Spiritual Prayer, is devotional, and is, perhaps, our greatest, or rather, our only business, the union of our souls with God by love, is set forth with arresting ardour and spiritual knowledge; the Poems of George Herbert and his Priest to the Temple, barrined by analysis. Theologian Kelbe—must be named as occupying distinct and honoured places in the impressive library of devotional literature, although, of course, they do not ‘unite all great attributes in an equal degree.’

In the realm of devotion, doubtless books wait to be scaled, untrdened territories allure the intrepid spiritual explorer, and vast spiritual tracts are yet to be surveyed; thus, while we hold steadfastly to the precious devotional gains of the past, we believe that greater works than these may be achieved by the soul following the Supreme Spiritual Director who guides us into all truth.


W. MAJOR SCOTT.
DEW.—The cooling of the ground causes, during clear nights, a deposit of some of the atmospheric moisture held in suspension during the day. It was not till 1814 that the main facts of the process of the formation of dew were established. Mention of Wells' famous theory—a perfect example of the inductive method—is in vain, since primitive speculation upon the origin of dew has joined with observation of its value to plant-life in attaching to it various ideas of spiritual mystery and various uses in ritual.

In the OT the origin of dew is one of the mysteries of creation; the deposition of dew is gentle, sudden, and invisible; its evaporation in the sun is a metaphor for speedy departure or disappearance. Early observation, of course, distinguished dew from rain, and noted their consequences from the clouds 'by the knowledge' of Jahweh. The closer connection of dew with mist and fog naturally involved some confusion in both language and observation. This is of some importance in the Biblical and post-Biblical literature.

'The spirit of the dew has its dwelling at the ends of the heaven and is connected with the chambers of the rain, and its comings and goings are in judgment.' The conjunction is in inverted commas, and the character of the mist is connected, and the one passes over into the other. The young warriors of the royal Messiah are compared, for numbers and freshness, and perhaps brilliance (see also below), to the dewdrops from 'the womb of the morning.' The sunbeams are born by the 'head' of the angelic hosts. The withholding of dew is a dire calamity, and one of the most terrible of curses. We have here, in fact, the best illustration extant in folklore or literature of the pastoral and agricultural importance of the dew-fall. That importance is greatest in Eastern countries which have no irrigation to supplement an insufficient water-supply, and where every drop of moisture counts. But in Palestine the genuine dew of spring and autumn is of far less importance than the night-mist of summer. This is not dew, but moisture condensed in the air before it reaches the ground. It is brought from the sea by the west winds, and for abundance and consistency may be compared to the mist of the marshlands. Neill, who analyzed the phenomenon, is of opinion that the tal ('sprinkled moisture' of the OT; EV 'dew') signifies in the majority of cases not dew proper, but this characteristic night-mist. Such mists from the sea have an extraordinary influence on vegetation, more in accordance with the OT descriptions than that of dew. But the same term is employed, and the two phenomena were hardly differentiated.

It is far from certain that it is ground-moisture, and that it bears upon life and growth, early thought upon several various ideas. In connexion with the belief that growth in plants is dependent upon the influence of the moon, Frazer notes that, since dew falls most thickly on cloudless nights,

1 Job 38; 2 S 17:10; Dt 25:12. 2 Hos 6:5. 3 Ps 28; 4 Fr. 36. 5 Mt. 1:25. 6 Ex. 1:23 (Ed. Charles) 32:29. 7 De 35:27, Is 51:19, 66:24, Gn 27:38, Ps 119:10, 111:16, 114:16. 8 Is. 11:16. 9 Ps 119. 10 Ps 112:16. 11 Ps 116. 12 Ps 112:15. 13 Eki, a.v. 'dew.' 14 Cf. the phōs moros of Greece phōs = 'shower' as well as the Latin fumus, Arabic ḥamūs, Hebrew ḥamās, and the Sanskrit 'rāgītā.' 15 Cf. the ḥamās of the Upanisads. 16 Cf. the ḥamās of the Upanisads. 17 Cf. the ḥamās of the Upanisads.

the inference that such deposit in particular and all moisture in general were caused by the moon was a clear result of primitive observation. Alemann says that Dew is a daughter of Zeus and the Moon. Greek and Latin folklore regarded the moon as the great source of moisture, and the sun as the great scavenger of it. 'As the humid power of the moon was assumed to be greater when the planet was waxing than when it was waning, they thought that the amount cut during the increase of the moon would be saturated with moisture, whereas timber cut in the wane would be comparatively dry. Hence we are told that in antiquity carpenters would reject timber felled when the moon was growing or full, because they believed that such timber teemed with sap; and in the Vesuvius at the present day people believe that wood cut at the new moon does not dry. In the Highlands, peasants give the same reason for cutting their peats when the moon is on the wane; 'for they observe that if they are cut in the increase, they continue still moist and never burn clear, nor are they without smoke, but the contrary is daily observed.'

It is possible that the fact of plants growing more during the night than during the day was known at an early date. The contrast between the light of the moon and the torrent force of the sun is obvious. Plutarch observes, 'the moon, with her humid and generative light, is favourable to the propagation of animals and the growth of plants; while the sun, with his fierce fire, scorches and burns up all growing things.'

Equally natural is the inference that things grow with the waxing, and decrease with the waning, of the moon. The deposition of dew on plants corroborates such observations, and introduces another line of thought. The connexion of moisture with life and growth is most strikingly proved by vegetable phenomena. Hydrostatical turgor is the essential condition of growth. Pliny's remark shows the extension of the principle to animal processes:

18 Even the blood of men grows and diminishes with the light of the moon.

Thus, primitive philosophy views the moon

19 as the great cause of vegetable growth, first, because the planet seems itself to grow, and second, because it is supposed to be the source of life and moisture.

A contributory inference is the connexion of the changes of the moon with the monthly periodicity of women. The Arabs and Greenlanders, like the majority of primitive peoples, regard the moon as male. The young man is able to impregnate women. Girls are afraid to look long at it; no woman will sleep on her back, without first spitting on her fingers and rubbing the spittle on her stomach.

The symbolical practice of last-cited may be compared with several scattered facts. The cosmology of the Hindus, in its theory of the marriage of heaven and earth, employed the very obvious symbolism of rain as the impregnating fluid; and the soul, as the male and life-giving principle, purusa, descends in the form of rain and re-issues from men as the germ. This notion of the philosophers of the Upanisads is but a crystallization of the general connexion of moisture with life. Such ideas are in flux, and constantly passing into each other; but a tendency is clearly observable to regard dew as a sort of heavenly seed, fertilizing earth and its products, and stimulating growth.

The union of sky and earth, which results in the propagation of plant-life, is a world-wide theory; and synaesthetical ritual is extensively employed to

The dew, in other words, is the concrete concomitant of the spiritual substance. It may be conjectured that the miraculous power, conferred by fern-seed, of discovering hidden treasure is derived from the jewel-like seintillations of dew-drops.

A good illustration of such homologies between the concrete and the spiritual is to be seen in the OT account of manna and its deposition. Like fern-seed, it came with mystery, and, like fern-seed, it was to be gathered according to a stratagem. Its invariable antecedent was the dew, and, in the same way as it apparently crystalized out of the dew in the wilderness, so we may imagine the idea and the story of it to have crystalized out of the fluid notions concerning dew.

At even, 2 says Jahweh, yea shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with manna. And it came to pass at even, that the quails came up, and covered the camp from one to another, it was manna (What is this?), for they saw not what it was. 4 When the sun waxed hot, it melted. It was like coriander seed to the eyes of the Israelites. The connexion with dew is more precisely noted in the second account.5 And when manna did fall upon the camp in the night, and in the morning it was dry. 6 After eating the manna, and when the hand, the branches found that the manna automatically ceased.7 It was the corn of heaven (Nun) 8 (RV 'the bread of the night'), and from heaven it was rained upon the people with the quails, and the water, with the preservation of clothes, manna was a magically supported existence in the wilderness. The writer of Deuteronomy refers to the fact that they knew not what was this bread, neither did they say what is this name which is bread of heaven. 9

The whole account, with its significant analogies, is important as illustrating the psychological process by which a concrete idea may take shape in visual perception aided by imagination. Fern-seed, which sparkles like fire, and vanishes like dew, is, we suggest, an imaginative product of dew, as elusive as its source; manna, we suggest also, is equally an imaginative product of dew developed along another line—that of the ideas of food stimulated by starvation. Coming after or upon the dew, as the literal light food from heaven, the food of angels, easily passing through the flesh, as a true potable, it is as elusive as dew in its behavior and as unsatisfying in its results. But it supports like miraculously for those who are in a state of supernaturalism. Most certainly it is erroneous to base the story of manna on such actual phenomena as the secretions of the Tragia minnifera or other plants. 10 The comparison with coriander seed amounts merely to its standing for the essence of light, but not its nature.

These ideas may be more closely illustrated. The people of Halmahera hold that dew is the food of spirits.11 In Minahassa it is said that the first man fed on dew. Further, an essentially spiritual connexion is claimed for dew. The people last cited believe that the final end of man is to be merged in dew. The Balinese hold that the soul returns to earth, after being dissipated into the air by the creation of the body, in the form of dew. Thus the Maori belief is that the soul dies eight or nine days before it finally changes into water and disappears in mist.12

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A good illustration of such homologies between the concrete and the spiritual is to be seen in the OT account of manna and its deposition. Like fern-seed, it came with mystery, and, like fern-seed, it was to be gathered according to a stratagem. Its invariable antecedent was the dew, and, in the same way as it apparently crystalized out of the dew in the wilderness, so we may imagine the idea and the story of it to have crystalized out of the fluid notions concerning dew.

At even, says Jahweh, yea shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with manna. And it came to pass at even, that the quails came up, and covered the camp from one to another, it was manna (What is this?), for they saw not what it was. When the sun waxed hot, it melted. It was like coriander seed to the eyes of the Israelites. The connexion with dew is more precisely noted in the second account. And when manna did fall upon the camp in the night, and in the morning it was dry. After eating the manna, and when the hand, the branches found that the manna automatically ceased. It was the corn of heaven (Nun) (RV 'the bread of the night'), and from heaven it was rained upon the people with the quails, and the water, with the preservation of clothes, manna was a magically supported existence in the wilderness. The writer of Deuteronomy refers to the fact that they knew not what was this bread, neither did they say what is this name which is bread of heaven. 

The whole account, with its significant analogies, is important as illustrating the psychological process by which a concrete idea may take shape in visual perception aided by imagination. Fern-seed, which sparkles like fire, and vanishes like dew, is, we suggest, an imaginative product of dew, as elusive as its source; manna, we suggest also, is equally an imaginative product of dew developed along another line—that of the ideas of food stimulated by starvation. Coming after or upon the dew, as the literal light food from heaven, the food of angels, easily passing through the flesh, as a true potable, it is as elusive as dew in its behavior and as unsatisfying in its results. But it supports like miraculously for those who are in a state of supernaturalism. Most certainly it is erroneous to base the story of manna on such actual phenomena as the secretions of the Tragia minnifera or other plants. The comparison with coriander seed amounts merely to its standing for the essence of light, but not its nature.

These ideas may be more closely illustrated. The people of Halmahera hold that dew is the food of spirits. In Minahassa it is said that the first man fed on dew. Further, an essentially spiritual connexion is claimed for dew. The people last cited believe that the final end of man is to be merged in dew. The Balinese hold that the soul returns to earth, after being dissipated into the air by the creation of the body, in the form of dew. Thus the Maori belief is that the soul dies eight or nine days before it finally changes into water and disappears in mist.
following beliefs are particularly significant. The Sea Dayaks report that souls die seven times after the death of the body. 

*After having become degenerated by these successive dyings, they become practically annihilated by absorption into the air and then by a final dissolution into various jungle plants not recognized by any name.*

The Oto-Nzadju and other peoples of the East Indian Islands speak of the souls of the dead as plants. The Tuvalangi Daraks say that the soul after a time descends upon the rice in the form of dew. The more souls there are to descend upon it, the richer is the rice harvest. In reference to manna, it may be noted that the East Indians believe that, if the soul of the rice be absent, the grain has lost its nutritive property; a man may eat it but will never be satisfied. The soul of the Lushai turns into water, and evaporates as dew. If dew falls on a man, his child will be a re-incarnation of the dead. 

Here the idea of moisture in relation to life, and of unindividualized haze or mist, out of which individual forms are precipitated, meet again in dew. Thus, while the Hill Torajadas believe the soul to be a close female relative—believed to be the 'daughter' of 'vapour of the land'—forms clouds; and the Tracey Islanders say that the first man was created out of vapour. Thus the descent of the soul to earth and its ascent from earth go hand in hand. Part of it is reproduced in the form of moisture and produces dew. The ascending dew is rahmani; this is the second soul, nyawa rahmani, residing above the heart. The dew which ascends to the sky is rahori, the third soul, 'lustre of breathing'; residing in the heart; the dew which descends as rain is dysmanti, the fourth soul, 'soul of the body,' residing in the whole body. This account illustrates the spiritual potentiality of the idea of dew.

The special development of the idea of dew in both the Athenian and the Hebrew religions.

(1) In Athenian mythology, Herse (Dew) and Pandrosos (All-dewy) are daughters of Ceereps and Agrales. A rite, termed 'Eppaspaphos or Erphos, was performed in honour of Athene. Little is known either of Herse or the rite which seems to have been performed by Pandrosos. The statement of Moris, that the Eppaspaphos 'carried dew to Herse' in the Arrhephoria is uncorroborated. But the arrhephoria, or herepaphoria, are verified as 'maiden trained in the service of Athene, and living near the temple of Athene Polias.' In Athens, they bought a mysterious offering by an underground passage from the temple of Aphrodite & Kyros, not to Herse, or to Pandrosos, but to Athene. Farrel concludes that the fruits of the earth appear to have been in some way consecrated to Athene. It is also evident that at Athens she came into some contact with the earth-goddess. To reconcile her cult with Athene's, it may well have happened that the latter goddess was given two of her titles, namely, Pandrosus and Bhe.

Pandrosos is thus no individual spirit, nor originally an epitaph of Athene, but an epithet of the Earth Goddess, in reference to her dew conveying a spiritual connexion with crops. The ceremony embodying this connexion was transferred to the centralized deity of Attica—Athene. The dew-carriers are mentioned in inscriptions, but there is no such verification of the existence of Herse. She is, to be sure, a mere name, developed from the terms Eppaspaphos and Eryphosaphos. But it is a question what these terms themselves imply.

The story of Eppaspaphos being given to the three sisters, Herse, Pandrosos, and Agrales, to nurse, Pandrosos alone being faithful to her trust, is explained by Miss Harrison as an etiological myth, invented to account for the rite of Arrhephoria or Herepaphoria. The scholiast on Aristoph. Lysistrata, (490) observes: 'Some say, on account of the e, it is Eryphosaphos, because maidens carry nameless things' (Eppaspaphos) on account of the e, Eryphosaphos, because maidens walk in procession in honour of Herse, daughter of Ceereps. The terms Eppaspaphos and Eryphosaphos are also used for the young of animals, such as lamb and suckling pigs. A remarkable feature of the Thesmophoria, as the scholiast on Aristophanes says, is that in connexion with the fertility of the crops, was the casting of pigs into the fields or into Eryphosaphos, under whose protection the bringing out of the rotten flesh, presumably the following year. These services were performed by the Thesmophoros, and the flesh was used as a manure and in many agricultural rites as a magical fertilizer of the fields. Miss Harrison suggests that the ephosaphos or Eryphosaphos 'carried dew' was used like young animals, and that they were used in a manner and for a purpose similar to those of the Thesmophoria. The Arrhephoria is certainly associated with the Thesmophoria and Skirphoria, and it is in accordance with the principles of myth-formation that, as she suggests, both the name Herse and the story of Eppaspaphos was borrowed by a rite that had become mysterious.

Prelfer, on the other hand, had regarded Herse as a Dew Goddess—a personification of the Dew. Later German scholars regard her as a nymph of the same class as Aurox and Thalle—personifications of the 'growth' of the crops. No reliance is to be placed on the scholiast's reference to Eryphosaphos. Any 'mysteries', that is, ritual object—even a branch laden with dew—might be styled Eryphosaphos, just as much as a young animal or its flesh. And the word Eryphosaphos has the forms Eppaspaphos and Eryphosaphos. Eppaspaphos as a 'young thing' is a metaphor, a priori later in origin than a primitive agricultural ritual, and therefore unlikely to be the original meaning of the name of the ceremony. The scholiast on Aristophanes says: 'Maidens walk in procession in honour of Herse'; there is here no mention of dew, but he says, 'In the same procession maidens carried branches laden with dew, and omitted to mention the fact, branch-carrying being a regular detail of processions. Ofried Muller suggested that the arrhephoria carried simply leafe branches laden with dew, symbolical of a petition for a supply of dew during the heat of summer. 

Thus we have a ceremony similar to the widespread European custom of carrying May boughs dipped in dew. In Athens and in the Athenian custom there may have been a magical demand for dew rather than a prayer for it, but the branch is the important object, the focus of the demand for growth and fruitfulness of the crops; and the dew may be merely an accessory, a kind of prop, which on occasion, on, the whole, seems the most probable. Herse may be unreal as a deity, but the fact remains that the Athenian mythologists, if not the Athenian priests, actually personified the Dew, while the herepaphos only carried sacred dew. Though unverified, Moeris' statement may have hit the truth, and what they carried may have been dew. Here it is possibly significant that the arrhephoria carried their offering from the temple of Aphrodite & Kyros, just as some of the dew may have been in the gardens of the goddess of procreation, and possibly the generative symbolism
of dew was a factor in the ritual (see above). The
dew would thus serve to impregnate the fields.

In the case of Apollo Hespos at Vati, the epithet
seems to be the same character as Panodos, (2)
The post-Biblical liturgies of dew to the Hebrews show an interesting development of the ideas of the OT concerning dew. The Book of
Ezocoh, after describing the dwelling of the spirit of
the dew, and the relation between its clouds and
the clouds of the mist, speaks of 'winds
coming from the middle of the twelve portals';
these bring 'beneficial dew of prosperity'; from
other portals, 'hurtful dew' emerges, accompanied
by locusts and the thunders of Thy Name. The
Rabb
binical writings state that 'in the sixth heaven
there are treasures of hurtful dews and of beneficial dews.3 A prayer is offered
between Pesah and Shabat that God may pre-
serve the people from the hurtful dew.
The two loaves of bread 'waved' on Shabat are a sym-
boic petition to the Ruler of heaven and earth
and the four winds, to withhold the impromptu winds
and dews. As for the dew of blessing, thus
fluctuating between the two elements and the moral,
it is said, that since the destruction of the Temple,
no dew of unmixed blessing falls apparently on account of the cessation of the tithes and the
hands-offering.7 Dew falls as a heavenly gift, and
by the merit of man proper.9 Yet on account of the
Israel does dew come as a blessing under the world
on account of Jacob or of Job.9 God promised
Abraham under an oath never to let dew cease to bless his descendants, and therefore the words of
Elijah could not apply to us.

The Dew of the Resurrection is a remarkable
collection of these ideas, originating chiefly
from a passage of Isaiah: 'Awake and sing, ye
women of Zion, for thy dew is as the dew of
herbs, and the earth shall cast forth the flowers.'
The passage, 'Thou, O God, didst send a plentiful
rain, thou didst confirm thine inheritance, when
it was weary,'12 was interpreted to refer to an
incident at the giving of the Law
When God appeared amidst the trouble of the earth
on Sinai, life fled from the people of Israel and from all the
living people in the land of Israel; and the angels said: 'And Thou
art desirous to give Thy Law unto the dead or unto the living?' Then
God dropped the dew of Resurrection upon all, and they
received.13 This Dew of the Resurrection is stored up in
Arabot, the highest heaven;14 and by it the dead
are revived.

In the modern Hebrew liturgies Geeshem, 'rain,' and
Tal, 'dew,' have an important place, though
the prayers for them are regarded rather as an
affirmation of the Divine control of the seasons.
On the first day of Passover, Tal is
substituted for Geeshem. On this and other occasions for
Tal, the reader of Musaf/Shabbat, white shroud and cap, as on the Day of Atonement.
The Talmudists decided that the actual prayer for rain—'Give dew and rain for a blessing
upon the face of the earth'—should be introduced only at the inception of the rainy season.
The melodies accompanying Geeshem and Tal are
various throughout Europe, and are distinguished by
a quaint charm.

LITERATURE.—K. Kohler, L. N. Dembitz, F. L. Cohen, in JE, s.v. 'Dew,' 'Geeshem'; T. K. Cheyne, art. 'Dew,' in EJ; E. Neel, Palestine Explorations, 1882; E. H. Hull, art. 'Dew,' in JEB; J. G. Frazer, OIP, 1893, Passovers and Easter; L. de Peller, Die Griechischen Mythologien, 1872-75; Roscher, s.v. 'Tal.'


DHAMMAPALA—This epic poet of the Hindu
Dhammapala (Dhammapallama) is included among the thera ('elders') contemporary with the Buddha, to
whom are ascribed the poems preserved in the
Theragatha; and several others are mentioned as
the authors of minor works of later date. The
only one which seems important is the life of
the history of the religion is distinguished from
the other by the special title of Achariya, 'the
Teacher.'

In the colophons to those of his works that have
so far been edited we find two elements: (1) that
he claimed to have followed the traditional
interpretation of his texts as handed down in the
Great Minister at Anuradhapura in Ceylon; and (2) that
his life was spent at the Badara Thittha-Vihara.
And from the Suan,7 yet others have learned
that this place was in the Tamil country, not far
from Ceylon. It would seem, therefore, that Dhampapala was educated at the same university
as Buddhaghosa, that he was a Tamil by birth and
lived and wrote in South India.

The first of these conclusions is confirmed by the
published works of the two writers. They have
very similar views, they appeal to the same
authorities, they use the same method of exegesis,
they have reached the same result in philological
and etymological science (a stage far beyond that
reached at that time in Europe), they have
the same lack of knowledge of the simplest rules of
the higher criticism. So far as we can at present
judge, they must have been trained in the same
school.

As to the second point—the birth and life of
Dhammapala in South India—we have a curious
confirmation from outside. Yuan Chhwang, visited
Kaichipura, the capital of the Tamil country, in
A.D. 640. The brethren there told him that
Dhammapala had been born there.

He was a boy of good natural parts which received
great development as he grew. When he came of
the king was assigned to him as wife. But on the right
before the ceremony of marriage was about to be performed, he
was greatly distressed in mind, he prayed earnestly for an immediate
in answer to his prayer a good bear came to him
from a mountain monastery some hundreds of it from the capital.
When the brethren there heard his story, they compiled it
and gave him this explanation. It is true that the English translators of Yuan Chhwang use the Sanskritized form of the name
(Dhammapala). This would not show that the Chinese pilgrim applied the story to a
person different from our Dhammapala; for both
he and his translators frequently used the Sanskritized form (which they imagine to be more
correct) for Pali names of persons and places.

But Yuan Chhwang adds the title Phusa (that is, Bodhisattva). This shows that he applied the story to the
teacher of his own teacher, a Dhammapala
who had been a famous dignitary of the university of Nalanda in India, and who
must have flourished at the end of the 6th century. To him
he would naturally and properly apply this title, which was used among the Mahayana Buddhists in a sense about equivalent to our honorary degree of D.D.

But it is much more probably that the Kaichipura
bhhaktha told the story of his own distinguished

1. Watts, Yuan Chh'ang, II. 235.
colleague, and that the pilgrim, who knew nothing of the life of Dharmapāla, even in the case of the two scholars are quite distinct. Their views differed as widely as those of a Calvinist and a Catholic; one wrote in Pāli, the other in Sanskrit; one was trained at Anuradhapura, the other at Nālandā; and one is a member of the 8th century old movement, the other than the Sanskrit one, the one having flourished in the last quarter of the 5th cent., the other in the last quarter of the 6th.

The Gāndha-vamsa, a very late historical compilation, enumerates (p. 60) 14 works ascribed to Dharmapāla. Even the bare names are full of interest. Whereas Buddhaghosa commented on the five principal prose works in the Canon, seven of Dharmapāla’s works are commentaries on the principal books of poetry preserved in the Canon, two others are sub-commentaries on Buddhaghosa’s works, and two more are sub-commentaries on commentaries not written by Buddhaghosa. This shows the importance attached, at that period in the history of the orthodox Buddhists, to the work of re-writing in Pāli the commentaries hitherto handed down in the local dialects, such as Sinhalese and Tamil.

In his own commentaries, Dharmapāla follows a regular scheme. First comes an Introduction to the whole collection of poems, giving the traditional account of how it came to be put together. Then each poem is taken separately. After explaining how, when, and by whom it was composed, each clause in the poem is quoted and explained philologically and exegetically. These explanations are indispensable for a right understanding of the difficult texts with which he deals. The remaining three works are two commentaries on the Neigh, the oldest Pāli work not included in the Canon, and a psychological treatise.

Of these 14 works by Dharmapāla, three (the commentaries on the Therigāthi and on the Petu- and Vīmāna-sutta) have been published in full by the Pāli Text Society; and an edition of a fourth, his comment on the Therigāthi, is being prepared. Hardy and Windisch, in their editions of the texts, have also given extracts from his comments on the Netti and the Hiśmitā.

It is evident, from Yīn Chwang’s account of his stay in the Tamil country, that in Dhammapāla’s time it was preponderatingly Buddhist, and that of the non-Buddhists the majority were Jains. It is not very extensively Hindu. We have only the vaguest hints as to when and how this remarkably change was brought about.


DHRAMA.—Sacred law and duty, justice, religious merit. This is one of the most comprehensible and important terms in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. Indian commentators have explained it denoting an act which produces an virtuous quality of the soul called apiśra, the cause of heavenly bliss and of final liberation. In ordinary usage, however, it has a far wider meaning than this, and may denote established practice or custom of the caste or community. One of the six systems of philosophy, the Pāramāṇaśāstra, expressly professes to teach dharma. The special manuals of the sacred law, of which the Code of Manu is the most familiar example, are called dhrarmashastra, treatises on dharma.1 The Buddhist one of tradition, Dharma personified is the god of justice and judge of the dead. Adharma, the god of injustice, is his adversary. The ordeal of Dharma and Adharma consists in drawing lots from an earthen vessel.

One lot contains a white figure of Dharma, and the other a black figure of Adharma. In Buddhism, Dharma is one of the three members of the trinity (tribhūta, ‘the three jewels’): Buddha, the law, and the priesthood. The worship of Dharma, which is largely prevalent in Western Bengal at the present day in the form of the dharma-kutālas, shows how strongly it has affected the life of the piligrims who flock to the holy place.


DHĪYĀNA (Pāli dhāya).—1. Meditation, or dhīyāna, in Sanskrit.—This is a religious practice which presupposes a life of retirement, and concentration of mind upon a single thought. In the Rigvedic period we find penance (tapas) or bodily mortification, but in the Upaniṣad or post-Upaniṣad religious schools the idea was transferred from body to mind, until it took the form of dhīyāna, which began with a meditation on the sacred syllable Om. The object, method, and other details of meditation vary in different schools, but we may safely say that it has been and is the universal characteristic of the religious culture of all Indian religious schools. The use of the word dhīyāna, too, is not very definite even in the Upaniṣad itself. Sometimes it is different from yoga (concentration), which is a general term for such practices, or anam dyāna, or, at some times it is a part of the yoga practice. See art. YOGA. We shall here limit ourselves to the idea of dhīyāna in Buddhism.

2. Dhīyāna and samādhi.—In Buddhism dhīyāna forms an important factor in religious practice. First of all, we must clearly distinguish dhīyāna (meditation) from samādhi (absorption), for a confusion of the two terms often leads to hopeless misunderstanding. Generally speaking, meditation on an object becomes absorption when subject and object, the meditator and the meditated, are so completely blended into one that the consciousness of the separate subject altogether disappears. To attain Arhatship is to reach the tranquil state of samādhi, without being affected at all by outward environment and inward sinful thought. An Arhat is accordingly called the Samādihā (‘tranquil’). Samādhi forms the fourth factor of the Five Forces (bha), and the Fifth Faculty (vissenas-viśvaksena), and the first of the Seven Constituents of Bodhi (bhāva-bhāva), and the eighth of the Noble Eightfold Path (yāma).2 To attain samādhi is therefore the sole object of Buddhists, and dhīyāna is one of the most important means to lead one to that end. The common classification of dhīyāna into three degrees (see below) probably prevailed already in the pre-Buddhistic period. At any rate the mention of the fourfold dhīyāna in the Mahābhārata (xii. ex. 1), the counting among heretics of


those who regard each of the four dhyanas as the state of Nirvāṇa in the Brahma-jāla-sutta, and the reference in the Ric, senior to the Buddha, practicing the eight senses (nine Dhyanas and four ārūpyas) in the Jātaka, seem to point to the fact that the practice of the four dhyanas was common to both Brahmans and Buddhists. It was the Buddha who added some further steps to the four dhyanas.

3. Religious practices preliminary to dhyāna.—
Dhyāna, as stated above, is divided into four degrees in Buddhism. Even the first and lowest of the four dhyanas corresponds in its quality to a state higher than the sixth of the eight constituents of yoga (yoga-aṅga). To reach the first dhyanā several preliminary practices are needed. These correspond to the first five constituents of yoga. One has to keep precepts and rules (āśīla) laid down by the Buddha (yama-yama) ; secondly, to keep one's body and mind pure and serene, living in solitary retirement away from the people, in a forest or a cave (vihāra), and sitting cross-legged, always thinking on a religious subject (cetasā). There are several methods of preparatory meditation, according to the ability of the meditator. We shall give a few examples. A quiet-minded novice should practice mental meditation, and find his love (mata-karaṇa-bhāvanā). Another novice whose mind is stupid should practice self-control by meditating on the Twelve Chains of Causation. In this way a Buddhist should give himself what is called a preliminary kind of meditation at the outset. Ten kosiṇas, four or six anusati-thānās, in fact, the processes of the so-called kamma-thānās (analytic meditation), are preparatory to the practice of the right dhyāna.

4. Details of the four meditations.—When one gets accustomed to a concentration of mind amounting to a suppressing of the senses, one gradually arrives at the state of ecstasy, which is often compared with the feelings of a debt thus paid off or of a prisoner being released (e.g. Sāmañña-sutta). Roughly speaking, this state of ecstasy is dhyāna, yaññā, in it we have still four successive states. (a) The first dhyāna is a state of joy and gladness born of seclusion, full of reflexion and investigation, the meditator having separated himself from all sensuality and sin. (b) The second dhyāna is a state of joy and gladness born of deep tranquility, without reflexion and investigation, these being suppressed; it is the tranquilizing of thought, the predominance of intuition. (c) In the third dhyāna the meditator is patient through gladness and the destruction of passion, joyful and conscious, aware in his body of that delight which he then announce, patient, recollecting, glad. (d) The fourth dhyāna is purity of equanimity and recollection, without sorrow and without joy, by the destruction of previous gladness.

5. The effect of meditation.—The aim of meditation is the attainment of Arhat-ship, perfect enlightenment, which possesses the following merits. (a) Extinction of desire (taṇhā). The fickle thought and indulgence of physical power produce sin and illusion, which are the chief obstacles to the acquisition of Arhat-ship. The complete annihilation of sinful thought, i.e. the state of the fourth meditation, will lead to perfect enlightenment, the highest aim of the Buddha. The first three dhyānas therefore belong to sakkha (the first seven grades of the Holy Path), while the fourth belongs only to an asīka, i.e. an Arhat.

(b) Consolidation of knowledge (nāma-dassana). The practice of dhyāna will naturally lead to the easy confection of the mental faculties on a certain thought, and strengthen special functions proper to the consciousness. The right understanding of the Four Noble Truths (ariya-saccas), the cultivation of the four appamāṇās, etc., can thus be accomplished.

1. Buddhists, e.g. it is a mystical meditation in which one reaches the universe to any of the ten predominant ideas, viz. earth, water, fire, air, space, color, sound, taste, touch, and form

2. Buddhists, e.g. it is a remembrance of Brahma, etc. etc.

3. It embraces recollections of Buddha, cakkha, dhāraṇa, precepts, gifts, and gods.

4. The Buddha (Pali) and his disciples (Dharmas) are divided into seven grades:—

5. The Buddha (Pali) and his disciples (Dharmas) are divided into seven grades:
be attained only by the practice of dhāyana. Especially the all-important appamāṇā, which is common to Buddhism and the yoga philosophy, can be exercised only by the medium of dhāyana. In short, the attainment of knowledge cannot be perfected by meditation without the discipline of practice. 

(c) Acquisition of supernormal faculties (iddhā). There are six supernatural powers (abhijñāna), viz. various magical powers (abhijñāna), divine ear (iddhi), eye (iddhakaksha), knowledge of the thought of others (paramekkhā), knowledge of the former existences (pubbennādasamutti- nāna), and knowledge which causes the destruction of human passion (āsavakkhayakara-ñāna). These may be perfected by meditation. The Yogs, too, expect vihāra (superhuman faculties) by means of meditation.

(d) Enjoyment of the peace of dhāyana. Meditation gives the tranquility of rest. The dying Buddha is said to have sunk in meditation and passed all its steps forward and backward, till at last he repose at the fourth meditation, and then went into the Great Decease (Parinibbāna). Dhāyana is practised by one with the purpose of cultivating it as a habit, but it is not the aim of reposing oneself in peace, utilizing the result of it. Therefore it is sometimes called the practice of great enjoyment (cf. Bhramanahāra).

6. Development of the idea of meditation.—Dhyāna is the primitive conception of a means of attaining samādhi. In the Mahāyāna school its scope has been very much widened. The dhāya- paramātma, the fifth of the six paramātma (perfections) is only the way for the Bodhisattvas or Mahāyānists, but not for an Arhat or Hinayānist. One of Nāgārjuna's works enumerates sixteen kinds of dhāyana confined to Bodhisattvas. Asanga's Yogāchārābhidhāma mentions nine dhāyanas, and again subdivides them into thirty-nine. Further, in the Lākitāvādaya śāstra (ch. 2), dhāyana is divided into four: (1) balapicārāka, 'practised by ordinary persons'; (2) artha-pravīka, 'contemplating of objects'; (3) tathākalpavāna, 'meditating on Truth'; (4) tathāgatā, 'meditation of Buddha.' The four dhāyanas of primitive Buddhism as well as those of the Yogas are all included in the first category, the remaining three being a development in the Mahāyāna schools.

The ideal of early Buddhism is the equilibrium of meditation (dhāyana), and knowledge (prajñā); but in later Buddhism the discipline was not supposed to be an important feature for a Buddhist, and meditation came to have more weight than the other two factors, until in China and Japan there arose a sect, the Zen (Japanese dhāyana), in which it is the most essential part of the entire teaching. This sect has been gaining ground more and more, especially among the upper classes. See art. Zen.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been indicated throughout the article. M. ANESAKI and J. TAKAKUSI.

DIGAMBARAS.—The Digambaras, also called Digambara, form one of the two branches of the Jains. The name, lit. = 'clothed in the quarters of the sky,' designates them as naked monks, in contradistinction to the monks of the other branch of the Jains, the Svetāmbaras, who wear white clothes. There is very little difference between these two branches, and indeed, one of the most authoritative books of the Digambaras, the Tattvārthadīkāpāna Sūtra by Umasvati, is also one of the standard books of the Svetāmbaras, and its author most probably was a Svetāmbara.

The peculiar tenets of the Digambaras are the following. (1) Perfect saints (śrīcalas), such as the Tirthakaras, live without food. (2) The embryo of Mahāvīra, the last Tirthakara, was not removed from the womb of Devananda to that of Trisalā, as the Svetāmbaras contend. (3) A monk who owns a slave, e.g., a cow, will go to Nīrūna. (4) No woman can reach Nīrūna. Though, therefore, the difference in matters of belief between the two sects is, from our point of view, rather trivial, still the division between them is very marked. The following points deserve to be specially noticed. The Digambaras disown the canonical books of the Svetāmbaras, and contend that they have gradually been lost during the first centuries after the Nīrūna of Mahāvīra; accordingly they have a history of their own. In consequence of their having, in early times, separated from the other sect and developed independently of it, the Digambaras have an ecclesiastical as well as a literary history of their own, and have religious views peculiarly with regard to the laity, which differ from those of their rivals.

As regards the origin of the Digambara sect, it is ascribed to a period of time when the Buddha arose. The first historical commission was of the Līkā, and its reports have been lost. The Digambaras disown these ancient books, and have an independent history of their own. The Digambaras are the most numerous in Southern India, where they have the greatest influence, and a part of the Dravidian people the influence of Jainism is diluted by the specialists of Jainism in the last century. As regards the sect of the Digambaras, we have the following points. (1) The Digambaras are the most numerous in Southern India, where they have the greatest influence. (2) The Digambaras have an independent history of their own, with a religious view peculiarly with regard to the laity, which differ from those of their rivals.

DINKA. — 1. Geographical distribution and organization.—The Dinka are a congeries of independent tribes scattered over a country stretching from Renk in the north (several 300 miles south of Khartum) to within 100 miles of Gondo-koro, and reaching many miles to the west in the Bah el-Ghazal Province. All these tribes call themselves Diny or Derge, corrupted by the Arabic into Dinko; but no Dinka nation has arisen, for the tribes have never recognized a supreme chief, as do their neighbours the Shilluk, nor have they ever been united under a military despot, as the Zulus were united under Chaka. They differ in manners and customs and even in physique, and are often at war with one another. One of the most obvious distinctions in habits is between the relatively powerful cattle-owning Dinka and the small and comparatively poor tribes who have no cattle and scarcely cultivate the ground, but live in the marshes in the neighbourhood of the Sudd, and depend largely for their sustenance on fishing and hippopotamus-hunting. Their villages, generally dirty and evil-smelling, are built on ground which rises not little above the reed-covered surface of the country. The members of these poor tribes call themselves Moin Tain, i.e. 'Tain people,' tain meaning a piece of dry ground in the midst of the marshes; and although many distinct tribes live in the marshes and lead the life this habitat entails, their cattle-owning neighbours

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2 Nanjio, no. 1181.
3 I b., no. 1176, ch. 43.
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Most of the Dinka clans whose kwar is an animal derive their origin from a man born as one of twins, his fellow twin being an animal of the species which is the totem of the clan. The association is not quite so close, in which case the totem animal usually lays certain commands upon one of the members of the clan, offering in return certain privileges and benefits. Commands and privileges alike show the close relation between the animal and the man to whom he speaks, who is traditionally looked upon as the ancestor of the clan.

Although children take their father's totem, they respect the animal, and an animal may be avoided for a time due to certain conditions for this reason. Thus, a man whose paternal grandmother had the poisonous snake among her totems said that, if he saw any one kill a snake of this species, he would have his heart, because it was his father's totem. Further, it is customary for men and women to avoid eating their totem animal.

The following information concerning the origin of their totems was obtained from men of the Ngong Nyang tribe. It will be seen that the Dinka totems are not called by the name of their totem animal, but by that of their legendary human founder.

Gol & Mariak.—This clan has as totem the snake (gol). Long ago a snake came into the hut of a man named Mariak, and there gave birth to a child who spoke to Mariak, telling him not to hurt it or its children: "If you kill one of my children, I will give you the power of palm-leaf round your head." Another informant who belongs to this clan said that his snake would come into his hut at night and talk to him. He declared that the snake did not occur in a dream, but that the snake really entered his hut, and he expressed a wish to sacrifice a goat to the snake and make offerings of goats' milk.

Ngong Nyang man gave the following account of his conduct towards snakes of the same species. One day he was climbing a tree to get a fruit, and he saw one of the snakes that live in the forest. He was afraid, but the snake went into the throat of the tree, and said: "I do not desire any evil; do you give me this fruit, and I promise to keep you out of harm." Then Nyal took a bag and put it upon the snake's tongue, which so pleased it that it lay down in the bag for many days. Nyal fetched a toet (an unknown snake) and put it into the bag, but the snake went into the throat of the toet, and said: "I do not desire any evil; give me this fruit, and I promise to keep you out of harm." Nyal took the bag and put it upon the snake's tongue, which so pleased it that it lay down in the bag for many days.

Gol Aliko Chang Jirwarkat.—Aliko Chang Jirwarkat was the name of the boy born to one Nyamajo Akok as one of twins, his fellow twin being an elephant. The boy went to sleep in the village in the usual way, but the elephant was turned loose in the jungle.

Gol & Luel has the crocodile for totem. Long ago Luel found the eggs of a crocodile; he put them in his canoe, and, when he reached home, burned them under the floor of his hut. One night, as the eggs were on the point of hatching, the old crocodile came and scratched them up, and then led the young to the river. Before leaving the hut, the crocodile said to Luel: "Do not hurt us, and we will not hurt you. Wear mourning on your head and stomach for the crocodile; any one of you see another man kill one. A man of this clan will not be able to swim in the river even at night, for the crocodiles will not hurt him.

Gol & Tukver & Luhak & Lerkhavi has the hippopotamus as totem.

Gol & Tichol has the lion as totem, the founder of this clan having been the twin-brother of a lion. One Choi, who lived in a village near the town of Akok, had a huge lion which he could not kill. The lion killed people, and other animals, and brought terror to the village. One day the lion killed a man, and, when he reached home, burned him under the floor of his hut. One night, as the remains of the body were on the point of burning, the old lion crept out of the house, and touched the smoke with the tip of its tail, and then tore a splinter of bone or portion of gristle becoming wedged between its teeth, it would return, and the man would lay, until he came out and removed the source of its discomfort.

Similar beliefs occur among other Dinka tribes. The Ramba clan of the Niel tribe derives its name from that of an ancestor.
who was born as one of twins, his fellow being a snake called Gor. Gor was placed in a large pot of water, but he soon died; so a man was called who prepared the bird for burial by being smeared with dung and wrapped in the skin of the sacrifice. This was at Akoko, where there is still a shrine to Gor. The body of the bird was prepared in this way in order to represent the birds from injuring the crop. It is performed by one man only, who is head of the clan, and who would teach the procedure to his son. A Shish man, having as totem the poisonous snake among that, though this might bite him, the woman could give him little trouble, and he would certainly not die, as would men of other clans.

The Niel Dinka has a number of stories concerning animal ancestors, which refer to a time when animals and men who had long been associated together in groups began to separate. When each began to go its own way, it was thought well that men should know which animals had been their particular friends.

One of these stories relates that once, long ago, a woman lay sleeping, when a hyena ran up and leapt over her. Some of her people wanted to kill the animal, but others restrained them, saying that it was there for some wise purpose. When her child—a boy—was born, he limped like a hyena, so he was named Ben, which is one of the names of the hyena, and his descendants have the hyena as their totem animal.

According to the Niel, all Dinka recognize two kinds of lions, viz., man-eaters, which are not considered by men as the lion totem, and a cattle-eating variety, which the lion men believe to be of one blood with themselves. The lion people occasionally feed the cattle-killing lions. They kill a sheep and eat it into joints, which are then sold upon the town, and the next little distance from the village, and left there. The clansmen pray that the lions may come and eat; but, if the food has not been taken after a few hours, it is eaten by the men themselves. Man-eating lions, without opportunity of occurrence, oxes. Men feed their totem animal, throwing down fragments of meat on the outskirts of the village; and hyenas treat hyenas in the same way. It is said that formerly it was a common practice of the people of places of worship where the totem animals could find them, and that sacrifices were offered to them; these customs, however, seem to be observed no longer, though it is alleged that they might still be performed in times of great difficulty and danger.

The writer has no record of plant totems among the Tain Dinka, but there is a tree called ruul, bearing fruit supposed to resemble a woman's breast (the Sudanese Arabs call it Abu shuwar for this purpose). Among the Agar and Shish Dinka, this tree is considered an ancestor, and is treated with the respect shown to other totems. Two Agar men, whose mothers had ruul as their totem, would neither come into any contact with the tree, nor use it even as a ball, as other clans would do. If they disregarded this prohibition, their eyes would become inflamed. Among the Shish Dinka there is a clan, or perhaps a family, which claims descent from a girl who was twin to a gourd plant. Its members do not care to drink from a newly made gourd-vessel, and apparently do not grow gourds, or, if they grow them at all, do so sparingly.

The account given above, of the reciprocal favors conferred by men and by totem of the lion clan, raises the question whether all folk of this clan possess the powers exercised by Chol and enjoy the same privileges. The writer was not able to investigate this further. The Tain Dinka women gave the fullest details of how they would leave fishe in the jungle for their carnivorous totem animals, without receiving any corresponding favors from the latter. This suggests that Chol was regarded as possessing powers not shared by all his clansmen, an idea which is strengthened by information given by some Agar Dinka from the Bahr el-Ghazal, one of which said: "A man totem whom he called an ancestor was a small bird, anster, which damages the corn. No doubt anster is one of the small birds called short-birds in the Sudan, though this particular custom among them, where they do much damage. When these birds become dangerous to the unique crop, the informant's grandfather would take a head of dura, some grass from the skin of the black sheep, and black, the other white. The white sheep was killed and the neck cut, then eaten. From other clans the black sheep was thrown into the river with the porridge and the unique head of dura. Although the sheep was not tied up, it was said to sink immediately, for the 'river people' took it. The man who makes the porridge does not taste it, nor does he eat the flesh of the sheep, and the sheep and the dura were prepared in order to sacrifice. A Shish man, having as totem the poisonous snake among that, though this might bite him, the woman could give him little trouble, and he would certainly not die, as would men of other clans.

Among the Dinka living in the neighbourhood of the Khor Adar there are certain clans which do not trace their descent to an animal, but to a human being possessed of super-human or non-human qualities.

Long ago, men and women of the 'river people' would sometimes come out of the river, marry, and settle down in the neighboring towns. The description of the coming to land of one of the 'river people' is curiously like the birth of a child; the river being regarded as the womb of the human being whose umbilicus is joined by a cord to a flat object beneath the water. The cord is cut, and bullocks are killed and thrown on the river shore; the women take care of the sacrifices, to the village. Their descendants should sacrifice on the bank, throwing a live cow into the river, after giving it a pot of milk to drink, into which the old and important men of the clan have spitted. At the present day the 'river people' do not do more than throw the head and bowels of a bull into the river, cooking the meat and eating it themselves.

The Boweng clan of the Niel Dinka appear to have the river for their totem.

Long ago a woman coming to the river saw a beautiful girl called Ack borne up by the water and carried on to the bank. She accompanied them to the village, but, when they tried to punch her, she sprang liquid as water: she was a cow, the villagers escorted her back to the river, where they sprinkled her with the black skin, taken from the bull; at the end of the rains, the Boweng clan still take a cow and her calf and a bullock, and all the cattle from the river back, which they then throw alive into the river, which takes them away, so that they are never seen again.

There is an evidence that, when a clan is particularly strong in a given locality, its members tend to forget that their totem is but one among many, so that they may show annoyance if other folk do not treat it with respect.

The Shish in the neighbourhood of Seembe said that the first people to settle there were snake men, and that for some time they formed the majority. After a time these totem clan became powerful, and, because its members killed and ate snakes, the men of the newly weakened snake clan left the country and went to live among a group of Allah Dinka, where they were free from the terrible odour of cooked snake's flesh. More recently a Shish family, belonging to a clan that does not eat the fish, lost their own tribe and went to live at a place called Lot, among a group of Hor Dinka who also respect this fish.

Besides these clans with more or less typical animal ancestors (totems), certain groups of people, often larger than a clan, have various particular objects which they also speak of as totems. The stone called Madwich, which the Tain say fell from the sky within the past twenty years, is an example of this. The group that reveres Madwich is smaller than a clan, for its cult appears to be limited to members of a part of the Parlik clan (of one of the Tain tribes), whose totem is the snake (nied).

A youth of about twenty, who was named Madwich after the meteorite, said that his father sacrificed many oxen when the stone fell, though the rest of the village did not concern themselves so deeply, and that at the present time his family alone pay constant attention to Madwich. The stone, which is now at Parlik village, fell before his birth, but after that of his elder brother.

When it fell, 'every one, including his parents and even the dogs of his elder brother, became mad.' This word is applied to the possession of a totem by a spirit; perhaps it has a slightly different meaning in this instance; at any rate, the fact that it is not applied to some Niel clan only, as it is said to be due to the possession of a totem, and sacrifice were offered in this way. The coming of the meteorite, Madwich is said to have been prophesied by a totem called Jalaung, who was killed during an Arab raid; and a young man offered in sacrifice of an animal ancestor. Thus it might make men ill in order that a sacrifice might be offered, and it would constitute a great misfortune for a man to see a totem in the usual way; asking that a bullock should be killed.

Another meteorite, said to have been found near the Tain village of Agar, and two sheep, one black and the other white. The white sheep was killed and the neck cut, then eaten. From other clans the black sheep was thrown into the river with the porridge and the unique head of dura. Although the sheep was not tied up, it was said to sink immediately, for the 'river people' took it. The man who makes the porridge does not taste it, nor does he eat the flesh of the sheep, and the sheep and the dura were prepared in order to sacrifice. A Shish man, having as totem the poisonous snake among that, though this might bite him, the woman could give him little trouble, and he would certainly not die, as would men of other clans.
villages, the inhabitants of which together constitute the Chiro tribe. All the Chiro clan revere Bo, though their members have animal totems of the usual Dinka type.

Some of the Bor Dinka speak of Lerpin as their kwar; but this is an example which is very far from typical, for Lerpin is both a spear which fell from the sky with the meteorite and a spirit immanent in every rain-maker of the Bor tribe, and is one of the most powerful of their jok (see below, § 4). It is clear that Lerpin is not homologous with the ordinary Dinka totems; in his spear form he overtops the meteorite, and in his spirit form he is immanent in every rain-maker of the Bor tribe, and is one of the most powerful of their jok (see below, § 4).

Finally, there is evidence that, apart from meteories and other unusual kwar, some of the clans of the Tain Dinka have, or had, more than one totem.

The members of the Chiro, Njong Nyang, and Pariak tribes consider the fish reared as an ancestor, telling the usual story that their ancestor was born as a twin of the fish, the latter being taken to the river, where he instructed mankind that, in spite of the relationship existing between them, they might catch and eat his descendants. There can be no doubt that the relationship is still acknowledged as existing between the fish and the members of these tribes is that the shadow of the normal totemic relationship that formerly existed; nevertheless the rings that Apotet cast into the river (see Njere gau-e) indicate that, so far as the relationship is, it is not utterly ignored in practice.

It will be noted that all these examples of unusual kwar are said to have fallen from the skies. The absence of stone meteorites, and is not that the stone meteorites should be spoken of by the most holy term known, namely that applied to the revered animal totems of the tribe.

3. The worship of Dengdit. The Dinka are a deeply religious people. They worship a high god, Dengdit, lit. ‘Great Rain,’ sometimes called Nyaliich, and a host of ancestral spirits called jok. The name Nyaliich is the locative of a word meaning ‘above,’ and, literally translated, signifies ‘in the sky’ used in the singular. The name of the rain is except as a synonym for Dengdit, and the common beginning of the prayers of the ‘Tain and Bor Dinka is Nyaliich ko kwev, ‘God and our ancestors.’ This phrase indicates the two main elements of their religious faith. In the first place, it is but natural that the marvellous objects should be spoken of by the most holy term known, namely that applied to the revered animal totems of the tribe.

It is he who created the world, and established the order of things, and it is he who sends the rain from the ‘rain-place’ above, which is especially his home. Nevertheless, in the ordinary affairs of life the jok are appealed to far more than Dengdit, and in some cases in which the appeal is nominally made to Dengdit, its form seems to imply that he has been confused with the jok. Among the Tain tribes there is a word ran or aram which is called out to the new moon, and seems to be an expression of greeting or praise, or perhaps is used to deprecate anger.

It is evident to consider the worship of Dengdit and the cult of the jok separately, though it must be realized that they constantly touch, and even overlap, each other. The Southern Dinka (to whom the following specially refers) do not appear to use set forms of prayer, but seems to ask in ordinary simple sentences that the immediate want may be granted. They also have a number of hymns which are sung when an ox is slaughtered to avert drought or sickness; but, as Mr. Shaw informed the writer, men sing them when doing light work, and

lately during a severe thunderstorm every one joined in lustily to appease the elements. They also burst into one of these songs when bidding farewell to the Sirdar who visited them recently. The following songs collected and the path indicated that Mr. Shaw were composed by the Tiet Walt of Bang village, who asserts that his spirit is Dengdit (see below, § 4). It must be noted that in Dinka hymns Dengdit habitually speaks of men as ants (aikh).
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Offerings are made to Dengdit at certain shrines—perhaps they might be called temples—which seem to be scattered all over the Dinka territory. Most Dinka tribes have one shrine in their territory, and it is this shrine that is commonly called the Shish. Probably these differ little in appearance from the shrine of Lerpin served by Biyordit (see below, § 5). It is true that neither Shish nor Agar is a shrine of the usual kind near the shrine, but perhaps too much stress should not be laid on this negative evidence, and a photograph of the great shrine at Luang Deng shows that this consists of three ordinary looking tanks. Agar informations, one big place in Luang Ajok near Rumbek is in charge of a hut bigger than an ordinary tank which is surrounded by a fence. This is called buak (not to be confused with a cattle buak); it is not a tomb, nor has any one been buried near it. The door is always shut, and may not be opened even by theRAIN (the high priest of the shrine and the rain-maker of the tribe) unless a sacrifice is made and milk is split in front of the door. In the shrine at Luang Ajok there are several tanks. There are fat in a big house, special sticks of rhinoceros horn, and a number of clay pots. All these things belong to Dengdit, who long ago came to earth bringing them with him. One morning the people found the buak built, and the next morning it was taken down. It was decided then that Dengdit alone could have done this, and that it was his place. Dengdit still lives in this shrine. The Shish say that there is a hut called buak sacred to Dengdit at Luang, within which are certain sacred shrines. It is red, and is built on the roof; Dengdit is always there. The great ancestral rain-making ceremony of each tribe takes place at one of these shrines, as does the harvest ceremony held after the cutting of the dura; here, too, is where the cattle are to be installed, and the new buak is built.

The shrine at Luang Deng is of the holiest existing among the Dinka, who visit it in large numbers. One of the three tanks is the house of Dengdit. The door is always shut, its guardians being certain men (and women?) who are regarded as being especially the servants of Dengdit. Only they may enter the shrine, but a man desirous of offering may take cattle and offer them to Dengdit, asking that the desire of his heart may be granted. The door of the shrine is opened when one of the animals brought for Dengdit is slaughtered, and, looking in through the doorway, the worshipper sees the shrine shrouded in the shifting shapes of men and animals and even of abstract qualities—happiness, hunger, satisfaction, cattle-sickness—and among these figures are eyes and ambiguous lines. None sacrifice is made until Dengdit has sent a dream to the keeper of the shrine, and then it is accepted. Of the meaning of the sacrifices there are nearly always kept waiting for a few days. It is very rare for a sacrifice to be refused; but, if a man be dismissed without being allowed to put his animal, he will soon suffer disease will attack his people. As the worshipper approaches, he is accompanied by two servants of the shrine, one on either side. A spear specially kept for the purpose is used for killing the victim, and the spirit of the animal goes to join the other spirits in the shrine. Before the worshipper leaves the shrine, one of the servants of Dengdit takes dust from the holy precincts, and, mixing it with oil, rubs it over the body of the worshipper. Sometimes a material object such as a spear may be given to the man as a sign of favour and a guarantee that he will obtain his wish. Offerings such as pieces of tobacco may be thrown upon a low mound of ashes which has arisen in front of the shrine from the cooking of many sacrifices. The contents of the large intestine of the victim are scattered about and over this mound, and near it the worshippers thrust the branch of a tree called around it. It did not appear that any attention was paid to the fate of this branch, though it was said that it might take root and grow.

Among the Shish, certain men who lived long ago were esteemed as the ‘sons’ of Dengdit, though this expression must not be considered to imply any physical relationship; it seems that the Shish considered these ‘sons’ as spirits who came from above to possess certain men who became known by their names—Walkeri, Majush, Mabor, and Mok. Each of these as the ancestor of one of the Shish clans has become a powerful jok of the usual type (for worship at their graves, see § 4).

4. The worship of the dead.—Every human being has within him two souls, the atiep, which leaves the body in sleep and whose wanderings are the common source of dreams, resembles, or perhaps may take the form of, the shadow. The second ‘soul’ is by no means so well defined as the atiep; it is sometimes called ged, and sometimes, we. The writer could not learn anything definite about the ged during life; it may be connected with the vegetative functions of the body, but after death it remains with the body in the grave. In this article it is the atiep that is meant when we use the word ‘spirit’ is used to refer to the spirit of a dead man. The atiep of a father, mother, or ancestor may at any time ask for food in a dream. A man will then take dura flour and mix it with water and put it in a little pot, and serve it to his atiep. An atiep which has been recently dead is spoken of as jok, and the spirit of the animal ancestor is a jok. The spirit of the atiep of a dead man was summed up by a Tain man as follows: 'The atiep of my animal [ancestor] is a jok, the atiep of my mother is a human spirit (atiep); [the spirit of] my mother is also a jok, but [the spirit of] my animal [ancestor] is a jorudi (a very great jok), and would be angry if food for it and my mother's jok were put together.' Although the jok may send sickness, death, and misfortune, when another jok is weaker, they are the guardian spirits of the house. The clan, that is, all the atiep, assert themselves in the doings of their descendants, and being ever ready to help them. From this point of view there is a certain amount of confusion between the atiep and the recent ancestor, and the general influence of the family whom they, the powerful ancestors. It seems that, although the former are not specially invoked for aid in difficulties, they are considered to take an active interest in their descendants, and probably all that is said concerning the lovingkindness and power wherever they are applied is in a lesser degree to the atiep.

The jok know when a child is born, and protect it from the very beginning, though a man does not tell child about the jok until it is well grown, perhaps not till about the age of ten. The jok of both sides of the family protect the child, coming to its assistance in any sudden danger. In adult life, when invoking the jok at a time of stress, a man calls upon the jok of his ancestors, regardless whether they are the real to the jok or children of his mother's clan. Thus, when harpooning a hippopotamus, the word usually spoken is jangwaw, 'O jok of my ancestors!' The jok hear the invocation and come to their descendant's assistance, entering his body and giving strength to his arms, and leaving him only when the spear has been flung and danger is over, for a man's jok are ever near him in enterprise or peril. Sometimes the appeal is made specially to the jok in animal form. Thus, Fei, a man of the Mariak clan of the Ngong Nyang
tribe, when about to cast his harpoon at a hippopotamus, would say: *Ayub tid agong e pok Mirandok jok;* or, *Sirieo, O spirit of my clan, my spirit the snake!* 

Men and women who are able to see and to communicate with the spirits (*attep* and *jok*) are called *tiet*. Their power is attributed to a spirit, always, we may consider spiritual immanence for the *tiet*; and, as the spirit on the death of the *tiet* will generally take up its residence in the body of a near relative, the office tends to become hereditary. Often a *tiet* will explain to a relative that, after his death, he will communicate with him, and a change of manner, trembling fits, and periods of unconsciousness are regarded as signs that the spirit has taken up its new abode. The powers of the *tiet* are most commonly directed to discovering what *jok* is responsible for the illness, and what must be done in order that the patient may get well; but he also gives advice concerning lost cattle and other accidents of daily life. The cause for the influence exerted by the *tiet* varies enormously.

The *tiet* of a Malek village was an old woman of whom it was openly said that she was little good. On the other hand, Wal, an old Dinka living in a village of the *ewat* tribe, was renowned for his influence not limited to his fellow-travellers; for, although his spirit *Deng* was in 1908 in Wal's body, he is as alive come to consult and pay the strictest attention to his commands. Wal is a man of about fifty, differing in no obvious external character from his fellows. Despite his febrile deference shown him in this, however dense the crowd round him, he is never jostled. Wal says that his spirit *Deng*, which appears in one aspect at least to be identical with Dengdit, and at the present time he is certainly the most important factor in the spiritual life of the *ewat* and neighbouring tribes. Some men of the Chiro tribe said that, if another stone like Madwich (see above, § 2) were to fall from the sky, it would be called Deng, because the spirit *Deng* has come to the *tiet* Wal in the village of Kempt. Wal is never anxious to make clear his adherence to the Government, and even when that his spirit is *jok* (as Europeans) and came from Khartum, all the black tribes regard as the house of the white man. He is certainly opposed to bloodshed, and has lately condemned the participants in a quite insignificant brawl, in which little blood flowed, to an elaborate ceremony of atonement. It is said that two goats are killed, the flesh of one being eaten, while the other is cast into the bush. Wal asserts that this is not a revival of an old custom, but a new form of sacrifice dictated by his spirit; and this was certainly the opinion of those with whom the writer discussed the subject.

Although Mentioner (Die Dinka-Sprache in Central-Africa, Brixen, 1886) accepts the view adopted by the early missionaries, that the word *jok* can be adequately rendered by 'Satun' or 'der Teufel' (op. cit. esp. p. 57), this is incorrect, and the relation of the sickness to the grave after death is in outline somewhat as follows. The spirits of the old and mighty dead (*jok*) and of the recent dead (*attep*) exist in and around the villages in which their descendants live. *Jok* are more powerful and energetic than *attep*, and they able to control them. They are also thought to have their habitat in the earth in the immediate neighbourhood of these shrines. *Attep* are at their strongest immediately after death, and, although funeral meals are held, the sickness children are held; or the *attep* are called, and in such cases the children are sent sickness; in fact, the routine treatment of all sickness is to make offerings to the *jok*

(or Dengdit, when he and the *jok* are confused) in the hope that they will remove the sickness for which they are held responsible. If illness runs a fatal course, it is the *jok* who are considered responsible for the death. The following account given by the Shish shows how the sacrifice to the *jok* is conducted.

When a male or female is sick, or one or more sheep or goats are killed as a sacrifice to the *jok*. The animal or animals should be provided by a near relative, and should be killed by a married man with children, preferably the father of a large family. Some of the meat is left over night in the house of the sick man, for the *jok*. In the morning it is brought out and eaten by the clan, but the fat is collected in a pot, and again placed in the house, for one night, for the *jok*. Next day this is cooked by the male and female women, who, with the old *jok*, go to the place where the sacrifice is left to dry on the ground, and is afterwards buried in front of the house near the place where the animal was killed.

Even childlessness may be attributed to the displeasure of the spiritual immanence. A husband does not attribute this to his own importance. The *tiet* may be consulted. The *tiet* often says: 'Give more cows to your father-in-law,' on the idea that this will appease the *jok* of the wife's family, who, as *tiet* can prescribe an offering to the *jok* to be made by the other side of the family, for the *jok* of the husband's family may be angry if the woman's brothers have no children; so that the husband has to bring them to have children. Incest with the *jok* and thus causes barrenness; and a girl guilty of this offence will have no children, even should she marry, until she has owned her sin, when her lover will be forced to provide a bullock to be sacrificed in atonement. The youth's father kills the bullock, and the girl's father takes some of the contents of the large intestine and swears it on his daughter's abdomen and that of her partner, thus removing the taint of sin and taking into capable of bearing children.

Shrines raised to ancestral spirits fall into two classes: (1) grave shrines, and (2) shrines erected by order of a spirit (*jok* or *attep*), or on account of the appearance of a spirit in a dream, or built to provide a new resting place for the spirit. Grave shrines do not appear to be common, though the writer has records of the graves of the founders of four of the Shish clans that have become shrines. These are the graves of the so-called 'sons of Dengdit' already referred to. These four men are to some extent regarded in the same degree as heroes, for they taught men how to grow *dura* and to fish. It is said that formerly huts were built over their graves; these have decayed, but even now a ceremony is held at each grave in July. In each grave is put the food of the people descended from the founder take part in this, though their wives, who of necessity belong to other clans, accompany them. There is no resident guardian at any of the shrines, but at the yearly sacrifice one man, in whose ancestral spirit the immanence, kills a sheep or a bullock, and smears its blood and the contents of the large intestine upon the grave, before the assembled descendants of the hero. The flesh is boiled, all eat thereof, and great care is taken to break the bones, which are thrown into the river. Shrines of the second class appear to be found in all Dinka villages. The worship at one of them in the Shilluk village of Tonga near the Shilluk-Dinka boundary is especially interesting, because it clearly indicates the hereditary nature of the priesthood that these shrines call into existence, and also because it shows that the *jok* on the maternal side are regarded with the same awe and affection as those of a man's own clan. The shrine is of a temporary character in the ordinary Shilluk homestead. It consists of a few long, roughly trimmed sticks thrust into the ground, from which are hung a number of beads, small gourds, small boxes, and fragments of sheep bones. In the ground is placed a flat stone. The stones at which sacrifices have been made, and frag-
ments of the skulls of sheep killed at the shrine. By the side of the ashes there is a laggot of sticks placed upright, supporting a gourd in which food had once been placed.

The shrine is served by one Agwer, whose grandmother, a Dinka, was made ill by an ancestral spirit, Deng,1 in order that she might be taken to the village. As the illnesses accumulated, a shrine came into existence; in fact, a tiet seems to have associated his descendant to make repeated sacrifices to him at Tonga. At the present day offerings are made frequently by sick folk, descendants of Deng, and a ceremony is said to be held at the beginning of every rainy season.

Another shrine, existing at the Chiro village of Masul, consists of a tall tree thrust into the ground; the main branches have been broken off short, and part of the vertical column and horns of a goat have been attached to them. There are also several pieces of rope, of the kind attached to hippopotamus harpoons, and several small gourds, while a number of fragments of hippopotamus bones lie at the foot of the post. The origin of this shrine is as follows.

About three years ago the children of Apout, the born of the village, sickness, but it was not until they had been ill for about four months that the Jok of Batit, the ancestor who sent them their skins, and that tiet in a instance and demanded that a goat should be given him. The tiet told Apout to raise up a post and to kill a fat he-goat. The post was prepared, a fat goat's head thrust was wound the blood and contents of the gut were collected and buried in the hole. Then the post was thrust into the centre of the hole, and earth was thrown round it. Meats were cut into pieces and boiled, and eaten. The bones were not broken, but were placed around the post. Half a month after, all were thrown into the river, except the skull and backbone, which were put upon the post. The tiet was given the skin. At the time the skin was given to Apout the fort of four small pieces of meat in four directions, apparently towards the four points of the compass, on the ground round the stick, saying: 'O my grandfather, I have made a sacrifice for you, do not let my children be sick any more.' Apout was pleased, and the tiet came to him, and at the same time threw into the water a small iron bracelet which he took from the arm of one of the sick children. These things were cast into the river because Jan, the father of Batit, was twin with the fish rheem, for whom the things were intended. The hippopotamus bones at the foot of the post were placed there by a brother of Apout, after he had spared one of these animals. He did this in order that the spirit of his ancestor might help him to kill other hippopotami. The ground round and under this post is in a special sense the habitation of the Jok, and, even if the sickness had not occurred, it would still have been necessary to prepare a habitation for the Jok, where men might come to invoke their assistance before going fishing or hunting. The Jok was traced on a journey. In the last event the traveller puts his right hand flat on the ground near the posts, and says: 'Grandfather, I am going away, take care of me. I go not let me go without me.' If the Jok, hippopotamus-hunting, a man takes his harpoons to the wife of the tiet, and says: 'My son, I have prepared a bone of the hippopotamus, I have cut the fat, and poured some of the oil on the ground at the foot of the post.'

A another form of shrine, called bitor, is found in the Tain villages near Bor. The construction of the bitor is very simple. No chamber is made; a hole about a foot deep is dug and filled up with mud, in which the horns are fixed, for only the horns, and not the skull, are used.

One of these shrines was raised by Der in his new village of Ark for the atlep of his father Anet, to live in 'just as a house,' for the spirit knows of the wanderings of its people and moves with them. This was done at the instance of a tiet, who said that, if this were neglected, Der and his children would suffer. The shrine itself consists of a mound of mud, at one end of which are fixed the horns of a bullock, which is covered with leaves. Here is one of the peckets to which cattle are commonly tethered.2 The bullock, providing the horns were sacrificed by Der, who explained aloud that he was making a sacrifice on behalf of the family. The bullock was killed by having a spear plunged into its heart, and small pieces of all the organs and parts of the animal were scattered on the ground for the spirit of the dead.3 At each ceremony connected, a few drops of new milk, and a little butter, are placed upon the shrine at anointed; the shrine is regarded, however necessary, without sacrifice or any ceremony. Bitor are found in all the Tain and in some, at least, of the Dinka villages, but usually they do not resemble the back of a bullock, the mud being built into a more or less circular mound flattened above. A stick or young sapling, 6 or 8 ft. tall, is thrust into the ground near the base of the bitor. The rope is hung up. Among the Tain Dinks the sons of a dead man will procure a bullock and build a bitor whenever possible, the widow making the mud mound, in which the sons plant the horns of the bullock. This is done not as a means of the spirit of the dead, but as a resting-place for his spirit (atlep). There is often the greatest confusion as to whether these bitor are built for Dengdit or for the jok; in fact, the two are often spoken of and treated as if they were identical. As an example of this confusion, reference may be made to a bitor at Ark village meant to secure the help of the jok in fishing and in harpooning hippopotami. When a fishing or hunting party is about to start, they take some harpoons and a bullock, place them in a hole, roast them, and, when cold, scatter them upon and around the bitor. In spite of this, the bitor is often said to belong to Dengdit, and the usual explanation is given of the cattle rope, namely, that Dengdit will kill the hunter, and that he knows that an animal has been sacrificed.

Besides the numerous offerings to the jok already mentioned, certain annual sacrifices are made to them, of which the following are examples. The Bor Dinka make a sacrifice at the beginning of each wet season, in order that the jok may not injure the cattle in the bush, the horns and legs with the dried skin adhering to them being hung up within the entrance to the tsuk. The Shish make an annual sacrifice to the jok and in addition to the 'milk offering,' a pot of water, which is considered as a special form of jok. This sacrifice is made by every householder, for, if any omitted to perform it, his dura crop would be poor, and his cattle would sicken or die. Each householder kills a sheep and allows the blood to soak into the ground; the flesh, which is buried in front of the house, is eaten, care being taken not to break the bones, which are collected and thrown into the river. As he kills the animal, the householder says: 'Jok! this is your right.' Pieces from different parts of the sacrifice are boiled in a pot and left outside the hut during the night; in the morning the contents are scattered round the house, where the dogs and birds soon dispose of them.

The sacrifice of the 'river people' takes place after the rains, when the people leave their inland settlements to come down to their dry-season abodes on the river bank, and before they build any houses. If, before going fishing or hippopotamus-hunting, a man takes his harpoons to the wife of the jok, and says: 'My son, I am preparing a bone of the hippopotamus, I have cut the fat, and poured some of the oil on the ground at the foot of the post.'

Belief in the guiding and protecting influence of the jok is perhaps the only part of their eschatology which is common to all Dinks, and is so well defined that it can be definitely formulated; the examples already given of the action of the jok and the sacrifices offered to them make their action and power reasonably plain as far as they relate to human beings. In other words, the idea of the atlep to the living is tolerably well known, the very opposite is the case in regard to the rol or wrv, for its condition excites none of the interest which is felt in the atlep. The generally accepted view is that the death of a bullock (jok) has been indicated already. The atlep of the recently dead are usually thought to frequent the villages and houses of their descendants, taking an interest in their doings and moving about with them. Considering the jok, the ritual, and the provision for the welfare of the dead, are modified in the case of old influential men, increasingly lavish funeral feasts being provided for important men such as bain, the avowed purpose of all funeral ceremonies being to propitiate the spirit of the dead (jok) so that he should send sickness and misfortune on the
living. Apart from the funeral and mourning feasts, atiep are not given sacrifices unless they appear to their descendants or to the tid in dreams and ask for them.

Side by side with this doctrine of the atiep and its corollaries that the spirits of the dead everywhere surround and mix with the living, there is another, which, if it were accepted and applied logically, would be incompatible with the first. According to this belief, the atiep leaves the neighborhood of the body at the time of its burial, and passes above to the place of Dengdit. The spirits that reach Dengdit do not lose their power of returning to the earth, for it is a common belief that jok may pass to and from this earth to Dengdit, while one of the commonest Dinka beliefs is that the jok came to the dying to take their atiep. Among the Niel Dinka the jok come in the (spiritual) form of the animal ancestors (totem animals) of each man at his death and take his spirit to Kow the land of sea and sky, whence comes the rain. The men who gave this information were perfectly convinced that every Dinka had some animal relative which was sent to him at death, and they stated that some men have none of them as their living.

It is possible to obtain a hint of another phase of Dinka eschatology by considering their habit of pouring a little water or merissa (native beer) on the grave each day. It seems that Nok Dinka who did this after a long and thirsty march, the water poured out was for the dead. The Shish denied that merissa, purposely split on the ground, was for the benefit of the dead, but said that when a man died, he would find in his grave all the merissa he had poured out and the food he had thrown on the ground. It is, however, possible that this belief may be due to Arab influence.

According to the Shish, the ‘river-people’ are also jok, and they can be seen by tief, for ‘land and river jok have the same origin,’ and ‘some jok are in the river, some on land.’ It must, however, be admitted that many Dinka seem to look upon the ‘river-people’ as distinctly mysterious beings, whom they do not regard as jok in the ordinary sense of the word.

5. Rain-makers and rain-making.—The rain-makers of the Dinka tribe are called bain, but it seems very likely that the term is a corruption or misapplication of a word used among some other tribes of the same greater family. The bain, though, in theory at least, all are potential rain-makers. The men commonly spoken of as the ‘chiefs’ or ‘shaikhs’ of the Dinka tribes are actual or potential bain, but there does not appear to be any tendency among villages for the attempt to emulate the rain-maker, or for quack practitioners to appear, for the successful rain-maker has within him the spirit of the great rain-makers of the past, and all recognize the futility of competing with him. Further, the existence of a powerful and successful rain-maker naturally leads those who live within his sphere of influence to leave all such matters to him. Thus a successful rain-maker attains to very great power, and would be consulted about all important affairs. At length he should drink merissa, lest he get away and quarrel with the men of his village. Although the authority of a bain is great, it is not absolute, for one bain foretold the defeat of his people at the hands of the Government, and entreated them not to fight; yet his people fought and were defeated.

The Shish believe that the spirit immanent in their rain-maker (who lived at Lau) was Mabor. This, as has been stated in § 3, is the name of one of the four ‘sons of Dengdit.’ It was obvious that to the Shish of Shambé (some miles from Lau) the personality of the rain-maker was entirely submerged in that of the spirit immanent in him, so that, when they spoke of Mabor, the dominant idea in their mind was that of the ancestral spirit who passed through the body of the man in whom it was immanent.

The Shish do not specially protect their rain-maker from a violent death, and he may even take part in warfare; for no doubt is felt that, if he be killed, the ancestral spirit will pass to a suitable successor. But an important rain-maker is not allowed to die of old age or as the result of chronic lingering illness; for, if this occurred, sickness would attack the tribe; there would be famine, and the herdsmen would not yield their increase. When a rain-maker feels that he is getting old and infirm, he tells his children that he wishes to die.

Among the Agar Dinka a large grave is dug, and an angareb is placed in it, upon which the rain-maker lies on his right side, with a skin under his head. He is surrounded by his friends and relatives, including his younger children, but his elder children are not allowed, at any rate towards the end, lest in their despair they should injure themselves. The bain lies upon the angareb without food or drink for many hours, generally for more than a day. From time to time, when very hungry, he indulge to himself some water from the graveyard. When he is satisfied, if it be the last time, he is removed, and when he is just waking, his friends and relatives34 come and recite the passage of the burial-song, the hearing of which is said to contribute to the strength of the spirit, and assist the bain to return to the living.

The Agar Dinka, like the Shish, believe that an important rain-maker is very difficult to replace. Since the death of their last bain, they have been in frequent want of rain. The Agar Dinka have no central religious authority, and no common form of prayer. They have no matrons, and their sacred songs are connected only with local events and entertainments.

The Agar Dinka, like the Dinka, hold that a man is not made a rain-maker, but becomes one, from the circumstances of his birth and life. It is said that the rain-maker of the Agar Dinka was the son of a rain-maker of the Dinka; and that the property of the bain was said to pass from father to son, in a manner similar to that of the title of lands and objects of hereditary wealth in the same tribe. The Dinka hold that the great rain-makers, the bain, were always the sons of the bain; and the Agar Dinka, while they hold that the bain were sons, believe that they were sons of the same bain, and that the title of bain descended in a direct line from father to son, as in some other communities of the same family, while in the case of the Shish and the Agar Dinka, the title passed from father to son, and was again transmitted to the son of the son, as in the case of the Shish.

The Agar Dinka believe that a rain-maker must be specially trained for his office, and that he must have a certain amount of the spirit immanent in him; and that the bain, when he chose a successor, chose a young man who had been trained in the art of rain-making, but who had not yet attained to the title of bain. It is said that the title was not given to any man who had not attained to the age of forty, but that the title was passed from father to son, as in the case of the Shish. The Agar Dinka believe that the bain, when he chose a successor, chose a young man who had been trained in the art of rain-making, but who had not yet attained to the title of bain. It is said that the title was not given to any man who had not attained to the age of forty, but that the title was passed from father to son, as in the case of the Shish.
approach without the least ceremony. The akol bush is clearly the representative of the shrine, yet reverence is essential for the job leaves the hut to come to the akol during the great rain-making ceremony, and the slight sanctity of the akol and the sacredness of the rain-making ceremony are explained by the working of the job.

The rain ceremony consists of a sacrifice to Lerpin, to induce him to bring rain. An akol is held in the sun from about April, when the new moon is a few days old. In the morning two bullocks are led twice around the shrine, and are tied to the rit by Birvid: that is, the people beat drums; and men and women, boys and girls, all dance round the shrine. Later, they throw the bullocks into the village, when one man who can get near the beasts rubs his body with the urine. After this all except the old people go away. Presently the bullocks are killed by Birvid, who spears them and cuts their throats. While the sacrifice is being prepared, the people chant: *Lerpin, our ancestor, we have brought you a sacrifice to ask the rain to fall. The blood is collected in a gourd, transfused to a pot, put on the fire, and eaten by the chief and inspector of the elders. Some of the flesh of one bullock is put into two pots and cooked with much fat; this is left near the akol for many months, yet it is said at not to smell unpleasantly, and is ultimately eaten by people who have no cattle of their own. The food in the pots near the akol is to be for the job, but the meat from the other bullock is eaten on the same day. The bones of the sacrifice are thrown away, but the horns are added to those already attached to the rit.*

Besides the great rain-making ceremony performed at a central shrine, some tribes offer a sacrifice for rain in each settlement. Among the Shish this takes place before, or at the beginning of, the rainy season.

The old men of the settlement (but) kill a sheep, thanking and praising Dengdit; the animal is bisected longitudinally, but is not separated into the legs. The blood is drawn into the gourds and cast into the air as an offering to Dengdit. As they fill the gourds, so they are left, for the people are soon eaten by dogs and birds. The blood of the sacrifice is allowed to soak into the ground, but the reminder of the meat is boiled and eaten, which must need is hanging in a skin for seven days, and afterwards thrown into the river. Some people believe that this is thrown into the air and lying upon the ground in the same way as the flesh of the sacrifice was left.

6. Sacred spears.— Mention has already been made of the sacred spears kept in the shrines of Dengdit. One of the spears in the Shish shrine at Laiu is of the form named bit by the Dinka, and is called bit yat. Another spear with the usual leaf-shaped blade is called ton yat, and the iron rod is named ton yata. The head of the iron rod is described as playing an important part in the great rain-making ceremony held in the loup at Laiu, and when the time comes to replace them an elaborate ceremony is performed. Long ago Dengdit made two spears, the one of which is kept by the man, his wife, and the girl's brothers and sisters and paternal aunts all spit, and her father sprinkles the water over the girl's body. Nothing further is done for eight days, but on the ninth day a male goat or sheep is tied up; when it urinates, the girl's breasts and back are anointed with the urine, while the relatives who spit into the bowl pray that she may be cured. Her brothers take the goat, throw it on the ground, eat its throat, and leave the meat to the boy to eat. Any one can *overlook* (Tain kewa) another who is not a very close blood relation, at any time when his victim is not looking him straight in the face. To *kewa* any one is always a voluntary action, and implies that the person who is well-conditioned or rich man, this is not necessarily due to covetousness. A great man can make people ill without seeing them, by desiring it in his heart, and for sickness produced in this way there is no cure.

7. Oaths.— In small matters the Shish affirm 'by Nyali.' To swear a binding oath a man goes to the blacksmith and licks his hammer; then, putting it on the ground, he says: *If I have not sworn the oath, let my spear be my grave.* This refers to the Agar custom of putting a man's spear, bracelets, and shield upon his grave for seven days. The most terrible oath of all is to go to the shrine (loup) of Dengdit and swear by it.

The Dinka firmly believe in the efficacy of both blessings and curses, and that people and cattle can be 'overlooked.' The following information was obtained from Tain Dinka living south of the Sudd, but it probably holds good over a much wider area. The blessings and curses of strangers are of little effect (it must be assumed that this does not apply to great and powerful men), but the words of kinsfolk are powerful for good or evil. There is a special word *low meaning to speak bad words about a man's body*; and a father, by saying his son shall be ill, can cause him to sicken. So, too, a man's relatives may curse him if he does not give them the bullock which is their due when he brings a cull of water, into which the other man's relatives pour. A parent's blessing is held to be so efficacious that it may cure illness, the power for good being the will (atip) of the loving father or mother.

When a boy is to be blessed, he stands on the ground; his father, standing away from the boy, first his right thigh and then his left over his son's head. Then he spits on his scalp and blows into his ears and nose; next he spits on his own hands and rubs them over the boy's scalp, and, again spitting on his right hand, passes it over the boy's head and the nape of his neck. Finally, he picks up dust, and rubs some on the boy's chest and back, throwing away the remainder into the air. When a man is about to bless an ailing daughter, her mother brings a cull of water, into which the boy, his wife, and the girl's brothers and sisters and paternal aunts all spit, and her father sprinkles the water over the girl's body. Nothing further is done for eight days, but on the ninth day a male goat or sheep is tied up; when it urinates, the girl's breasts and back are anointed with the urine, while the relatives who spit into the bowl pray that she may be cured. Her brothers take the goat, throw it on the ground, eat its throat, and leave the meat to the boy to eat. Any one can *overlook* (Tain kewa) another who is not a very close blood relation, at any time when his victim is not looking him straight in the face. To *kewa* any one is always a voluntary action, and implies that the person who is well-conditioned or rich man, this is not necessarily due to covetousness. A great man can make people ill without seeing them, by desiring it in his heart, and for sickness produced in this way there is no cure.

8. Magic.—Magic appears to play a comparatively small part in the spiritual life of the Dinka; probably this is to be attributed to the dominating influence of the cult of the *job*, which constitutes the working of the great rain-making ceremony, and auxiliary magical processes may be used in order to increase the efficacy of a sacrifice. Thus, it is not uncommon for a goat to be killed as a direct appeal to the *job* before hippopotamus-hunting. The Tain Dinka of Malek village select a 'red' goat or sheep because the hippopotamus is 'red,' and take it to the Sudd in a canoe, where they cut its throat with a spear, because the animal they are hunting can be killed only with a spear. (The usual method of killing it is by a blow on the head.) Its blood is allowed to run into the river, while some is smeared on the blades of the harpoons. As soon as it is dead, it is thrust under the Sudd where the hippopotami are, its month being tied up so that it
DIogenes.—See Cynics.

Disciples of Christ.—A religious body located chiefly in the central and western portions of the United States. The originator of the movement was Thomas Campbell, a minister of the Seceder Presbyterian Church in the north of Ireland, who came to America in 1807, and was assigned to ministerial work in the Presbyterian Charters, in Western Pennsylvania. Keenly sensitive to the evil results of sectarian divisions, he used his efforts to unite the scattered groups of Presbyterians in such common work and worship as should allay in some measure the strife of rival factions. But so little were the churches of the period prepared for the practice of comity that he was censured by the Presbytery for his conduct, and, although upon appeal the Synod declined to affirm the judgment of the Presbytery, he found it desirable to sever his connexion with the Church of his fathers. But his earnest labours in behalf of unity led to the formation of a group called the 'Christian Association of Washington' (Pa.), and, soon after, the publication of the Declaration and Address, in which he pleaded with his brethren of all Christian bodies to abandon whatever religious doctrines and practices were unscriptural and divisive, and to seek the peace of the Church by the realization of the Lord's prayer (Jn 17:21,22) for the oneness of His people. He was afterwards joined by his son Alexander, who had been trained for the ministry in Ireland and at Glasgow.

In studying the problem of Christian unity these men determined that they would propose to their religious neighbours the elimination of human additions to the primitive and simple gospel. This seemed to them a sufficient platform for a united Christian Church, but it was the condition of the early Christian society as the means of realizing Christian oneness. They included in their programme all the essential elements of the Apostolic faith, spirit, and service. They held strongly to the simple beliefs of the Church or the Apostolic Church, and sought to make the teachings of the NT authoritative in their procedure. In compliance with this ideal they decided that the practice of infant baptism and of infusio must be abandoned. The movement grew, and soon the first congregation was established at Brush Run, Pa. (4th May 1811).

The Reformers, as they called themselves, were active in the dissemination of information to all parts of the country, by means of tract and sermon, by correspondence, and by means of the press. Their leaders were the Campbells, Barton W. Stone, and Walter Scott. Their efforts were effective advocates of the new message. The adoption of immersion in baptism, as they believed, of Christian unity became the centre of all their activities. The Baptists, and in 1825 Alexander Campbell began the publication of a monthly called The Christian Baptist. For a time it seemed probable that the union of the two bodies would be effected. The Reformers were actually received into the fellowship of the Redstone Baptist Association, and later into that of the Mahoning Association, official organizations of the Baptists in Western Pennsylvania and Ohio. But the union was never completed. Each of the groups suspected the other and

at times made counter-charges of unsoundness of views. Separation took place, and gradually the Reformers, or Disciples, as they usually called themselves, went their way as a separate body.

At Bethany, Va., in 1840 Campbell founded Bethany College, the first of many schools organized by the Disciples. The movement grew rapidly in the States of West Virginia, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky. Campbell travelled widely, preaching and holding debates on such themes as related to the Primitive Church and the necessity of its restoration. The formative influences of his early training, the Lockian philosophy, the Covenant theology of Holland, the reformatory principles of the Haldaines in Scotland and Ireland, and the profound sense of the scandal and disaster of divisions in the Church, were evident in all his utterances. His power was widely felt, both among his own brethren and among those out-side the Church. As a result, a large company of vigorous and aggressive preachers and teachers became identified with the enterprise, and its progress was rapid.

With the growth of churches the first interest in the idea of Christian unity gave way somewhat to the seemingly more definite and practical effort towards the restoration of early Christian usages. The weekly and monthly observances of the immersion of adults as the only method of baptism, the organization of churches after the congregational order, with elders or bishops, and deacons, the rejection of all speculative discussion of the work of the Holy Spirit, and the emphasis upon the importance of the Scriptures in conversion were outstanding features of the new message. Close communion was never practised, but it was understood that only the initiated should be admitted to the churches.

In the development of so vigorous a body it was inevitable that controversy should have a pronounced part. Both with their religious neighbours and among themselves the Disciples have held earnest and prolonged controversies, and differences to literalism and legalism have not been wanting, but they have yielded slowly to the spirit of inquiry and progress. The creation of new educational foundations, the maintenance of an aggressive journalism, the organization of missionary and philanthropic agencies, and the encouragement of an effective evangelism in the churches, have increased the numbers, intelligence, and consecration of the Disciples, until at the present time they are fifth largest of the most important evangelical bodies of America; have an considerable constituency in England and Australia; have important missionary interests in China, Japan, Africa, the Philippines, Mexico, and the West Indies, and maintain efficient State and District organizations in nearly all sections of the United States and Canada.

The Disciples have desired from the first to be known only by NT names. They speak of their churches as 'Christian Churches,' or 'Churches of Christ.' These names they hold in common with all believers, and claim no exclusive title to them. Their worship has always been marked by simplicity, though there is an increasing effort to impart dignity to the services.

On the themes of advancing Christian thought,—the value and results of the historical method of Bible study, the contributions of modern scientific and philosophical labours to the religious life, the awakening of a sense of the urgency of the extension of missionary effort, and the adoption of higher educational standards—the Disciples have passed through the usual throes and differences of opinion incident to the development of most sections of the modern Church. But the progress has been
DISCIPLINE (Buddhist)


DISCIPLINE (Buddhist).—This subject may best be discussed under four different heads: (1) discipline of the laity by the clergy; (2) discipline of the novices by members of the Order; (3) discipline as carried out by the Order, in Chapter assembled, against individual members of it; and (4) self-discipline.

1. Discipline of the laity.—The Buddhist doctrine did not recognize either a deity who can punish or a soul to be punished, and denied to the members of the Order (the bhikkhus) any priestly powers by which penalties in the next life could be mitigated or increased. Any disciplinary proceedings against the laity, therefore, were necessarily of a simple character. There are words in Pali for 'instruction,' 'discussion,' ‘training,’ and ‘self-restraint’; but there is no word covering the same ground as ‘discipline.’ The ideas of confession or confession (of the words, of the body, or of the church-membership) are wanting. The word ‘Buddhist’ was not invented till many centuries after the rise of what we call Buddhism. By approving wholly or in part the doctrines of the new movement (or of its adherents) the early Buddhists could not be considered as having recognized the necessity of a simple character. There are words in Pali for ‘instruction,’ ‘discussion,’ ‘training,’ and ‘self-restraint’; but there is no word covering the same ground as ‘discipline.’ The ideas of confession or confession (of the words, of the body, or of the church-membership) are wanting. The word ‘Buddhist’ was not invented till many centuries after the rise of what we call Buddhism. By approving wholly or in part the doctrines of the new movement (or of its adherents) the early Buddhists could not be considered as having recognized the necessity of a simple character. There are words in Pali for ‘instruction,’ ‘discussion,’ ‘training,’ and ‘self-restraint’; but there is no word covering the same ground as ‘discipline.’ The ideas of confession or confession (of the words, of the body, or of the church-membership) are wanting. The word ‘Buddhist’ was not invented till many centuries after the rise of what we call Buddhism. By approving wholly or in part the doctrines of the new movement (or of its adherents) the early Buddhists could not be considered as having recognized the necessity of a simple character. There are words in Pali for ‘instruction,’ ‘discussion,’ ‘training,’ and ‘self-restraint’; but there is no word covering the same ground as ‘discipline.’ The ideas of confession or confession (of the words, of the body, or of the church-membership) are wanting. The word ‘Buddhist’ was not invented till many centuries after the rise of what we call Buddhism. By approving wholly or in part the doctrines of the new movement (or of its adherents) the early Buddhists could not be considered as having recognized the necessity of a simple character. There are words in Pali for ‘instruction,’ ‘discussion,’ ‘training,’ and ‘self-restraint’; but there is no word covering the same ground as ‘discipline.’

2. Discipline of novices.—One of the main objects of the founders of the various Orders that existed in the Theravada school of Buddhism was to provide, by the establishment of the Order, for the preservation and propagation of the founder's teaching. There were then no books and no pub-

3. Discipline in the Order.—The Buddhist Order was a democratic society in which there was no vogue of obedience and no hierarchy. The administration of the business of the Order was carried out locally by a Chapter on which each member of the Order (each bhikkhu) resident in the locality had a seat. The senior member presiding was termed the presiding officer, and his decisions were made by vote of the majority of those present. Should any member of the Order have committed, in the opinion of any other member, any breach of one of the regulations, the latter could bring forward, at the next meeting of the Chapter, a resolution on the subject. If the resolution was carried, the offending member remained for a fixed period under suspension. The suspension could be removed by a similar resolution, if the offender had acknowledged his offence. In four cases of grave moral delinquency—murder, theft, impurity, and a false claim to extraordinary spiritual pre-eminence—the penalty was expulsion from the Order. These and other cases which throw light on the question whether some particular act does or does not amount to a breach of any one of the 227 main rules of the Order, or of any one of the explanatory by-laws subsidiary to those rules, there is no evidence as to how frequently recourse was actually had, in the early years of the movement, to such disciplinary proceedings by a Chapter. Meetings of the Chapter are still held in Siam, Burma, and Ceylon for business purposes, for the recitation of the Rules.
for admission of new members, etc. Whether disciplinary proceedings are still used, and, if so, how frequently, is not known. In other countries the ancient rules have fallen altogether out of use, and we have no information as to any disciplinary proceedings which may have been substituted for the formal acts of the Chapter or further, art. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS [Buddhist].

4. Self-discipline.—There were three codes of ethics in early Buddhism—one for the lay adherent, another for a member of the Order, and a third for those, whether laymen or mendicants, who had entered upon the Path to arahatship. People joined the Order for a variety of reasons—to earn a livelihood, for a life of literary peace, to escape the troubles of the world, from dislike of authority, or even (as Nagasena says to King Milinda) out of fear of kings.1 Some were converted men before they joined the Order; the majority were not. They were expected, in addition to their literary studies, to devote themselves to an elaborate system of self-discipline in ethics and psychology leading up to what were regarded as the highest truths—those constituting the samādhi, the insight of the higher stages of the Path.2 The existence of such a system is the most characteristic feature of Buddhist discipline (see art. HINAYANA). LITERATURE.—The Vinaya Pitakam, ed. H. Oldenberg (5 vols., London, 1869-1875); Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, Vinayapitaka (Oxford, 1851-1855, being tr. of vol. 4 of the last-named work); Būdha Vijaya, ed. Rhyds Davids and J. E. Cooper (London, 1880); Buddhist Literature of the Early Path (Oxford, 1859-1860), ed. Questions of King Milinda (London, 1890-1894); Khuddaka-Nikāya and Mūla-Sāsana, ed. E. Müller (JTS, 1883).

T. W. RHYDS DAVIDS.

DISCIPLINE (Christian).—1. Definition and aim. Church discipline is that body of measures which the history of the Christian Church has organized the discipline of the Church to secure its own purity and the moral welfare of its member by the punishment of offenders against its constitution and teachings. The authority for such procedure is based (1) upon the very nature of the Church as a select body with a code of its own; (2) upon express commands of Christ; (3) upon Apostolic precepts and examples afforded in the history of the Apostolic Church. The Church, as an institution endowed with the infallibility of holiness and consecrated with the deposit of revealed truth, is bound to keep itself free from corrupting elements which might taint its purity and thwart its activity in training its members and in bearing witness to the world. An ancient Canon (Canon 6, 2nd century) is intended (1) to reclaim him from error of doctrine or impurity of life, so that, if possible, his soul may be saved; or (2) to cut him off, as a withered branch, from the body of Christ and all participation in its benefits. In the development of the Canon Law, such punishments were termed either medicinal (pena medicinae) or strictly penal (pena vindicativa). The former are corrective and reformatory; the latter, while, according to canonists, they do not wholly exclude, yet they are intended (1) to vindicate the majesty of the law and the removal of all danger to the Church from contumacy; or (2) to set an example: Apostolic age and from the close of the 2nd cent., Church discipline took expression in the uniformated system of Penance. To this were added, from the 4th cent., the Canons of Councils, local and ecumenical; from the 5th the Penitentials Books; and later the collections of Canon Law culminating in the Decretals of Gratian (about 1150). Beginning with Constantine's reign, severe civil penalties were executed upon dissenters from the Church's formulated standard of doctrine. The Arians, who refused obedience to the Nicene

1 Milinda, 1, 59.
2 Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, i, 189-192.

statement, were banished, and their books burnt. Although such penalties were inflicted by the civil rulers, they rendered the approach of the Church. The legislation concerning the discipline and punishment of dissenters reached its culmination, so far as the Church was concerned, in the tribunals of the Papal and Spanish Inquisitions (1215, 1478). This body of legislation was extended to include witchcraft and all kinds of malfeasant, especially after the bull of Innocent VIII., Summis desiderantes (1484).

The Reformers continued to insist upon ecclesiastical discipline, and, in their hands, it found its most strenuous application in the codes of Geneva and the disciplinary books of the Elizabethan Puritans of Scotland and the Westminster Assembly. As to the seat of authority for the exercise of Church discipline, the theory has been, and is, that the Church exercises discipline over her own members and within her own sphere. To use the expression current in the Middle Ages, she wields the spiritual sword (gladium spirituale), or, to quote a Protestant symbol (First Book of Discipline, ch. ix.), she 'draws the sword which of God she hath received.' But, in fact, not only has the distinction between the Church and the State, agents to punish ecclesiastical offences (dolici) not always been kept, but the Church has not restricted herself to her sphere, and, indeed, has expected the State to aid her in the maintenance of her discipline. From 325 onwards the Universal Church gradually came to approve civil penalties for ecclesiastical offences. The Latin Church, through the Inquisition, the culminating procedure in her disciplinary activity, not only pronounced suspects guilty of heresy, but imprisoned them, ordered them to be burnt and their goods confiscated, and turned them over to the civil authorities, knowing that their punishment would be death. In the Protestant Churches of Zürich and Geneva, among the Protestants of England and the United States, and, during the Colonial period in the United States, the same confusion prevailed, although in its application the legislation was much less destructive than during the Middle Ages. It has remained for more recent times to make the ecclesiastical and civil realms more distinct than even to the complete separation of Church and State, in some Protestant lands.

2. Discipline in the Apostolic Church. —Pure as is the operation of the Holy Spirit, discipline was less as is the ideal Church. The bride of Christ, it was predicted by Christ that offences would arise (Mt 18). Such offences were manifested in the earliest days of the Church's history. The Apostles themselves remained conscious of weaknesses and infirmities. Peter denied Christ (Mt 26), and was condemned by Paul at Antioch (Gal 2). Paul says, 'buffet my body' (1 Co 9), calls upon the Christians to follow him who wrote 'to mortify their members' (Col 3), and in Ro 7 indicates that a consent was first given to the sin under the Old Testament in the covenants of the flesh and the will of the Spirit. 'In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some unto honour, and some unto dishonour. Here the Apostle has in mind persons 'reprobate concerning the faith,' whom he compares to Jannes and Jambres (3). The Church's right to exercise discipline was definitely conferred when Christ empowered His Apostles to bind and loose (Mt 16). He also indicated the measures to be resorted to when an offence became known. If a brother was found guilty of a fault, he was to be privately admonished by a single person; then, if necessary, by several in company; and finally, if reproach was still
in effectual, the offender was to be publicly rebuked before the congregation. In case he was still dissolute, he was to be treated 'as the Gentile and the publican' (v.16-17).

After the Resurrection, the Apostles exercised the power of discipline, and warranted it by precepts. The duty of feeding the flock and ruling in the Church (Acts 20), He 13:3) implied this function. Special rules of practice were issued by the council of Jerusalem (Acts 15). The offences denounced were both errors of doctrine and faults of conduct against the pure laws of Christian living.

The first cases of discipline—the appalling deaths of Ananias and Sapphira—are mentioned in that no one but the most extreme advocates of Church prægotiva would find in them a precedent for the Church to follow, although they are referred to as examples of just punishment, not only in the Middle Ages, but by Calvin. It is true that, in the case of Sapphira, Peter announced her death; but the punishments must be looked upon as the usual act of God, as a lasting impression upon the Church. To another category belong the cases which occur in the writings of Paul and John. 

John (2:19) took the position that here was a sufficient ground for refusing companionship with the offenders. Paul commanded that some which were called upon the Thesalonian Christians to withdraw themselves from every brother that was corrupting them, and not after some new tradition which they received of us (2 Thes 3:16). Hereupon he pronounced a curse (2 Ti 3:5,6; cf. 2 Ti 3:5), and he admonished the Corinthians to exclude a companion who was an adulterer, fornicator, liar, drunkard, and covetous (1 Cor 5:1-5). He exhorted the members of the Corinthian congregation who had been excluded to wash their hands with water (1 Co 5, 10,2). And delivered unto Satan (Alexander and Hyrkan) also involved in anathema against 'any man that loveth not the Lord,' and against the Judaism teachers who might preach another gospel than that he preached (Gal 1). In the case of the Corinthian offender, Paul states that his purpose was that his 'spirit may be cleansed from the Lord Jesus in the Lord Jesus; in the case of Alexander and Hyrkanus, that 'they might be taught not to blaspheme.'

It is evident that it is possible, from the state

ments of the NT, for a Church hierarchy, if it so desire, to justify the resort to the most rigorous methods of disciplinary constraint, and to reduce Church government to a mere contrivance to exact implicit mechanical obedience to a system of ecclesiastical enfranchisement, forgetting that the Church is a training school to exercise discipline in the spirit of love and for the education and correction of the weak and offending.

3. The anti-Nicene practice (A.D. 100-313, the time of Constantine's edict of toleration).—In the period a strict system of discipline was practised, but the punishments were prescribed and executed by the spiritual authorities, and had nothing to do with civil constraints. There was no precise code, and the procedure differed in different parts of the Church, for example, as between N. Africa and Rome. The two marked features are the development of the system of penance and the issue of discipline canons by councils. The distinction which came to be made between mortal and mortal sins also had an important bearing upon the exercise of discipline.

In the &lt;code&gt;church&lt;/code&gt; of the 4th century, seven mortal offences for which, if committed after baptism, there can be no restoration in this world or in the next, that is, to come—as murder, adultery, theft, apostasy, blasphemy, fornication, adultery. For one sinned against the Church will not act as plenarius (or &lt;code&gt;executor non erit Christus&lt;/code&gt;). Those who must not, cease to be members of the Body of God. For one who confessed, certain penances or punishments were prescribed, such as fasting, prayer, and almsgiving, or penitential works, p. 252. It notes that only those who manifest sins (pecos, evidentia) were offenders cast out from the Church—giving as the reason, lest the wheat be mixed up with the tares. Towards the end of the period, the penitential system came to recognize four classes of penitents—weepers, harlots, penitents, and devout persons (starentes, greguiam, conditores). These were within the pale of the Church (extra ecclesiam), as opposed to the excommunicate. They were forbidden certain privileges, such as the bare possession of divine, religious, or ecclesiastical intercourse, etc., and they were especially required to do penance, fasting, almsgiving, etc. The usual duration of this period of penance was three or four years, though it might be abbreviated at the will of the Church authorities.

The schisms which broke out in the Church, such as those of Novatian, Miltiades, and the Donatists, were a revolt against a tendency to relax the rigours of discipline, and arose for the most part over the question of the restoration of the lapsed. The N. African Church, led by Tertullian, set the same ground to those who had denied the faith in times of persecution; Cyprian at Carthage held the same ground, and he was from it in view of the great number who had given way in the Declan-Valentinian persecution, and granted to the fallen the communion in the hour of death. The Roman Church was left with this class of offenders.

The Synods which were held at the close of this period—Elvira, Arles, and Arcens—passed severe disciplinary canons, to which the Spanish Synod of Elvira (see A. W. W. Dale, The Syn. of Elvira, London 1881) was opposed, with anathematization of the denial of the communion, and lesser penalties. Murder, idolatry, and especially usury—which have a large place devoted to these. The advantages of the Synod of Elvira before precedent pronouncement given by the husband, is denied communion even in the hour of death. Those guilty of extravagance in dress may after three years be restored to the communion, and gamblers after one year. The worship of idols by bishops was a capital crime, and the offender is excluded permanently from the communion.

4. From 313 to 1215 (from Constantine's edict of toleration to the establishment of the Inquisition).—With the alliance of the Church with the State, a new practice was developed in regard to the treatment of ecclesiastical offences. The State itself passed disciplinary regulations for certain of them, and executed punishments. Worthy penalties, which are often called &lt;code&gt;ecclesiastical&lt;/code&gt; and &lt;code&gt;civil&lt;/code&gt; punishments, were intended to deal with the person, the estate, the future, and the name of the Church, and to promote the well-being of the Church and the public. To the ideas which the office of Pontifex Maximus implied, Constantine claimed authority, as &lt;code&gt;universal&lt;/code&gt; bishop, over the external affairs of the Church. He and his imperial successors exercised the right of judgment only of processes of condemnation, but, as in the case of Theodosius, of designating who they were. The &lt;code&gt;Theodosian code&lt;/code&gt; counted as a public crime every offence against religion, on the ground that such offences brought injury to all (in omnibus et ferot injuriis [quoted by Friedberg, 309]). The following are the chief steps in the history of Church discipline in this period of 1000 years:

1. As worldliness crept into the Church after Constantine's identification with it, offences of moral conduct were given less prominence, and offences were emphasized which were committed against the Church as a corporation and against its doctrinal code as formulated by the Councils, and held by the common opinion of the faithful.

2. Constantine punished departures from the Nicene statement by burning the books of the Arians and banishing Arius himself. His sons at one time punished Athanasius and his followers, at another Athanasius was granted a general amnesty upon those refusing its precise definition of the doctrine of the Trinity, and excluded them from the possibility of salvation.

3. While the Emperors, from Gratian and Theodosius to Justinian, were proscribing paganism by penalties increasing to the penalty of death, the imperial rescripts were placing Christian heretics under the civil ban. Theodosius the Great, at the close of the 4th century, pronounced those who held to the Nicene statement Catholic Christians, and all other schisms as heretics. In those documents he deprived the latter of all right to the exercise of religious usages, excluded them from civil office, and threatened them with fines, banishment, confiscation of goods, and—as in the case of the Manichæans, Arians, and Quaderodermata—with death.

4. The code of Justinian not only regulated all
kinds of ecclesiastical affairs, but in certain cases gave ecclesiastical orders, that of Philip the Fair (1822), and in 1271, the death penalty was inflicted on a layman. For the whole execution in Thessalonica (389) Synesius excommunicated the governor of Pentapolis for his merciless oppressions (409).

(8) The most important influence on the discipline of clerics was not exerted by the Church, as that of Augustine. At first inclined to restrict discipline to spiritual measures, he changed front during the controversy with the Donatists. Quoting cite\(\text{\textit{Lord's words in the parable, 'C\text{\textit{ompel them to enter in,'} to the effect that the Church excluded from the communion of the Schoolmen, including Thomas Aquinas, in favour of the former could not be defended.}

(9) During the 7th and 8th centuries, penitential codes came into use, prescribing penalties for all sorts of offences against religion and the Church, beginning with those of Columban († 615) and Theodore of Tarsus († 690). A forerunner of these writers was John Scholastici († 755), whose Syntagma with its 65 canons was confirmed by the Trullan Synod of 692. An idea of the penalties prescribed by Theodore of Tarsus may be formed from one example: A priest who drank to excess and vomiting had to do penance for 30 days, a layman for 15 days. False canonical codes were referred to by the Paris Synod (829), the Clarendon Brief (1164), and the Lateran Councils of 1179 and 1215, the latter which included the condemnation of the doctrine of the excommunicated Emperor Frederick II.

(11) Special legislation was enacted for clerical offences. Among the more notable acts was the so-called Canonical Rule (see Hatch, Growth of Ch. Institutions, London, 1857, ch. ix.). The ministry had become not only a profession, but a lucrative profession. The clergy hawked and hunted, were extravagant in their retinues, drank, and accumulated other excesses. The bishop's capitularies (892) called upon the clergy to live: 'according to the canon.' Later a semi-cloistered mode of life was introduced among them, one reason given being that the clergy thereby 'might avoid the company of women,' as at the Roman Council of 853.

(12) The Canon Law was definitely incorporated in the collections of Regino († 1145), Burchard of Worms († 1025), Anselm of Lucca († 1086), Cardinal Duns Scotus (c. 1287), and of Chartres († 1116). The imperfect works gave way to the monumental production of the Camaldulensian monk, Gratian, who taught canon law in the convent of St. Felix, Bologna, in the 13th century. The work whose original title was Concordantes canonum disciplinae, became the manual in its department, as the Sentences of Peter the Lombard became the manual in the department of theology. It was greatly enlarged and up-to-date, and others, including a noble patron of Bordeaux, were put to death. All the bishops present except Theognostes approved the sentence. Ambrose and Martin of Tours disapproved of it, the former, however, being opposed to the death sentence altogether. Leo I. (440-461) definitely advocated the death penalty for heretics. Henceforth the only parties to oppose it were the dissenting sects, such as the Donatists.

(13) Notable cases of discipline are not wanting in the administration of high ecclesiastics. Chrysostom was deposed for rebuking the extravagance and vices of the Imperial court of Constantiopolis (404). Ambrose excluded Theodessius from the church of Milan till he had made expiation for the wholesale execution in Thessalonica (390). Synesius excommunicated the governor of Pentapolis for his merciless oppressions (409).

(14) The greatest punishments which came into general use in the Church were the anathema and the interdict, to which is to be added suspension from the priesthood. Two forms of anathema, the minor and the major, are distinguished by Wetzer (in his Geschichte der Weltgeschichte, 2d ed., 1871), the minor anathema is not to be cited in the degrees of solemnity with which they are pronounced. The anathema excludes from the communion and all public services of the Church except preaching, and from all public offices of the Church, and the Church is forbidden to offer them any intercessions. If the sentence still rests upon the offender at death, it excludes from burial in consecrated ground. Martin v. in his Ad evertanda (1418) made a distinction between excommunicanda (tolleranda) and excommunicanda (extendenda). From the latter all religious intercourse whatever is to be withheld, and, as far as feasible, all commercial dealing (see Hergenröther, 588 f.). Perhaps no excommunications surpass in execution that pronounced by Clement vii. (1440) against Louis the Bavarian: 'Let him be damned in his going out and his coming in! The Lord strike him with madness and blindness and mental insanity! May the heavens open upon him their thunderbolts, and the wrath of the Omnipotent burn itself into him in the present and the future world! May the universe fight against him, and the earth open to swallow him alive!' (Mürit, Quellen d. Papstthum, Tögingen, 1901, p. 153).

The interdict was extended to a community of persons or territory. There are different degrees of punishment involved in it. In general it involves the denial of the sacraments of the Eucharist, Ordination, and Extreme Unction, public services of the Church, and the rite of burial in sacred ground. Among the notable cases were the interdicts culminated over Scotland (1180), England (1208), the sacred cities of Rome by Adrian iv. (1155), and Jerusalem (1299) on the occasion of the crusade of the excommunicated Emperor, Frederick II.

s. From 1215 (the Fourth Lateran Council) to the Council of Trent—There are three important points which stand out in the further history of discipline before the Reformation. (1) The doctrine of Penance underwent a radical change (see K. Müller, Der Ursprung der Buße u. der Bußreform, 2d ed., Breslau und Leipzig d. 2ten Jahrh., Freib. 1892; Schaff, Ch. Hist., vol. v. pt. i. p. 729 f.). Concession to the priest and satisfaction by doing the penances prescribed by him were made necessary for absolution. The acts of satisfaction are penal acts which serve like medicines for spiritual wounds, and also as a compensation to God for offences. So Alexander of Hales and Thomas Aquinas taught. The priest is the judge of what the act of satisfaction shall be. A recent decision of public penance were those of Henry ii. after Becket's death, and Raymund of Toulouse. This
system of discipline under the direction of the priest became obligatory for every Christian in the world. The crusades offered a vast opportunity for the exercise of Church discipline and vengeance.

(2) The tribunal of the Inquisition, established by Innocent III. at the 12th Ecumenical Council (1215), was intended to meet the peril of heresy and to extirpate it. With Gregory the Great (604) heresy existed to be known in Western Europe for four centuries. At the end of the 11th cent. slight traces of it appear at Goslar, Mainz, Cologne, Strassburg, and other places. They quickly disappeared, but suddenly in the 12th cent. they reappeared in different parts of Europe from Milan to Antwerp, and from the Pyrenees to Bremen. In his Laws of 1238, Frederick II. gives a list of 19 different heretical sects. The chief of these were the Cathari and the Waldenses. In 1163 a Synod of Toulouse compared heretics to serpents concealing themselves in the grass. Innocent III.'s predecessor, Lucius III., at the Council of Verona (1184) joined with Frederick Barbarossa in a public demonstration in the Cathedral, that they would make their episcopal consecration depend upon their having parted with their convictions. In the extirpation of heretics was offered the indulgence extended to the Crusaders in the Holy Land. All who in any way supported heretics were to be excommunicated and excluded from receiving their natural inheritance. This pontifical organization was further perfected at the Council of Toulouse (1229), and by Innocent IV. in his Bull Ad exsiripanda (1232), which prescribed torture as a means of extorting confession of crime. No heretic was to be punished till convicted by the ecclesiastical tribunal, but, once convicted, the secular arm was under obligation to punish the offender by destroying his domicile and refuge, even though it were underground, by burning his goods, and by burning him to death. Innocent III. declared that, as treason was punished, so much more should punishments be meted out to those who committed the greater crime of blasphemy against God and His Son. Secular princes were to draw the sword against them (see quotation in Schaff, Ch. Hist., vol. v. pt. ii. p. 518, together with Hurter's exposition of Innocent's views). Innocent summoned Christendom to a crusade against the heretics in Southern France, promising 'those who fought for the sword and for God' the same rewards as he promised to those who ventured their lives to rescue the Holy Sepulchre.

In vain is the plea made that the Church did not execute heretics or immediately put them to death by burning. It immuned them for life, and it threatened with exclusion from the sacraments and from heaven princes and magistrates who refused to put to death within an opportune season. The Catholic apologist, Vacandard, is compelled to say that at times the actual execution was purposely delayed. It is strange in view of the words of Popes and councils, that Catholic writers, like Ph. Herogenrother (Kathol. Kirchenrecht, 341), should not have been aware that it is not enough that the Church put in the prescribed sentence of death. It is strange that they did not realize that it is not enough that the Church put in the prescribed sentence of death, but that it cannot call upon the State to execute it. An inquirer like Bernard only represented the temper of his time when he said in his famous Manual that heresy could be extirpated only as heretics were exterminated.

To this extreme form of Church discipline the Schoolmen gave full theological justification. Thomas Aquinas, resting upon the authority of Augustine, assumed that 'heretics were not only to be separated from the Church by excommunication, but from the world by death' (Summa, n. pt. 2. 11 (ed. Migne, iii. 160)). 'As false-hood of coin are to be put to death, much more should the one put to death who commits the wicked act of corrupting the faith. The heretics the Church delivers over to the secular tribunal to be put out of the world.'

The Spanish Inquisition, formally sanctioned by Sixtus IV. (1478) and accepted by his successors in its essential features, is more even noted in history for its ingenuos devices and severity in disciplining heretics than the papal tribunals established in 1215. Pasqual-Funk both agree, as against Hefele, that it was primarily not a State institution, but the creation of the Pope (Schaff, Ch. Hist., vol. v. pt. ii. p. 539 ff.).

(3) The most important chapter in the history of Church discipline in this period was the famous assertion of Boniface VIII., in the bull Unam sanctam (1302), that both swords are in the hands of the Pope, and that it is altogether necessary to submission to be obedient to the Roman pontiff. This assertion, confirmed by Leo X. on the very eve of the Protestant Reformation, sufficiently justifies the Church in the use of any means whatsoever that it may select to carry on its work and to maintain its spiritual authority. In the 14th cent. it was the theory that the Church's jurisdiction stops with those who are baptized by its ritual. But papal pamphleteers, after the death of Boniface VIII., like Augustinus Triumphans (1323), and Defensor pacis (1328), contended that it was the duty of the Church to execute heretics. A voice as if proclaiming a new era, Marsilius of Padua, in his Defensor pacis (1321), argued that the disciplinary prerogative of the Church was only auxiliary, not absolutely necessary. But the Church did not listen to him, and Consalvi and Bellarmine re-affirmed the doctrine that heretics should be burnt (‘puniendi usque ad ignem’), and carried out the affirmation in the sentences against Hus and Jerome of Prague and the bones of Wyclif. The papal crusades against the Cathari were repeated against the Hussites, and Savonarola was burnt with the approbation of Pope Alexander VI. One of the charges made by Leo X. against Luther was that he asserted that it was against the will of the Holy Spirit that heretics should be burnt.

The Council of Trent nowhere mentions the penalty of death for heretics, but neither it nor any Pope since has expressly rejected the severe disciplinary policy exercised by the Church for centuries. The disciplinary element in penance was re-affirmed by the Council of Trent, even to the use of indulgences.

6. The Reformers and the Protestant Churches.

—Three things, made prominent by the Reformers, were adapted to reduce the value of Church discipline and to limit the application of a disciplinary code: (1) the principle emphasizing the immediate responsibility of the Christian to God; (2) the authority of Scripture as the supreme rule of life; (3) the insistence upon preaching as the chief element in the power of the keys—a view which passed into the Augsburg (Schaff, Creeds, iii. 59) and other Protestant Confessions. Instruction and persuasion through the sermon were destined, to a considerable extent, to take the place of punitive discipline. Another consideration adapted to limit the application of discipline was the abolition of the confessional, and the substitution of repentance of heart for the system of outward satisfactions imposed by the priest. There was a wide divergence between the Lutheran and the Calvinistic Reformations, and the prominence given to discipline, growing out of the attitude of Luther and Calvin respectively. Calvin felt the genius for administration, and felt little confidence in discipline. Calvin was a born administrator, and in theory advanced discipline to almost as high a place as it had held in the
medieval Church, but with a wide difference in practice.

(1) The Lutheran Church.—Luther was inclined to be satisfied with preaching, Christian instruction, and the dispensation of the two sacraments as the largest work of the Church and extending her influence. He had little to say about discipline as a system, and never set forth a clear theory of the relation of Church and State. He was violent enough in his judgments against the Anabaptists, Minzer, and the Protestant anarchists, and against the Swiss, but he never worked out a system of discipline. The Augsburg Confession (pt. ii. art. vii.) condemns the 'violent excommunications' of pontiffs, and andіstated that, if anything, was as far against the Church as was the recent scourging of the body of Christ.' The separation between the Church and the State was recognized by the Reformation. The Church had no right to interfere with civil government except in the matter of religious profession. The Schmalkald Articles (iii. 9) reject the major excommunication, but retain the minor, which is to be used against manifest sinners, excluding them from communion. This was the law of the Medicean table as the law of the Land. It gave proof of amendment. This power of excommunication is in the body of the Church. Later in the 16th cent. it was left to the Lutheran consistory, the parish having only the power to anathematize those not communicants. Spener also wrote of discipline as a possible means of reviving piety. These suggestions came to nothing. At the present time the State exercises so large an authority in the Church that discipline is almost a lost art in the German Lutheran Churches.

(2) The Reformed Churches.—(a) Zwingli and Oecolampadius left the right of excommunication to the State. In Zürich the separation was carried out by the magistrates; and heretics and Anabaptists were executed. Zwingli, so far as we know, did not protest against this punishment. The First Helvetic Confession provides for excommunication in the case of repentance; but, without making a clear distinction between the two reafmes, puts the authority to pass sentence in the hands of those 'who are appointed thereto by the servants of the Word and the Christian magistrate.'† The State is to take positive measures to root out blasphemy and punish blasphemers, and to promote the spread of the principles preached in the pulpit. The Second Helvetic Confession (xxx. [Schaff, Ortsd, ii. 396 f.] makes it the duty of the civil magistrate 'to defend the Church of God and the preaching of the truth, to cut out all impiety, superstition, and idolatry, to draw the sword against all maladies and blasphemers, and to coerce all heretics who are heretics indeed.'

(b) The practice of the large body of the Reformed Churches was determined by Calvin's treatment in his Institutes (bk. iv. ch. 12) and by the Genevan code, the Ecclesiastical Ordinances, which were largely the work of Calvin's hand. It must not be overlooked that in minor particulars the execution of the Genevan legislation differs from Calvin's theory as laid down in his Institutes. Calvin's carefully arranged form of Church government involves a rigid discipline. He proceeded on the principle that 'no house can be preserved in proper condition without discipline.' Otherwise Christians would live like rats in the straw.

Discipline is the only remedy against a dreadful desolation in the Church. Its purpose is threefold—to keep the Church in a sound condition, to protect its members against taint, and to bring the offender, if possible, to repentance. Following closely on the purity of the Church and extending her influence. He had little to say about discipline as a system, and never set forth a clear theory of the relation of Church and State. He was violent enough in his judgments against the Anabaptists, Minzer, and the Protestant anarchists, and against the Swiss, but he never worked out a system of discipline. The Augsburg Confession (pt. ii. art. vii.) condemns the 'violent excommunications' of pontiffs, and stated that, if anything, was as far against the Church as was the recent scourging of the body of Christ.' The separation between the Church and the State was recognized by the Reformation. The Church had no right to interfere with civil government except in the matter of religious profession. The Schmalkald Articles (iii. 9) reject the major excommunication, but retain the minor, which is to be used against manifest sinners, excluding them from communion. This was the law of the Medicean table as the law of the Land. It gave proof of amendment. This power of excommunication is in the body of the Church. Later in the 16th cent. it was left to the Lutheran consistory, the parish having only the power to anathematize those not communicants. Spener also wrote of discipline as a possible means of reviving piety. These suggestions came to nothing. At the present time the State exercises so large an authority in the Church that discipline is almost a lost art in the German Lutheran Churches.

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the rigorous discipline of Geneva found its most

genial soil, so that Puritanism and Presbyterian

ism are synonymous in the popular mind not only

with severity of Christian living, but with severity of

the laity in the church's ethical practice from the accepted standard.

The Scottish symbols, and the Westminster standards

which they enunciate, the close relation between Church and State

whence the State punishes a certain class of

religious offences, and also lay great stress upon

strict supervision over the lives of Church mem-

bers and a rigorous system of censure. The Book

of Common Order and the First Book of Discipline,

and the Westminster Directory of Worship of the Westminster Assembly, state

at length the rules of judicature and of trial. To

these is to be added the Order of Excommunication

and of Public Repentance, commanded to be

printed by the Scottish Assembly in 1560 (see

Dunlop, ii. 701-745). Knox, the faithful disciple of

Calvin, laid down in the Scottish Confession of

1560 the principle of the relation of Church and State, when he declared that to civil rulers

'certain principal and important matters are

appointed, which they are to watch over and

purgation of religion appertain,' and that they

are appointed for the maintenance of the

true religion and for suppressing idolatry. This

principle was fully embodied in the Westminster

Confession itself, which it is to be the

duty of the civil magistrate to 'take order that

unity and peace be preserved in the Church.' He

hath power to call synods and to provide that

whatsoever is transacted in them be according to

the laws of God. This principle was carried forward in the relation which the Assembly sustained to

Parliament. One of the main complaints of the

Millenary Petition in 1603 concerned Church disci-

pline. The petitioners begged 'that men be not

excommunicated for trifles and other contami-

nating and infective sores, with tender children or

such as were sound, so it is no less cruelty to suffer

amongst the flock of Christ such obstinate rebels

. . . . for a little leaven corrupteth the whole mass.'

Disciplines coming before the Church court for

censure are enumerated in the Scottish Book of

Discipline (ch. ix.), and include 'accursed papi-

strie,' which exposed those who were infected with it

to excommunication. This is reasserted in the

Order of Excommunication (Dunlop, 709). The

Kirk-session, consisting of the minister and elders,

meeting once a week, had as one of its functions to

determine and judge causes and administer

admonition to licentious lives, for 'by the gravity of

the law of God all licentiousness must be corrected and brimmed' (First Bk. of Disc. x.).

The sentence of excommunication was to be announced by the minister in the public

audience of the people in the words:

"In the Name of the Lord, who granted to the Church, that is, to excommunicate from

society of Christ Jesus, from his body the Church, from partaking of sacraments and prayer with the same, the said N.'

(f) In America, during the Colonial period, the discipline within the Churches of Puritan and

Presbyterian lineage was strict, and throughout the colonies, even in New Amsterdam under Peter

Stuyvesant, there was a vigilant oversight over strictly ecclesiastical affairs. The notable

exception was Rhode Island, founded by Roger Williams, who before his banishment denied

the right of the civil authority to punish offences against the first table, and who in his exile gave

the memorable expression to the principle of religious

liberty. In the New England colonies, especially Massachusetts, the close alliance of Church and

State involved not only such acts as the calling of synods by the civil magistrate, but the collection of taxes for the support of the Established Church, but acts of Church discipline culminating in the

banishments of Anne Hutchinson (1638) and Roger

Williams (1636), the public execution of four

Quakers (1659-64) in Boston, and the execution of nineteen persons accused of witchcraft in 1692.

With the adoption of the American Constitution, the

Churches, including the American Presbyterian Assembly (1789), adopted modifications of their

constitutions, conservative in principle, and conform to the principle of the complete separation of Church and State. The Assembly of that year altered in a fundamental way ch. xxx. of the Westminster Confession. For similar modifications by British

Presbyterian Churches, see art. CONFESSIONS, in vol. iii. p. 878.

In recent times the tendency among Churches

using the English tongue is to forego as far as possible the right of discipline, preferring to trust

almost solely what is said at the Lord's table, and to accept the view of the Church before the

people of the truth from the pulpit and to the conscience of the church-member. There is also a tendency to

avoid the exercise of discipline upon ministers of the gospel in the matter of doctrinal belief.

The recent trials of Professor William Robertson

Smith in Scotland (1877-81) and Professor Charles

Briggs and Henry Preserved Smith in the United

States (1892-94), and their exclusion for supposed

heretical views, awakened wide-spread attention, and have raised the serious question how far

liberty of opinion should be tolerated in a minister

when it is accompanied by devotion to Christ and the

interests of his Church.

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ii. 262 f., iii. 135 f., 356 f., iv. 347 f., 571 f., v. pt. I. pp. 458 f.,

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Calvin by Sibuet-Belpaire (Paris, 1863) and Routh (1880), etc., and of Knox, by McCrie (new ed., 1899), Cowan

(N. Y. 1896)."
from the synagogue. Disobedience to a ḥīmnā might also be visited with imprisonment (the Jews often had their own prisons in the Middle Ages). An offender might be denied the burial rite, or his body consigned to a special section of the cemetery set apart for notorious evil-doers. Sentence of death was also passed upon flagrant transgressors, more particularly upon informers. The execution of the sentence involved cases necessarily requiring the consent of the Government, by whose officials it was carried into effect. Another disciplinary expedient was public denunciation in the synagogue, according to a formula prescribed as a test of the consent of the Government, by whose officials it was carried into effect. Another disciplinary expedient was public denunciation in the synagogue, according to a formula prescribed as a test of the consent of the Government, by whose officials it was carried into effect.

The ban of the Synagogue falls under three categories, known respectively as ḥezīfāt, nīḥātāt, and ḥerēm. The first lasted seven, the second thirty days. In Babylonia the periods were one day and seven days. In Jerusalem, the seven days were divided by a forty-nine years. The second and third ban was for the Sawri and the entrance to the ban was a matter of disciplinary rigour. Ezra's action, however, seems to be a connecting link between the Pentateuchal procedure and the system of excommunication of the Talmudic régime. Under that system the term ḥerēm came to mean, and was usually signified, the ban, not the thing banned. It is the technical term for excommunication, the most formidable weapon of the Jewish Church.

Excommunication, however, though the chief, was not the only disciplinary measure in use among the Jews. The voluntary asceticism of the Nazirite had its counterparts in post-Biblical times. Thus a man would take a vow, even registering it in a deed, to abstain, for a term or for life, from certain forms of self-indulgence. Gambling was a favorite subject of such a vow. The penalty for violation of the vow was often severe, extending even to bodily mutilation. Another self-imposed penalty was fasting. And God ordered him to fast on certain days of the week either for a definite period or for life. Further, the mediaval community or congregation would make enactments (yāhānā) against various offences, disobedience to which was punished by fines, exclusion from synagogal office, or refusal of the privilege of reading from the scroll of the Pentateuch during service, or of participation in some other religious rite. The imposition of a fine on the elder D'Israel by the Spanish and Portuguese congregation in London was the immediate cause of his withdrawal.

discipline (Jewish)
the neglect by a slaughterer of cattle (ṣibḥēt) to show his knife to his Rabbi so that it may be declared fit for its purpose on ritual and humanitarian grounds; business partnership between a divorced couple; selling a wife, a gentle hand implied, in the property of another Jew without indemnifying the latter for consequent injury.

Probably owing to the example of the Church, excommunication among the Jews became more drastic and more far-reaching in the Middle Ages. The catalogue of offences visited with the penalty was enlarged, the disabilities it imposed increased in number, and the right of pronouncing it extended from the local synagogues to the congress of the community (kidōh). Synods met at various times to formulate new ecclesiastical rules, all of which were enforced by the threat of excommunication. Thus the famous Synod of Worms, convoked in the 11th cent. by R. Gershon of Mayence, declared polygamy forbidden, and placed under the ban those who dis obeyed this decision. On the other hand, the offences denounced by the congregation were often trivial, and resort to excommunication in their case was only possible. The congregation became a terrible engine of oppression in the hands of ill-instructed men, who were free to give effect to their own ideas of right and wrong, un restrained by the moderating influence of trained and educated minds. In pronouncing excommunication the congregation operated within the entire district over which it exercised jurisdiction, and, until formally repealed, through all generations. They followed the offenders even after they had severed all ties from the congregation and had removed to another district.

In some of its features the Jewish ritual of excommunication in the medieval period bore a close likeness to that adopted by the Church. The excommunicated person, if his case was a bad one, was literally banned 'with bell, book, and candle.' Led into the synagogue, he was placed beside the reader, who stood at the ark, the most sacred part of the building, with a scroll of the Pentateuch in his hands. Inflated bladders were placed on a bier, candles were lighted, and sackcloth and ashes strewn at the offender's feet. Then the horn (šibḥōr) was sounded, the candles were extinguished, and the bladders burst—all to strike terror into the sinner's heart. It usually caused the pronouncement of the excommunication: 'In the name of God, of the tribunal of Heaven and of earth, we solemnly ban and excommunicate the sinner N.N. May all the curses of the Law rest upon his head, and this excommunication cling to the 248 members of his body.' Whereupon all present, including the culprit, answered 'Amen.'

The history of excommunication in the Jewish Church is chiefly a catalogue of more or less distinguished persons banned for heresy, or some cognate offence against authority. Breaches of the religious law were frequently visited with the penalty; but we hear less of them in this connexion than of the continuance and unorthodox teaching. That excommunication was employed to fight Christianity at its inception is to be gathered from I K 6:2 and 9:1, and from passages in the New Testament. The first undoubted instance of the imposition of the ban given in the Talmud, though we need not of possibly earlier threats of it, is that of the sages Akabaya ben Mahalada (a contemporary of Jesus [5]), whose sin consisted in persisting in a view of the ritual law opposed to that of the majority of the Sanhedrin. At this period the President of the Sanhedrin was invested with the power of excommunication, and a famous President at the beginning of the 2nd cent. was Gamaliel II., a man of sterling but imperious character. A notable victim of his overbearing temper was his own brother-in-law Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, a Rabbi of great learning and influence, upon whom Gamaliel imposed lifelong excommunication for an offence similar to that of Akabaya. Gamaliel calls Heaven to witness that his manner of dealing with his adversary was not a lust of power, but zeal for the Divine glory; and there is no question that his protest is sincere. But it is of such stuff that Torquemadas are made, and we may suspect that the evils they produce are wrought. Certainly this truth did not escape the attention of the Talmudic doctors; and when, in the same century, Judah the Holy threatened to place R. Meir under the ban, a resolute spirit of acquiescence on the part of the Sanhedrin, strenuously protested. It would seem, indeed, that excommunication became increasingly rare in Palestine from this time forward, flagellum being substituted for it in the case of insubordinate Rabbis. In Babylonia, however, to which the centre of gravity of Jewish life was now being shifted, the old disciplinary system was maintained, at least in principle. How often it was put into practice it is impossible to say. Only three cases of excommunication from a century of time are on record; one of these is even recorded that a Rabbi would first put himself under the ban before imposing it upon others, so that he might remember to release them when he set himself free. But this considerate temper was by no means general, and cases of a less moral character were sometimes grotesque. Two Rabbis would excommunicate each other, and the difficulty was to know which of the two sentences was the valid one. The absurdity of such proceedings and the evil consequences generally of excommunication moved Maimonides (12th cent.) to utter a warning note.

'The Rabbi,' he said, 'has the undoubted right to punish insubordination by excommunication; but it does not consort with his dignity to exercise this right frequently, better that he should let the insults of coarse men go unnoticed than as the wise Solomon has said, 'Take not heed unto all words that are spoken; lest thou hear thy servant curse thee'" (op. cit. end).

Maimonides himself was the innocent cause of increased resort to the ban. Opposition to his theological teachings broke out into active violence after his death, and the anathema was pronounced against a great sinner who should be a denouncer, or the Introduction to his Yad. The Rabbis of the opposing school followed suit, and excommunicated those who denounced the Master. The quarrel not only grew fiercer as time went on, but widened in scope. The ban was now directed against preachers who interpreted the Scriptures allegorically, and against all persons under 25 who engaged in the study of Greek philosophy, or of any natural science except medicine.

In Amsterdam, in the 17th cent., Uriel Acosta, having made his submission to the Synagogue after excommunication for heresy, was put under the ban and his offence. Again recanting, he was again absolved; but his conflict with the authorities had unhinged his mind, and after an attempt upon the life of his denouncer, he died by his own hand. A more illustrious heretic, Spinoza, paid with excommunication for his philosophical speculations in the same century and in the same city. He made no submission or renunciation; the decree which drove him out from the Jewish community was one of excommunication imposed on pain of banishment and alienation. Cf. art. ACOSTA, SPIZNOZ.

Nor was philosophy the only heresy. The mystical doctrine of the Kabbalah, which represented the other point of view among the Jews, was attacked by Shabbathai Sebi, the pseudo-Messiah, also of the 17th cent., was put under the ban as much for his Kabbalistic teachings as for his Messianic pretensions. His followers long outlawed him.
they still survive in Turkey; and the sentence pronounced against their founder was renewed for their punishment at intervals for a century and a half. Dabbling in the Kabbala brought not merely ignominy, but damnation. Indeed, the more eminent the Rabbi, the more surely does he seem to have been marked out as a fit subject for excommunication; and, on the other hand, the more obscure the Rabbi, the more ready is the community to excommunicate. 'The wicked and_shifted in ignorance decrete'—thus a Jewish writer characterized the ban. Even to show brotherly feeling for the Karaites was an offence visited with disciplinary measures, as the famous Nachman Krochmal of Lemberg was to learn, less than a century ago. Naturally, the sect of the Karaitim, who exalted mysticism above conformity with the Rabbinc Law, were banned as heretics. Heresy, moreover, meant anything that was new, however in harmony with the Church's creed. It was a glaring self-contradiction, a contradiction in terms. Thus the Synagogue, or rather its representatives in certain places, declared some of its best friends anathema—a Dr. Frankl, for example, who in a year or two desired to found in Jerusalem an asylum for children on modern lines, and, a little later, even Sir Moses Montefiore, who advocated the teaching of European languages in the schools of the Holy City. Nor has such disciplinary procedure been quite unknown in England in recent times.

A species of excommunication was launched by the orthodox Rabbinate in 1843 against the West London Synagogue, which had just been established on principles antagonistic to the Talmudic doctrine of the divinity of the Oral Law. The faithful were warned against using the Prayer Book of the new congregation, and against communion with them in 'any religious rite or sacred act. Members of the congregation were denied Jewish burial. After protracted negotiations, the ban was removed seven years later.

At the present time excommunication is virtually confined, among Jews, to civilised countries. More than a century ago the famous Paris Sanhedrin, convoked by Napoleon I., anticipated matters by virtually declaring the rite of excommunication obsolete. It is significant that a note to the chapter on the Law of the Chicago edition of the Shulhan Aruk—the authoritative text-book of orthodox Judaism—declares that the prescriptions set forth in that chapter have no longer any validity (Torah Desk, sect. 354). Even the most devoted adherents of Rabbinc Law is prompted to admit that these severe disciplinary measures are at once superfluous and contrary to the spirit of the age. Self-preservation is obtainable by milder and more rational means in these days of emancipation and equality. Moreover, when the modern spirit recognizes, as fully as does his Gentile brother, that severity, when exercised by a religious body, defeats its own purpose by hardening the offender in his offence and confirming him in his heresy. It gives a glaring self-contradiction, a contradiction in terms, seeing that a Church, which necessarily claims to be the Divine representative, should have, as its first characteristic, the Divine qualities of mildness and leniency. Thus the ban has again and again served the cause of irreligion, instead of mitigating against it. Thus Mendelssohn (18th cent.), the protagonist of the modern Jewish temper, has well expressed this view:

'Excommunication and proscription,' he says to the introductory pages of his Jerusalem, 'are directly contrary to the spirit of religion. What?—shut out a brother who would share in my excommunication and lift his heart with mine to God! If Religion permits itself no arbitrary punting and excommunication of all it can use this spiritual weapon which, also, only they can feel who are truly religious. Every society, it is said, has the right to exclude; why not a religious society? My answer is that this is just where a religious society forces an exception. Subject to a higher rule, it cannot and it should not be contrary to its fundamental aims. To excommunicate a dissenter, to expel him from the Church, is like forbidding a sick man the dispensary. It is to repulse the patient whose need of medicine is all the greater because he is not conscious of his need, but himself ignorant of the cause.

In fairness, however, to the Synagogue, a distinction must be drawn between the needs of modern times and those of the past. There were occasions when the duty of safeguarding the existence of the community, and even of the religion, seemed to justify resort to excommunication. It possessed terrors which every other disciplinary expedient lacked. It seemed to be the only means of enforcing an act for authority and obedience to its injunctions. It supplied an expedient for preserving morality, personal and public, and it often averted ill-will and persecution at the hands of the general population, by preventing its internal disputes from reaching the publicity of the secular courts. Under these three great considerations, Jewish litigants would bring their quarrels for adjustment to the Beth Din (the Ecclesiastical Court) or to the Rabh (the Congregation), instead of taking them for settlement to the magistrates. But these considerations do not excuse the action of certain Rabbis, of the medieval period more particularly, who resorted to excommunication as an easy means of crushing their personal opponents. Nor, in the case of heresy, do they avoid against the objection raised by I. H. Weiss (Der Dorr, v.), that excommunication, even when actuated by the purest motives, did more harm than good by rending Jewry in twain at a time when concord and union were the greatest need. It not only adds, instead of extinguishing the evils at which it aimed, it often rooted them deeper. The heretic, who might have been won back by lenity and forbearance, was strengthened in his heresy, and still further estranged by severe methods. To the contrary, the Jew imbued with this modern spirit recognizes, as fully as does his Gentile brother, that severity, when exercised by a religious body, defeats its own purpose by hardening the offender in his offence and confirming him in his heresy. It gives a glaring self-contradiction, a contradiction in terms, seeing that a Church, which necessarily claims to

DISEASE AND MEDICINE

Introductory and Primitive (C. G. MYERS), p. 723.
Egyptian (G. FOUCART), p. 749.
Greek and Roman (Ed. Thraemper), p. 753.

DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Introductory and Primitive).—Of the two methods, the 'direct' and the 'interpretative,' by which we can study the beliefs of different peoples as regards the methods of communication, diagnosis, and treatment of disease, each has its difficulties. To be the Divine representative, should have, as its first characteristic, the Divine qualities of mildness and leniency. Thus the ban has again and again served the cause of irreligion, instead of mitigating against it. Thus Mendelssohn (18th cent.), the protagonist of the modern Jewish temper, has well expressed this view:

'Excommunication and proscription,' he says to the introductory pages of his Jerusalem, 'are directly contrary to the spirit of religion. What?—shut out a brother who would share in my excommunication and lift his heart with mine to God! If Religion permits itself no arbitrary punting and excommunication of all it can use this spiritual weapon which, also, only they can feel who are truly religious. Every society, it is said, has the right to exclude; why not a religious society? My answer is that this is just where a religious society forces an exception. Subject to a higher rule, it cannot and it should not be contrary to its fundamental aims. To excommunicate a dissenter, to expel him from the Church, is like forbidding a sick man the dispensary. It is to repulse the patient whose need of medicine is all the greater because he is not conscious of his need, but himself ignorant of the cause.

In fairness, however, to the Synagogue, a distinction must be drawn between the needs of modern times and those of the past. There were occasions when the duty of safeguarding the existence of the community, and even of the religion, seemed to justify resort to excommunication. It possessed terrors which every other disciplinary expedient lacked. It seemed to be the only means of enforcing an act for authority and obedience to its injunctions. It supplied an expedient for preserving morality, personal and public, and it often averted ill-will and persecution at the hands of the general population, by preventing its internal disputes from reaching the publicity of the secular courts. Under these three great considerations, Jewish litigants would bring their quarrels for adjustment to the Beth Din (the Ecclesiastical Court) or to the Rabh (the Congregation), instead of taking them for settlement to the magistrates. But these considerations do not excuse the action of certain Rabbis, of the medieval period more particularly, who resorted to excommunication as an easy means of crushing their personal opponents. Nor, in the case of heresy, do they avoid against the objection raised by I. H. Weiss (Der Dorr, v.), that excommunication, even when actuated by the purest motives, did more harm than good by rending Jewry in twain at a time when concord and union were the greatest need. It not only adds, instead of extinguishing the evils at which it aimed, it often rooted them deeper. The heretic, who might have been won back by lenity and forbearance, was strengthened in his heresy, and still further estranged by severe methods. To the contrary, the Jew imbued with this modern spirit recognizes, as fully as does his Gentile brother, that severity, when exercised by a religious body, defeats its own purpose by hardening the offender in his offence and confirming him in his heresy. It gives a glaring self-contradiction, a contradiction in terms, seeing that a Church, which necessarily claims to

Hindu (J. JOLLY), p. 753.
Muslim.—See CHARMS and AMPLETS (Muh.).
Roman.—See 'Greek and Roman.'
Teutonic (H. SUDHOFF), p. 759.

DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Introductory and Primitive).—Of the two methods, the 'direct' and the 'interpretative,' by which we can study the beliefs of different peoples as regards the methods of communication, diagnosis, and treatment of disease, each has its difficulties. To

'interpret' the beliefs of a people from observation of their practices is always a dangerous procedure. The same practices may exist among widely distant peoples; yet we can never safely conclude that they are the expression of precisely the same beliefs, or that apparently identical be

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liefs have the same meaning and have been reached by the same lines of development. Take as an example certain conceptions of the cause of toothache.

In a recent report (The Helmanian Lecture, October 30, 1901, p. 163), there was a young woman of my acquaintance-who 'had a reputation for power of healing toothache by a charm which had been taught her by her relative deceased. She would lay a certain leaf, rolled up with certain muttered words, upon the part inflamed; and, when in course of time the pain subsided, she would take out and unfold the leaf, and show within it the little white maggot that was the cause of the trouble. Thus was 'the evil spirit driven out.' For toothache a nail is heated to white heat and held on the affected tooth for a few seconds. This is said to kill the insects which are supposed to be of the origin of these maggots. 'The Ait's Medicine, and their Folklore, London, 1901, p. 293.') Lastly, in ancient Assyria, it was supposed that the modern Arabs of Mesopotamia, toothache is attributed to a worm.

It would be tempting to suppose that the notion of worms or insects being the cause of toothache has had the same origin in Melanesia, Japan, and Asia Minor, but all modern anthropological research points to the danger of drawing such a conclusion from a single thread of evidence. We can hope to arrive at the relationship between individual beliefs only by carefully comparing the entire culture more or less advanced, by which we mean, or can hope to arrive at the ultimate meaning and origin of a belief only by observing and 'directly' questioning the peoples among whom it is found, and especially by comparing and more primitive peoples who may reasonably be considered primitive, by race or by environment, with them. On the other hand, it is difficult, if not impossible, to obtain, by the 'direct' (or questioning) method, the beliefs of a people in relation to such a subject as disease. For the Japanese, for example, the explanation would be inconsistent, a sick tooth is caused by a food considered bad, which by accident or in a state of flux; old practices often persist, but receive a changing explanation in course of time. The beliefs of the community develop; even old beliefs may be preserved and unreflectingly sustained, despite the fact that they are logically impossible, by race or by environment, with them.

In the face of these difficulties, we shall confine ourselves in this article mainly to the study of disease among definite primitive peoples. We shall examine specific instances instead of working with uncertain generalities. Such a study will show how the same illness has been attributed first to personal (human or demonic) factors, and later to Divine intervention, as the ideas of human magic, of interference by evil spirits, and of godhead have gradually developed. Comparing primitive and more advanced peoples with one another, we shall see how treatment becomes more complex as different diseases are allotted to different evil spirits, demons, or gods. Different medicine-men are invoked; definite remedies become attached to definitely recognized diseases. Many practices employed by the most primitive peoples, are continued, but are regarded in quite another light as civilization advances. They are found to have a good effect, although the original cause for their application is no longer believed in. Thus massage, counter-irritation, and open steam are employed by many primitive peoples with the object of driving out the evil matter or spirit or the demon of the disease from the patient's body. The evil is knuckled, stamped, or pouted out of the body; or it is rubbed in a definite direction—usually from the part affected towards the feet, where it escapes; or cuts are made in the skin, causing some flow of blood. Again, the conviction felt by the patient that the medicine-man is able to control the evil spirits of disease is responsible, more than any other factor, for the success of primitive therapeutics. So, too, among the most advanced communities, despite their changed beliefs, massage, hydrotherapy, and, at all events until recently, venesection persist as useful practices. As regards suggestion, it is open to question how far the most modern treatment, or the most specific, is based on a belief in its efficacy, unless he has been induced to believe in its efficacy. Among primitive peoples, knowing the name of the evil spirit, using archaic language, summoning medicine-men from another tribe, are frequently important factors in effecting a cure. Among ourselves, a physician is held of slight account who cannot give a name to his patient's illness; he still writes his remedies in a dead language; and his reputation is apt to be greater abroad than at home. Although the modern medical aspect of medicine has come more and more to the front, in no part of the world can the magical aspect be said to have altogether disappeared.

1. Australia.—Turning now to various primitive peoples in order to study their practices (and, so far as is possible, their beliefs) in regard to the causation and treatment of disease, let us first examine the native Australians, who have been studied with considerable care by Spencer and Gillen (The Problem of Primitive Culture, London, 1899, The Northern Tribes of Central Australia, do. 1904), by W. E. Roth (North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin 5, Brisbane, 1909), and by Howitt (The Native Tribes of the East Coast of Australia, 1904). Among these peoples disease is attributed to some evil magic prepared by one man who wishes to harm another. A widely spread method of causing disease is for the sorcerer to take an irna, a stick, and using it at least once, he fiddles around the patient, and it is said that the evil magic will have a direct result. For example, a man who had a particular reason to wish another ill, 'May your head and throat be split open!' Then he goes back to his camp, returning later to fetch the irna, which he hides somewhere near his camp. He hides it his time until he can get near enough one night to distinguish his victim without being himself observed.

² He then stoops down, and turning his back towards the camp takes the irna in both hands and jerks it repeatedly over his shoulder, imitating some curse again (8-G-635).

This pointing of the irna causes disease, and even death, unless the evil magic which has pointed harbouring some such curse can be reversed or neutralized. 'May your heart be rent asunder!'

³ He then stirs up, and points the other end at the victim, who is supposed to have been affected by the irna, and this the sorcerer often burns in the fire to ensure the death of his victim. There is general agreement, among European residents in primitive communities, that natives are extraordinarily open to suggestion, so far at least as the transmission of disease is concerned. A man who believes that magic has been exercised upon him 'simply dies down, refuses food, and pines away' (8-G-537). The writer was assured, during his stay in the Torres Straits, that it was sufficient if a man recognized as having magic power made a slight movement towards another who was aware that the former opposed him in any way. The victim would then go home, refuse food, and become seriously ill.

This pointing with the bone extends, with variations, throughout Australia. In some cases a spear is used with a human bone attached to it (8-M-1391). In others a human fibula is used (H. 338), often along with human fat (ib. 361), which the medicine-men are believed to be able to abstract from other victims and to use as a powerful aid (ib. 367). In place of the bone, stones may be employed—8-G-467; H. 379; 8-A-638; 8-G-467, especially in the crystalline form, are believed to be capable of projecting magic towards the victim.
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(H. 357, 363; R. § 114). Certain stones may, from their mythical history, be exceedingly powerful (S.-G. 472, 499). A dead man's hair made into a girdle or worn in a necklace, lengths of opossum string (R. § 131), a dead man's head-band (S.-G. 538), a knout made of strands of vegetable fibre (ib. 469), a woman's head-band (ib. 466), are also passed from generation to generation as evil curing. The aborigines are similarly employed; a curse is muttered into an ant-hill, which is then secretly brought back to the camp, pounded, and scattered over the ground in the camp to which the victim belongs (ib. 496). They more generally, however, as is the case with most of the Australian tribes in the causation of disease; any man can magically affect another. It is more particularly in the treatment of disease that special 'medicine-men' play a part (S.-G. 379, 479). They may, for example, be compelled to submit to certain regulations in diet and training (ib. 485). The medicine-man may suck or knead the affected part (H. 380, 384). He may merely lay on his hands (ib. 382), or make passes (S.-G. 484), or he may suck at or bind round the patient strings of human hair or opossum fur (R. §§ 155, 156). His object is commonly to produce from the patient's body the bone or the stone which is believed to be the seat of the malady against which he acts (S.-G. 489; H. 379, 384); he sometimes produces a bit of quartz or charcoal, or a marble, and often spits out blood somehow obtained from his own mouth after prolonged sucking. In some cases the patient is bled (H. 383), or is treated with herbs, etc. (ib. 384). Or it may be enough for him to place a woman's head-band upon his stomach, whereupon the evil magic passes into the band, which is thrown away into the bush (S.-G. 474).

There are various ceremonies described by observers of the Australians; but the above may be considered to be typical of this people generally, and will suffice to show broadly their attitude towards disease. It is clear that disease is commonly laid to the agency of evil spells by one man to another, which is transmitted through the magic influence of pointing some such object as a bone, a stone, or a piece of quartz. It enters the body in that form, and in the same form the evil must be withdrawn from the body. And such is the belief in disease as the sequel to robbery or some similar crime, and in the value of certain stones or marks as an indication and assurance that disease would follow if the objects protected by such signs of talisman were disturbed.

3. Torres Straits.—Now let us turn to the Torres Straits, between Queensland and New Guinea. Here, too, the belief in the power possessed by individuals in causing disease is accepted. It is required that he should have the notion that he cannot cause disease in another; nevertheless, he is always in terror lest some enemy may have the power of causing it in himself. In Murray Island, certain families were credited with influence over the growth of bananas, coconuts, or yams; others were supposed to direct the movements of sharks; many erected stone images in their gardens to protect their food. There arose a belief in disease as the sequel to robbery or some similar crime, and in the value of certain stones or marks as an indication and assurance that disease would follow if the objects protected by such signs of talisman were disturbed. Included in these beliefs, however, is the writer's description of a species of sorcery, called mai'd, which was formerly inflicted by any of the older men, in cases of hatred (mai'd urke'drum) or adultery (mai'd kos-kesarum). Finding its victim alone, the avenger takes up a chance stone, and, pronouncing over it some magic words (zogo mer) in a half-whisper, spits once or twice on it, and hurls it with great force to strike the back of his enemy. The latter falls to the ground, breathing heavily, and loses consciousness. The assailant and certain relatives who have accompanied him now close in on the prostrate body of the victim, and belabour it with their clubs. They then rub the body with a mixture of herbs and coconut oil, and give the victim coconuts to drink. The assailant, while rubbing him, tells him to go up a coconut tree and to fall down from it, breaking his leg; or he orders him to be bitten by a centipede (cat), which will produce fatal blood-poisoning; or he may tell him to go to a certain island, kill the islander, and return home and die. The avenging party now withdraw to a short distance, leaving the man's knife and some bananas and coconuts beside him. When he awakes and begins to wonder what has happened to him, the next morning he comes upon a stone and hits a tree near the terrified man. This makes him start, forget his bruises, and rush home, where he lies thirsty and comatose for some days. Then (according to the order of his assailant) he no go up himself. Medicine [i.e. the magic ceremony] make him go up. A third fragment in the Murray Islander's attitude towards disease consists in his treatment of it. A special group of men, the lukup zogo le, are concerned in curing disease. The sick man is placed, both in the house and the gardens, not far from the sea, accompanied by the sick man. Some few hours after bailing, the lukup zogo le visits the patient in his hut and rubs him down with a decoction of herbs, sea-weed, and coconut oil. This message is repeated, day by day, until the patient recovers (Gamb. Exp. Torres Straits, v. 320-323, vi. 222-240).

Melanesia.—These three characteristics—the belief that sickness is a result of disregarding a talisman, the use of medicines and rituals derived from memory in causing injury or disease, and the more elaborate ceremonials in treatment of sickness—indicate a more advanced state of culture than exists throughout Australia generally. We may trace this state of things in the New Hebrides, where we have a language that is the first stage of the language of the New Guinea, in the Bismarck Archipelago, in the Solomon Islands, in the Banks Islands, and in the New Hebrides; it is a Papuan-Melanesian attitude towards disease. Thus, according to Seligmann (The May to Inis, op. cit. New Guinea, 1910), "one or more . . . men who were sorcerers would follow their intended victim to his garden, . . . There he would be speared or clubbed, and, when dead (i.e. unconscious), put out pieces. One end of a length of rope is then looped round the dead man's hand or knee, while the opposite end is steeped in certain "medicine" (gorto). The medicine passes along the rope and revives the victim. . . . He recovers and revives the victim, . . . not know where he is or what has happened to him. He is told that he will die shortly, but he at once loses memory of this. He manages to crawl back to his village, his friends realize what has occurred by his silly, foolish condition, although the victim can give no account of what has befallen him (op. cit. 176). At Savo, Guadalcanal, Malanta, and at Florida, in the Solomon Islands, the victim is met in solitude by his assailant, who 'seizes him, bites his neck, stabs (certain) magic leaves down his throat and knocks him on the head with an axe, but not so as to kill him.'
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charmed leaves make the victim forget the name of his assailant. He goes home, and dies two days later (Codrington, 286). In Lopers Island, New Hebrides, the assailant, after having overcome his victim, shoots a little charmed material at his head by means of a bow and arrow, whereupon he can remember nothing of the scene, but goes home to fall ill. His friends, seeing the wound, know what has happened to him (ib. 297).

In the central part of New Britain (New Pom- merrn), Bismarck Archipelago, property is protected by tabua signs which, if disregarded, will cause headache, madness, etc.; on this account the sorcerer or the thief usually causes disease. If grasses are charmed and laid on the tree stumps, madness will ensue. A human bone placed on the spot whence an object was stolen will cause the thief to waste (R. Parkinson, Dressing J ohn and Madan, p. 211). The "saying" is most respectfully projected from the body to the bone. The human bone and after her death may pass to her daughter, or with her spirit or shade (arwa) pass to the other world. At Gelaia, in the same region of New Guinea, the "saying" is called labuni. Labuni exist within women. They are said to wear petticoats, which, however, are shorter than those worn by the women of the district. They produce disease by means of a sliver of bone, or fragment of stone or coral, called gida na, which they insert into their victim's body. A fragment of human bone or a man's tooth is a specially potent gida na (Seligmann, 640 f.). The gida na is thrown by the labuni at about sixty yards' distance; only the 'spiritual' part is said to enter the victim's body. The process of removing the spell can be performed only after the woman who sent the labuni has been appeased by presents. The treatment is usually undertaken by a man, and consists in rubbing the body until the gida na is extracted in the form of a material lump, which is sucked out through the closed hands of the massuer.

This notion of the discharge of an independent emanation or spirit from a living person, which itself lives as a petticoated individual, probably led to the development of certain beliefs which are attributed to the influence of an evil spirit. Amongst the Korop-speaking peoples of New Guinea, there is an ill-defined but real belief in demon-producing spiritual agencies controlled by a sorcerer (Seligmann, 291). In the Gazzelle Pen- insula, New Britain, the most powerful of evil spirits is called Kate; it dwells in high trees, dark caves, and other inaccessible places which are held sacred. Any one profaning one of these sacred places due to sin or malice or death. Kate manifests itself in the form of a snake (P. A. Klentitschen, Die Kustenbewohner d. Gazellehals- nes, Münster, 1906, p. 357). So, too, in the New Hebrides, infants are found with the characteristic effects of veneration objects which a sick man always attributes his illness to a spirit which he has offended by trespassing on some spot or profaning some object belonging to it, or which some enemy has invoked to bring illness (Codrington, 415 f.).

In the Banks Islands, on the other hand, sickness is generally attributed to the resentment, not of evil spirits, but of ghosts of the dead. Also in Florida (Solomon Islands) it is a tidlado, i.e. a ghost of the dead.

This belief is shared in the Banks Islands. It suggests that if a person has reason to think, or fancies, that he has offended his dead father, uncle, or brother. In this case no special intercessor is required; the patient himself or one of the family will sacrifice, and beg the tidlado to return and take care of the patient. But, if by is uncertain of the ghost, if, for instance, his child is sick, he will summon a doctor, a mame kiu, to decide. The doctor called in will chew ginger and betel, etc., and after some part of the skull which is soft in infants, will call on the name of the tidlado, and beg him to remove the sickness. This is correlatable to some interference on the part of the dead. Probably this belief, traces of which appear even in Queensland (K. § 114), is correlated with the growth of the cult of the dead, which is so complex in certain parts of Melanesia (ib. 349). The Eastern Papo-Melanesians show no fear of the visitation of the deceased, and no fear of supernatural beings. They attribute disease, as we have already seen, to the discharge of a spirit from a living person, but closely according with the general Polynesian view.

The other line of development in Oceania consists in the attributing of disease to an offended spirit, which has to be propitiated by sacrifice. This conception finds a far higher development in Polynesia than in Samoan, for example. Disease was considered due to 'the wrath of some particular deity.' The high priest of the village ascertained the cause, and ordered some sacrifice on the part of the patient, e.g., a canoes, at the piece of land. In Polynesia generally, disease was supposed to be a visitation from the gods.

When a person was taken ill, the priest or physician was sent for; as soon as he arrived, a young plantain-tree, procured by some neighbour, was offered to him, as an offering to the god; a present of cloth was also furnished, as his own fee. He began by calling upon the name of the god to shake his anger towards the sufferer, to say what would propitiate him, or what applications would afford relief (ib. ii. 37). Indeed, the medicine administered (e.g. powder or infusion of vegetable matter, hot baths, etc.) was considered more as a vehicle or medium by which the god would act than as possessing any power itself to arrest the progress of the disease (ib. 47).

In Hawaii the medicinal herbs employed were believed to have been obtained many generations ago, by a man named Konamoku, direct from the gods, who also taught him the use of them (ib. iv. 333).

Thus, starting from the rude Australian belief that disease was sent by one individual against his enemy, we have reached the high Polynesian conception of illness as the result of sin against the gods. Instead of employing a medicine-man to remove the stone or bone which had become the victim, the latter relies for his recovery mainly on prayers and sacrifices offered to the offended god. Throughout Oceania the various practices we have described are combined with therapeutic measures, the most important of which, alike in the causation and in the treatment of disease, unquestionably is suggestion. Massage, with or without the external application of herbs, is a very common treatment
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Prescribed. Bleeding is occasionally resorted to. Trephining was practised in the Polynesian Islands, and is met with in certain more western islands, e.g. Loyalty Island, Duke of York Island, New Mecklenburg (New Ireland), and in the Gazelle Peninsular tribes. If a patient is suffering from headache and epilepsy. Hot baths are often employed in Polynesia and in other islands, e.g. the Solomon Islands, the patient being wrapped in a cloth and seated over a pile of heated stones, which are covered with leaves and lime. The patient is expected to drive away the pain or the disease. Especially in Melanesia, into which the areca has been introduced from the Malay Archipelago where it is similarly valued, betel nut, betel leaves, and lime are employed in a similar fashion. The patient is expected to drive away the pain or the disease. In some tribes, they believe that the gods, nevertheless believe that a sorcerer may be employed by a man to bring disease or death to his enemy. Consequently presents are made to the god, not only to appease his anger, but also to turn the disease back to the person who sent it. The man who sent it (Ellis, op. cit. iv. 293). So the Samoan, despite his belief that disease is due to the wrath of a deity, protects his property by various tabus. For example, he may suspend a stick horizontally from the roof. Being applied to the taking of the victim, is expected to drive away the pain or the disease.

We have attempted to trace in vague outline various stages in the attitude of different Oceanic people towards disease. We are not concerned here to discuss what have already pointed out (p. 724*), a people, when passing to a higher plane, does not discard the beliefs of the lower, but carries them with him, perhaps adapting them to suit its further development. Thus the belief in the reality of disease to the south sea gods, neverthe less believe that a sorcerer may be employed by a man to bring disease or death to his enemy. Consequently presents are made to the god, not only to appease his anger, but also to turn the disease back to the person who sent it. The man who sent it (Ellis, op. cit. iv. 293). So the Samoan, despite his belief that disease is due to the wrath of a deity, protects his property by various tabus. For example, he may suspend a stick horizontally from the roof. Being applied to the taking of the victim, is expected to drive away the pain or the disease.

We have already drawn attention to the Australian belief in the potency of human bones as a cause of disease. It is also met with in various parts of Melanesia and New Guinea. In the Banks Islands, where, as we have seen, illness is attributed to the ghosts of the deceased, a piece of human bone, belonging to the corpse of the ghost whose services are required, is applied to a fragment of food stolen from the corpse. In many cases, the bone is_consecrated, and allowed to decompose or to burn. In the same islands and in Florida (Solomon Islands) a piece of bamboo is stuffed with leaves, a dead man's bone, and other magical substances. The aggressor covers up the open end of the bamboo until he meets his foe, when he opens it and let fly the magic influence against him (Cordrington, op. cit. 204). So, too, among the Roro-speaking peoples of New Guinea (Seligmann, op. cit. 210) a piece of human bone, and other magical substances. The aggressor covers up the open end of the bamboo until he meets his foe, when he opens it and let fly the magic influence against him (Cordrington, op. cit. 204).

The most potent of evil spirits in the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain preferably manifests itself in the form of a snake. The man who wishes to injure another cuts up sea snakes and mixes them with leaves, roots, lime, and other magical substances. One of the victims of a very dead bodies are of value in the preparation of charms, and amongst the Eastern Papu-Melanesians about Milne Bay (ib. 551) sorcerers are supposed to open graves of the dead and to eat their bodies.

From the powers over disease attributed to the human dead we may pass to those attributed to living animals, chief among which is that of the

snake. The most potent of evil spirits in the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain preferably manifests itself in the form of a snake. The man who wishes to injure another cuts up sea snakes and mixes them with leaves, roots, lime, and other magical substances. One of the victims of a very dead bodies are of value in the preparation of charms, and amongst the Eastern Papu-Melanesians about Milne Bay (ib. 551) sorcerers are supposed to open graves of the dead and to eat their bodies.
Islands of the Malay Archipelago, there is considerable diversity in their beliefs; but, generally speaking, their spiritual world may be described as inhabited by the souls of animals (e.g. hawks, owls, pigs, etc.), by spirits of the river, home, etc., and by the gods of thunder, harvest, life, death, etc., one of whom may be supreme over the rest. Consistent with this, the natives have attributed this region to disease, evil spirits are one; and the treatment consists in effecting the departure of the evil spirit either by the persuasions of prayers and sacrifices or by the more cогент means of medicaments. (Bali, David Sumatra). The ceremony is often attended with much noise of gong- and drum-beating. Commonly, e.g. in Borneo, Cerau, Timor Laut, Buro (cf. Frazer, GB, 1900, iii. 97 L), the evil spirit or the disease—for it is difficult to separate cause from effect—is induced to enter a well-provisioned model boat, which is made to sail down the river, carrying its noisy burden out to sea. This custom of sending away the disease down river extends throughout the Malay Peninsula to Buru, Suma, Annam, and even to Ceylon. Among the Micrones of Sarawak the ceremony is performed in the following way:

The medicine-man (orang bayoh), having decided which spirit (anak) is the cause of the disease, returns home and prepares a log of sage palm out in the image of that anak. This image, or model boat, is placed in the model house or a box. The patient's room is decorated with colored cloths, flowers of the arica palm, and leaves fantastically plastered to represent objects, etc. A swing of round leaves is erected, a plaited leaves connect it with the receptacle containing the dead anak. After having been summoned by the orang bayoh to the swing. Several people may successively mount the swing, swaying their bodies in every possible attitude, to the sound of drums played in the background. Himself swaying on the swing, the orang bayoh recites "almost in a monotone an incantation in the language of the patient's disease, and in a language and a manner as if he is begging him to decide and take the sickness out of the patient's body" (Lawrence and Hewitt, AJ 1900, 699). The whole incantation is a succession of appeals... to the spirits, who come gradually nearer and nearer until the chant addresses them as if they were just outside the house, and finally as they are inside it, and then (p. 498).

At length the medicine-man falls from the swing apparently insensible; and after recovery he crosses to the patient, uttering incantations, sprinkling yellow rice, and waving over him an arica flower. Whenever the swing is unoccupied, an arica flower is hung across it. Finally, the patient himself is transferred to the swing, and now, when the long-besought spirit is declared to be present, the patient and the orang bayoh proceed to the boat or to the incantation without speaking, each by a certain incantation. Next day the dakau, provided with padi and yellow rice and adorned with arica flowers, is taken in procession to a stream, where it is placed in the water. During which time, the receptacle takes the form of a boat. In that case, the boat is decorated with padi leaves, and adorned with common and sacred wood, and it is made to float down the river or towed out to sea. No Milan, save the orang bayoh, will dare to touch the dakau after the performance of this ceremony. Generally there is a sound, logical connection between the sickness and dakau used, the spirits of the water being responsible for dysentery, those of the air for headache and fever, those of the jungle for malaria, swellings of the legs, and other diseases attendant on jungle life (ib. 393).

This account is interesting as showing the complexity of the ritual which may be attained in endeavoring to drive the evil spirit out of the boat, which is then floated out to sea. The ceremony in one form or another is spread, perhaps also in the Solomon Islands, which is found most vividly with the aid of the areae or betel-nut from Melanesia. The above account is also interesting in that it introduces a new feature in the use of the swing in driving out the disease, the transference of the disease (or evil spirit) to an image, the swooning of the medicine-man, and the attribution of different diseases to different spirits or causes.

In some cases a more simple and less public form of treatment is observed. The dakau, after having been incarnated by the spirit (anak), is taken by the medicine-man into the jungle, or hung on a tree, etc. In the air, or placed in the river, accord-

The swooning of the medicine-man brings us to another important feature in the cure of disease among primitive peoples. So far as we have considered the mental state of the individual at all, it has been stated that there has been brought to him by a local doctor. It is true that in certain parts of New Guinea and Melanesia the medicine-man finds that his magic is more efficacious if he enters upon it in a fasting state or in other ways maltreats himself. So it is well to imagine that mental instability which is to be found among the Malayan races, leading, under provocation, to loss of consciousness, auto-hypnosis, or other forms of change in 'personality,' such as are exemplified in running amok and in latah. The altered mental state of the medicine-man during his treatment of disease is well exemplified in the second of the two main ideas in regard to disease which prevail in the Malay Archipelago. One of these ideas we have already considered which we have already noticed, as exemplified by an evil spirit the other. The same idea is also widespread throughout this region, extending to Burma, the Andaman Islands, Tibet, and Northern Asia (Tyler, Primitive Culture, 1875, L. 657), that diseases are due to a wandering spirit. Just as in death the soul has finally left the body, so in sickness it is temporarily absent; therefore it has to be pursued and caught by the medicine-man. The writer happened to see this ceremony of catching the wandering spirit among the wild tribes of Borneo at the mouth of the river. As the wandering spirit fluctuates, he plays its role to take a message to the supreme god to remove all sickness and to preserve the people from harm. Then, waving the bird over each patient and murmuring some archaic formula, he kills it and sprinkles its blood over the patients. With a second bird in his hand, he describes the wanderings of his own spirit, how he has to cross a great river, where finally he meets with the soul of one of his sick patients. He lays his fingers on the head of one of the patients to catch the wandering spirits with the bird and re-enter his body. At the same time he ties a piece of rattan cord round the patient's arm, giving him incantations. The same performance is repeated in the case of the other patients, and then the medicine-man, after further chanting, takes the bird and fowl, and is bound to the patient, the end of the string round his own wrist. The second bird is now killed, and the blood is sprinkled on the patient, and it is tied to the end of the string near the mouth. The chanting continues, until suddenly the medicine-man gives a slight stagger and recovers consciousness. During the ceremony he had been deadless of his surroundings; and, from experiments which the writer knows to have been made at other times on such medicine-men, the claim is probably correct.

The use of strings in the cure of disease (from which perhaps the unthinking use of ligatures was derived) extends over other parts of Oceania (e.g. Queensland) which have already been noted. In the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain, threads are prepared and are charmed in order to cure and to prevent disease. For the former purpose, they are worn round the affected part; for the latter, round the neck (Parkinson, op. cit. 204). The use of archaic incantations is also common in these parts. Frequently, words which are archaic and fossil are also used. We have already stated that a man may...
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recognize his inability to cause disease, yet may fear the existence of that power in others. So, frequently a tribe may consider another tribe specially versed in the causation or treatment of disease as and its language or summon members of it to its aid.

In the Malay Archipelago, bits of wood, stones, or rags are sometimes drawn out of the patient’s body, as demonstrating the cure of the disease. The medicine-men who perform these will often contain curiously twisted roots, knotty sticks, pebbles, coloured marbles, pieces of quartz, etc., many of which, he claims, are revealed to him as medicines by benevolent spirits in his dreams. It is said that by means of these externally intended for the cure of the disease, see the soul, and catch it in its wanderings (Ling Roth, Natives of Sarawak and British N. Borneo, London, 1896, i. 273). Possibly this is another example of the susceptibility of the body, not, their claims, are many of which, he claims, are revealed to him as medicines by benevolent spirits in his dreams. It is said that by means of these externally intended for the cure of the disease, see the soul, and catch it in its wanderings (Ling Roth, ib. i. 270, 282). At the present day many cures in that country are undertaken by women, and most of the spirits invoked by the medicine-men receive the prefix ini, ‘grandmother’—perhaps in accordance with the former importance of womanhood in the treatment of disease. In the Malay Archipelago, betel-nut and pepper are the common outward remedies for almost any disease. Turmeric, honey, spices, and onions are taken internally. Cholera is treated by rubbing with kazey pulih oil, and by water from certain sacred jars. Bleeding is practised; cupping is common—usually by means of a bamboo cane, the air within which is exhausted either by suction or by lighting a fire at the upper end. A wound may be cauterized by burning with a red-hot wire. A patient may be exposed to the smoke of a fire lighted below a bamboo grating on which he sits.

5. Malay Peninsula.—Coming now to the Malay Peninsula, we find that the people there were more distinctly personified as demons. Each disease is not, is caused by a different demon; the demons all arise from the thunder-god, who sends them by the winds, because of the sins of the people. There are certain demons dependent for their existence on the jungle- and river-demons, any one of which may cause disease. Certain new features, possibly of Indian or Chinese origin, begin to make their appearance here. Amulets now become important. Women obtain protection from disease by wearing combs, with inscribed patterns on them, and the patterns cause the disease-bearing wind to fall to the ground until the wearer has passed. A Semang woman may possess twenty or thirty such combs, which are apparently dependent for their efficacy on the particular pattern that they bear. The men’s ‘talismans are . . . incised on the quivers and charm-holders’ (Skeat and Blagden, Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, London, 1896, i. 423). There is supposed to be some connexion between these patterns and the flowers which the good god, Ple, at one time allotted as remedies for the various diseases. The diseases were also thought to be laid by the winds on the parasitic plants of trees, between death and the victory. Now, so runs the legend (which, however, must be accepted with caution), as new diseases have arisen since Ple dwelt on earth, and since the vegetable kingdom then appointed by him to different
diseases is exhausted, such illnesses as small-pox and cholera have no rest, but, as soon as they have killed one man, fall straightway upon another even before the soul of the first has left the body (ib. ii. 132). Among the Blandas (of Malaya) also numerous demons are much in use: they are made of pieces of turmeric or other substance, strung on a shred of bark, and worn round the neck, wrists, or waist. The Sakai have bamboos decorated with magical patterns, which are kept from the public gaze (ib. ii. 252).

Incense is used in the Malay Peninsula. The Blandas of Selangor exorcise the evil demon by burning benzoin and invoking the spirits (bandas) of the various gods to destroy the medicine-man’s body. The patient lies on his back within a shelter of nihong palm leaves. As soon as the spirit enters the medicine-man, he brushes the patient seven times from head to foot with certain leaves which evidently is intended to expel the demon from the body. Among the Sakai the invalid is similarly heated with leaves, after a censer of burning benzoin has been swung over his couch. The object here is to prevent the evil spirit from entering the patient, which is suspended over the head of the patient (ib. ii. 257).

Trees also assume more importance. Disease may be cured by the touch of a certain tree, which are suspected to be the home of the demon, and by casting saplings into the jungle so that evil spirits may accompany them.

Among all the peoples of Eastern Asia sticks are of great value for the treatment of and protection from disease. Thus among the Anisus the demons of disease are propitiated by making them what is called ina. An ina is a whistled wand: groups of ina are collectively called misa. They are sometimes worshipped as messengers to the gods; sometimes they are regarded as offerings to the gods; or they may be regarded as mere charms.

So, when a person falls sick, the elders often meet together and make ina of this [willow] tree. After they have been worshipped they are taken out to the sacred place and stuck up among the misa’ (J. Batchelor, op. cit. 88). Sticks of elder about four feet high are set up in a village for protection from a prevailing epidemic (seeart. ANUS). So, too, on the Andaman Islands the demons are more distinctly personified as demons. Each disease is not, is caused by a different demon; the demons all arise from the thunder-god, who sends them by the winds, because of the sins of the people. There are certain demons dependent for their existence on the jungle- and river-demons, any one of which may cause disease.

In Africa.—In Africa illness is commonly attributed either to the machinations of an enemy or more usually perhaps—to resentment on the part of the ghost of a dead man owing to the disrespect with which he has been treated. In West Africa, apparently, it may even be one of the sick man’s own spirits which thus vents its annoyance on the body (Tylor, ii. 130). Almost universally, before treatment is begun, the name of the ghost must be discovered. Among the Nandi, this takes place by divination. Some near relative is sent for, who takes four (for a woman, three) stalks of the castor-
oil plant or of millet, and tries to stand each upright in a fragment of pot containing water, which is placed near the patient’s bed. As he takes each stalk, he calls on one of the deceased members of his family. When one of the stalks stands erect, he exclaims, ‘I have got thee, O medicine-man,’ and the patient solemnly kicks it over with his big toe. The stalks are distributed in various places in or around the house; a little sand or sand mixed with the water is smeared on the forehead and throat of the invalid; ‘the rest, together with some elephant’s grain, beer, and milk, is sprinkled between the bed and the door and also thrown outside the house.’ The patient is visited by the medicine-man and the ghost to depart, in return for the food which is being offered it (A. C. Hollis, The Nandi, London, 1909, p. 63). Among the A-Kikuy, (W. Scoresby Routledge, With a Prehistoric People, the Abikuyu of British East Africa, London, 1910, p. 263) such divination is practised by arranging a number of counters in equal heaps and observing the remaining unit. Among the Baganda small pieces of buffalo-or cow-hide are cast (J. Roscoe, JAI xxxii. [1902] 40). Among the Bembes on the Upper Nile, or medicine-man, addresses questions to the patient to discover what particular hoe, or spirit, is causing the disease. He beats his drum, talks excitedly, and chants various incomprehensible phrases. The patient is visited several times by the medicine-man together with the rhythm of the drum make the patient sway to and fro and have a hypnotic effect on him.” His body jerks and twitches, as he is now piled with questions by the kanga. In this way the cause of the illness is found out (J. B. Weeks, JAI xi. [1910] 425). In the Sudan the writer received a description of a similar divination by means of music; the rite, which is known as zar, is said to be employed even in Cairo, among women. The patient is visited several times by the practitioner, who wears a different coloured dress and sings a different incantation at each visit. Ultimately one dress or incantation is discovered which presumably by its action on the demon causes the patient to swoon. This knowledge having been obtained, the patient is seated astride a live sheep, and the same dress and incantation are employed again. After the patient’s second swoon the sheep is killed, the blood is spilt over his person, and the meat is partly sacrificed to him, partly given to her.

The use of animals in the cure of disease is a characteristic feature throughout Africa. Thus among the Hottentots, the hand of a sick patient is introduced within the leg of an ox, which is then killed and eaten by married people who have children. A child recently recovered from a severe illness is dragged through an arch over which an ox is made to stand. The ox is killed, and eaten only by married people, and the meat is partly sacrificed to the patient (Frazer, op. cit. iii. 414). A Guinean negro will tie a live chicken round his neck to cure disease (ib.). In such cases the animal or bird is generally driven away or killed. In the Upper Congo, the mite (spirits), ‘when they arrive at the sick-man, he put stalks into the ground, and, by tying a mat round them, made an enclosure, in which he sat speaking to the various mite, answering ‘himself in assumed voices, pretending he was holding a conversation with them’ (ib. 190). In this way he got draws out from the rents of his clients’ house to one of the stalks in his mat enclosure, and the end of the string dropped inside. From this string there dangled dried plantain leaves, twigs, etc. (ib.). When he was tired he shook the leaves—a signal for the lads sitting outside the enclosure to start beating their drums, and for the folk to sing their chorus. Thus he would spend several days in trying to find out which of the mite was troubling the family. Finally, he drove away the mite as far as possible, and for the family drove off the mite. So in Uganda, the evil spirit, which is supposed to dwell at the top of the centre hut-pole, is caught by raising high on the back of the buffalo or by digging up the horns, and sometimes by cutting off the horns. If the mite-a terrible noise inside the mat, as though he were fighting for his life. Shouts, screams, derisive laughter, whoops, thuds, and screams, sent out from the interior while the kanga rushes out, panting and sweating profusely, holding in his hand a bleeding head (really the head of a rat or lizard, but believed to be that of a wild animal) is thrown out. It is dug up from within the mat, and declaring that he has killed the animal from which he was possessed by the spirit that was troubling the family (ib. 334).

In addition, of course, to the determination of the particular spirit causing the disease, and to the transference of it to an animal, other therapeutic measures, some of considerable complexity, are prescribed by the medicine-man. Among the Bongi, dieting is common; certain objects of food are tabooed. Among the Bagasha (Roscoe, JAI xxxiv. [1909] 187), green torn pieces of bark are placed on a sick man and buried in the path. It is believed that the first person who steps over the herbs will contract the disease. . . . In the Upper Congo, cupping is often practised, usually by sucking a horn placed over the skin. Massage is a common treatment, often terminated by the pretended extraction of a small object—a palm-nut, stone, or piece of iron—from the patient’s body. Enemas and fomentations are also used. Rheumatic pains in the limbs are relieved by tying certain medicines to a brass rod, which is then worn by the patient. Knotted strings are tied round the sufferer’s wrists and feet. Among the people of British Central Africa (Stannus, JAI xi. [1910] 265), many children’s illnesses are treated by boiling certain leaves in water and holding the child over the medicated vapour-bath. Bleeding is arrested by the powdered bark of an astringent tree. Internal remedies are used in very few cases. The treatment of snake-bite is by ligature.

Among the A-Kamba (British East Africa) the medicine-man’s gourd commonly contains pebbles, hard seeds, nuts, and such objects as the bone of a lion’s paw, a cock’s spur, pieces of porcupine quills, etc. He also uses various powders, e.g. a grey powder made from certain trees, and believed to be an antidote to magic and poison; a white powder called ipe (also used by the A-Kikuy), and called by
Similarly, in Paraguay the witch-doctor is supposed to have the power to climb a thorny cactus, which is placed in the abdomen of a woman in labour; and a medicine which, when mixed with water, is given internally for diarrhoea (C. W. Hobley, 1910). This is known as A-Kiyitu medicine, used by the Kikuyu. (R. Hobley, JAI xxxi. [1901] 291.)

DISEASE AND MEDICINE (American) — As certain aspects of primitive medicine will be treated in art. MEDICINE-MEN, the present discussion will be limited to the consideration of disease itself from the various points of view of the American aborigines' ideas, customs, ceremonies, etc., connected with its prevention, relief, and cure. Among a race as widely scattered as the American Indians, and occupying, for long periods of time, all kinds of environments—from the Arctic north to the tropical south, from the high plateaus and mountainous areas of the continent, island regions like the Caribbean, and plains like those of the southwestern United States and parts of south-western South America, the thick forest regions of the interiors and the islands in some other directions, the valleys of the great rivers and the basins of great lakes—the prevalence of diseases, the susceptibility to them, the methods of treatment, and the psychological reaction to the general situation were naturally subject to considerable variation.

1. American Indians a comparatively healthy race. — At the time of the Columbian discovery, the Indians were, on the whole, a healthy people, and, in spite of the effects of intertribal wars and their attendant evils, were holding their own in point of numbers, or, as some authorities believe, were even increasing in population, especially in some parts of the continent. Our knowledge of diseases among the American Indians, before the coming of the whites, is not very satisfactory even for the semi-civilized peoples of Mexico, Central America, and Peru; for many of the uncivilized tribes of both North and South America the data at hand are very scanty indeed. All the reports of early explorers, missionaries, pioneers, and colonists are lacking, certain inferences can be made from the mention of diseases in myths and legends and cognate folk-lore material. Dr. Hrdlička, our best and most recent authority on the matter, says (Bull. 30 BE, pt. i. [1907] p. 540):

'The condition of the skeletal remains, the testimony of early observers, and the present state of some of the tribes in this regard, warrant the conclusion that on the whole the Indian race was a comparatively healthy one. It was probably spared at least some of the epidemics and diseases of the Old World, such as small-pox and rickets, while other scourges, such as tuberculosis, syphilis (treponematosus), typhus, cholera, scarlet fever, cancer, etc., were rare, if occurring at all. Taking into consideration the warlike nature of many of the tribes and the evidence preserved by their bones (particularly their teeth), injuries, etc., particularly those received by offensive weapons, must have been common, although fractures are less frequent than among whites. Treatment of disease in general, and in particular, was paid to the hygienic conditions of the Indians, an increase comparable with that in whites may be
expected in many sections.' The writer of the present article has pointed out several cases of such increase in his art, 'Indians, North American' in Elle, iv, 432. Mixed bloods are said to suffer, moreover, when struck by any disorder, and diseases known to the whites, but the evidence in this matter is by no means convincing.

2. Epidemics, etc.—As has already been noted, epidemics of disease appear to have been rare in pre-Columbian America. According to Dr. H. U. Williams (p. 342), the New World, up to the period of its discovery and occupation by the whites, offered a marked contrast to the Old in the fact that the American race, during its sojourn of centuries before the advent of the white man, remained untarnished, and, from the rest of mankind, developed a surprisingly small number of infections peculiar to it. Concerning certain epidemics and wide-spread outbreaks of disease contemporaneous with the settlement of various parts of the continent by Europeans, it is still somewhat doubtful whether the infection in question came from Europe (by way of white people, or, possibly, through Indians who had been taken to Europe) or was of native origin. An interesting example of this epidemic sickness is that of small-pox, which could hardly have been small-pox, as some have thought; this disease raged among the Indians later on (e.g. in 1633). The idea that it may have been carried to the Indians by certain shipwrecked French sailors held captive among them is also to be considered. The European settlers of the period were prone to regard such calamities as visitations of God, just as many Indian tribes looked upon them as the work of evil spirits, etc. The idea also prevailed among the Indians that epidemics of diseases unknown before the advent of the whites were in some way let loose among the natives by the English and other white peoples. Interesting on this point is the following extract from Winslow's Good News from New England (1624), cited by Dr. Williams (p. 345):

'Here let me not omit one notable, though wicked, practice of the English here, which might possibly have had some of his countrymen with the greater fear of us, and so consequently of himself, told them we had the plague buried in our store-house; which, at our pleasure, we could send forth to what place or people we would and destroy them therewith, though we stirred not from home. Being, upon the aforesaid brabbes, sent for by the governor to this place, where Hobbanook (so Indian) was and some other of us, the ground being broke in the midst of the house, whereby certain bars of powder were buried, though unknown to him, Hobbanook asked him what it meant. To whom he readily answered: That was the place, wherein the plague was buried, where he formerly told him and others. After this Hobbanook asked one of our planters, whether they had no such thing, and what we had such command of it. Who answered No; but the god of the English had it there and could send it, at his pleasure, to this destruction of his and our enemies. This was, as I take it, about the end of May 1632.'

Ethically, at least, some of the English and some of the Indians were not far removed from each other.

There has been much discussion of the question whether syphilis is of pre-Columbian origin in America, or has been introduced from Europe since the discovery. Dr. A. S. Ashmead (Amer. Journ. Dis. exot. N. S., x, 1138, 1908) notes that Dr. F. Grana convinced him of its pre-Columbian origin, and Dr. F. Grana identifies it with the Peruvian *kwant'; Dr. Ivan Bloch (Intern. Amerik.-Kongr. xiv. [1904] 57-79), from historical and osteological evidence—he has recently also published a volume on the subject—is another believer in the pre-Columbian theory, which is also shared by E. G. Bourne, the American historian, who considers the legend of the culture-hero Guahagiona, who was buried, as evidence that syphilis has existed in the West Indies long before the coming of the Spaniards' (Proc. Amer. Antiq. Soc., N. S., xvii. [1906]).

Dr. Tello and Palma of Peru, who have studied the question, seem also to share the opinion that syphilis is pre-Hispanic in Peru, citing in evidence certain representations of the effects of the disease in anthropomorphic pottery, etc.; so also R. D. Wagner and Dr. Capitan, the French anthropologist (Journ. Soc. Antiq. Peru, xvi. [1906]).

Dr. Lehmann (Globus, xviii. [1910] 12-13) is of opinion that the evidence in Tello and Palma does not settle the matter satisfactorily, and Dr. Hrdlicka is by no means convinced of the prevalence of syphilis in pre-Columbian America. The exact character of the Peruvian *uta*, the Columbian and Paraguayan *buba*, and some other diseases, all of which may possibly on some occasions be mistaken for syphilis, is not yet clearly decided. The idea of Dr. Lehmann that *uta* may be a name for a disease of the Cordilleran type—e.g., beriberi—is also quite possible.

Among other interesting S. American diseases that call for further investigation, such, e.g., as the Ecuadorian *huicho*, which seems to have some analogies with the African 'sleeping sickness,' there are general dances and like ceremonies carried out for the purpose of avoiding or driving away epidemics and outbreaks of disease. Some of the Indians of the south-western United States tried to 'capture' the spirit of small-pox during an epidemic of that disease, and similar procedures are reported from elsewhere.

3. Conceptions of the nature, source, etc., of disease.—Under this head could be cited illustrations of all manner of ideas, from the most natural and simple to the most far-fetched and complicated, or even metaphysical. On this point Dr. Hrdlicka remarks (Bull. 30 Be, pt. i. [1907] p. 80):

'The causation and the nature of disease being to the Indian in large part mysteries, he assigned them to supernatural agencies. In general, disease is connected with a visible influence was regarded as the effect of an introduction into the body, by malpractice or offended supernatural beings or through sorcery practised by an enemy, of noxious objects capable of producing and continuing pain or other symptoms, or of absorbing the patient's vitality. These beliefs, and the more rational ones concerning many minor indispositions and injuries, led to the development of separate terms of treatment, and varieties of healers.'

Among the American aborigines one finds examples of the attribution of disease and illness in man to his own misdeeds and sinfulness, to his neglect of his ancestors, to violations of innumerable kinds of tabus and prohibitions, to the malvolence or malevolence against of the dead, to the touch of ghosts, to the actions of the wind and the moon, to the machination of enemies through magic and witchcraft, etc., to the desire for revenge of the animal world ill-treated by man, to temporary loss of the soul, to the introduction of foreign objects into the body, to the shadows of certain other people (e.g. mourning widows and widowers), to women (particularly when menstruating), etc. For certain special diseases and pathological conditions very curious reasons are sometimes given. Some of the names of diseases and terms relating to or describing their symptoms are interesting psychologically. In Tsinshian the
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The curative ceremonies of such people as the Navaho, when employed for the benefit of individuals, are both prolonged and costly, being exceedingly elaborate both in ritual and in paraphernalia. According to Dr. G. A. Dorsey ([ib. p. 229]):

"Among the non-Pueblo tribes of the S.W., especially among the Navaho and Apache, the extended ceremonies are almost uniformly the peak of the ritual, without regard to their so-called medicine-dances. Many of these are of an elaborate and complicated nature, but are all designed for the restoration of the sick. In these ceremonies masks are used, but these elaborate and complicated dry-pictures are made; both these features probably having been borrowed from the Pueblo tribes.

Some of these great 'medicine' ceremonies center about two things: the gathering around them practically all the ritual lore and legend of the tribe, and serve as a general outlet for the observable and dramatic sense of all the people. The great "medicine," or "grand medicine society," of the Algonquin and related tribes is described in detail by Hoffman (7 REBEW [1891] 143-300); the medicine-men of the Athapaskan Apache by J. G. Bourke (9 REBEW [1892] 443-666); the esoteric fraternities of the Zuni by Mrs. Stevenson (23 REBEW [1904]); the medicine-men and their sacred formulas by Mooney (7 REBEW 301-397); the secret societies of the Kwakiutl by Boas (B. U. S. Nat. Mus., 1895); the organizations of the Algonquin Advenue by Dorsey (An. Publ. Field Coll., Mus., 1902), the 'mountain chant' of the Navaho (5 REBEW 379-467), and the great 'night chant' of the same people, by Mathews (Amer. Anthropol., 18, vol. vi. [1902]).

To other N. American tribes much valuable information will be found in the various monographs of Boas ( Eskimo and peoples of North Pacific coast), Dixon and Kroebler (California tribes), Kroebler, Wissler, Lowie (tribes of the Great Plains), or otherwise. For general information concerning the American Indian shamans, and the article of Dr. R. B. Dixon (JAFL xx1. [1908] 1-12) is of importance. From some points of view, the ceremonial of the Navaho are the most remarkable of American healing-rituals. For S. America, we have not much accurate and detailed material of a reliable character concerning the rites and ceremonies of the secret societies having to do with medicine. The best is to be found in the recent works of Koch, Noack, Earle, Hawtrey, Guevara, Latcham, etc. Some data are also contained in the writings of certain of the early missionaries, explorers, and historians, such as Charlesval, and others. Concerning the great 'night chant' of the Navaho, a ceremonial lasting nine days, Dr. Matthews says (Amer. Anthropol. ix. [1896] 50):

"The principal purpose of this great ceremony is to heal the ailing man or woman, who destroys all the expenses of the ceremony; but the occasion is used, also, to implore the gods for various temporal blessings, not only for the sick man, but for all who participate in the work, with their friends and relations. Thus the ceremony, like nearly all ceremonies, ancient and modern, is connected with a myth or legend (several myths, indeed, in this case), and many of the acts in the ceremony are illustrative of the mythic event.

He also observes further:

"In them we find a nocturnal vigil analogous to that of the medieval knight over his armour; we find a vigil in which men and gods, or the gods that represent men, take part; we find evidence of the belief in a community of feeling and interest between gods and men, and we have an instance of the primal feast in common or love-feast closely resembling certain ceremonial acts performed among ourselves to-day."

5. Games and gaming implements as preventative and as remedies for disease.—That games among savage and barbarous peoples have certain preventive and curative roles with regard to disease as well as other afflictions and calamities of mankind is not at all surprising, especially if one takes into view their view of the world. Diseases or their symptoms are represented by Stewart Culm in his monograph, 'American 

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game of ring and pole was played about the house, because 'people believe there is a spirit of sickness, which is tricked about from one lodge to another, and this game is encouraged in order to keep it away.' The employment among the Kwakiutl Indians of Vancouver Island of a sort of 'beam-shooter' (Dr. Newcombe calls it the figure 4 due-shooter) to moderate in the directions to which the arrows of the sick, and this game is described (Culin, p. 435, quoting Newcombe): 'Among the Kwakiutl of the Ninikshsh tribe, this is called Heulculin. In use, a small stick is placed across the top of the platform, the sharp end of which is shot to the irregularly shaped trigger-piece, which is horizontal to the figure 4. The trigger-piece of the body is moved forward, and the short end of the trigger downwards, and the perpendicular stem of the 4 horizontally. It is frequently used even when children are sick; it is moved to different portions and to a distance away from the head supposed to be causing the sickness. It was used as late as two years ago at Alert Bay. Sets of four of this instrument are employed by grown-up people—relatives of the sick. The sticks are left lying about after the performance, but the hams are burned when done with. This goes on for four nights in succession. The noise of the two flexible sides coming together when the stick is erected is supposed to aid the good work. At night the four shooters are left loaded near the sick child, to scare the ghost or spirit. They are also used as a game by children.'

This is an interesting example of the employment of the same implement or instrument in a children's game and in a 'medical' procedure. Rings or hoops, similar to those used in the hoop and pole game, are used in certain 'medicine' ceremonies by the groups of the Coast and Island regions (Culin, p. 435) for the purpose of aiding in the cure of the sick. On the first day of the healing rite of the Navaho, known as Yebatchi, similar gaming rings are made. These rings were used to touch the sick as if it were the patient's hand, and were afterwards rolled out of the lodge. Of the 12 rings used in this ceremony, as described by Col. J. Stevenson (8 RBEW [1891] 259), 'three were afterwards taken to the east, three to the west, three to the north, and deposited at the base of pineous trees.' We are further informed: 'The rings were placed over the invalid's mouth to give him strength, cause him to talk with one tongue, and to have a good mind and heart. The other portions of the body were touched with them for physical benefit.'

Culin (p. 437) reports having seen 'actual practical game rings' used in ceremonies. Naturally, where the beginnings of the priest and the doctor are found in the primitive American, the implements and objects in ceremonial use must often be the same or very similar. And the lines between 'games' and other more or less ceremonial performances are not always very marked; indeed, the line between the one is made a part of religious or quasi-religious observances—and this is not at all peculiar to the aborigines of the New World.

6. Medical operations, surgery, etc.—Some of the performances of the American 'medicine-men' belong rather to the field of jugglery and legerdemain than to that of operative therapeutics. Others have, doubtless, more of a religious or mystical than of a medical significance. There are, however, a number that may justly be classed as relating to the beginnings of medical operations and surgery as we understand them. The range of these among even quite primitive tribes may be seen from Father Morice's article (see Lit.) on the subject. Among the Ainu, an inhabitant people of British Columbia, where items relating to bleeding, burning, blistering, treatment of broken limbs, deformities, uterine troubles, child-birth, cartaret, etc., are briefly considered, some new and interesting facts are recorded. Various manipulative procedures in vogue are as follows: Blood-sucking is in use both as a general practice and as a special procedure for wounds, cuts, bites, and stings of animals and insects, particularly those of a poisonous nature, in wounds due to arrows and other weapons that have been tipped with deadly substances, snake-bites, etc. Blood-letting by means of flint-knives, arrow-heads, etc., was practiced by the Euxionians of the Quichua tribe, and reported from a number of uncivilized tribes, such as the Central Californian Indians, the Kwakiutl of the Yukon (Alaska), certain tribes of the island region, the Itunian region, the Brazilian Caraya, etc. The place of venesection differs according to the trouble, and varies with divers peoples. Bloods (p. 290) notes that it was placed on the forehead; the ancient Peruvians cut into the veins of the root of the nose, the Indians of Honduras the veins on the arm, on the shoulder; for troubles in the upper part of the body, certain Californian tribes practised venesection on the right arm, and on the left arm or forearm by pressing the vein in the region of the shoulder. These people, and the Itunian region are said to have practised venesection by sucking small drops of blood from various parts of the patient's body until a vein was opened.

Sacrification and kindred procedures are widely spread over primitive America, ancient and modern, the implements used being knives, sharp pieces of stone, bits of shell, pieces of flint or obsidian, horns, fish-skins, teeth of animals; some tribes used the heads of animals. The development for the purpose, as, e.g., the Caray of Brazil.

Castration with cedar bark is practised by several tribes of the North Pacific coast (e.g., Bilina, Tswana) for rheumatism and other diseases of a like order; by some Southern Californian tribes with a horrible skill; by some Central American peoples with hot ashes and heated leaves for wounds, etc.; by the Chontale and certain Nahuatl tribes. Many North American Indian peoples practise castration for obstinate sores, etc.

Bone-setting is accomplished quite cleverly by a number of tribes all over the continent, particularly the Sianan Wincebagos, the Creeks of the south-eastern United States, some of the peoples of the North Pacific coast, and certain tribes of the Brazilian tribes; splints and bandaging are employed especially by the Bilina and others. The operation was of common occurrence, and is still practised by the Navaho, who reached its highest development among American tribes. Trephining was practised by the Aztecs, the Tarahumara of Chihuahua, but has never been found north of Mexico.

For the purpose of stopping bleeding of a dangerous sort, many American tribes used dried-up roots, and the use of certain plant substances (Yukate, Winnebago), hot ashes (for nose bleeding); and the Brazilian Caraya (Barbells, p. 250) are credited with the use of bindings for the limbs. With the whites the use of gunpowder for stopping bleeding has come into practice with many tribes all over the continent. According to Hrdlicka (loc. cit., p. 857), 'antiseptics are unknown, but some of the cleansing agents or healing powders employed serve as such, though undesignedly on the part of the Indians.'

7. Materia medica, etc.—In both the procedures of individual shamans and the more elaborated and extensive ceremonials, such as those carried out by the Navaho, etc., a large number of 'fetishes,' charms, amulets, and the like are employed, and the principles of similia similibus and sympathetic magic are appealed to in innumerable ways, some-times with very special developments and cunning. Dr. Hrdlicka (loc. cit., p. 836) says: 'The fetishes used are peculiarly shaped stones or wooden objects, lighting-rick woods, feathers, claws, hairs, figures of mythic animals, representations of the sun, of lightning, etc., and are supposed to embody a mysterious power capable of preventing disease or of counteracting it in human beings.'

Of real materia medica, animal and mineral substances are comparatively rarely employed. Dr. Hrdlicka (p. 837) says: 'Animal and mineral substances are also occasionally used as remedies. Among South-western tribes the bite of a snake is often treated by applying to the wound a portion of the ventral surface of the body of the same snake. The Papago use crickets as medicine; the Tarahumare, lizards; the Apache, spiders' eggs. Among the Navaho and others red ochre combined with fat is used extensively to prevent sickness. A man's head, cut from beneath a camp-fire is used by White Mountain Apache women to induce sterility; the Hopi use water, rattlesnake, turtle, etc., of other products or substances, on an inflated surface to counteract the supposed fire which causes the ailment.'

The oil, grease, etc., of certain animals are used for external and internal application, often as antiseptics—especially among certain tribes of Mexico, scorpion-oil for scorpion-bites; among
the Caribs, snake-oil for snake-bites. Among the Yamanandi and neighbouring tribes of Brazil (Bartels, p. 120) we meet with the curious custom of plastering the affected portion of the patient's body all over with feathers. Some of the Southern Californian Indians smoked pills of wild tobacco, used as a remedy for goitre; powdered charred bones are in use by the Kutenai for sore eyes. The great mass of primitive remedies, however, come from the plant-world—roots (most commonly), Briggs, leaves, bark, flowers and seeds (rarely)—and are most frequently employed in the form of a decoction, made from either the fresh or the dry plant (sometimes from its powder). The 'doctrine of signatures' and similar ideas controlled a good deal of the botanical medicine of the aborigines of America, which reached its height with such peoples as the ancient Mexicans, as may be seen from Father Gerst's monograph on the subject, where the data in the old historians, are carefully brought together. In the warmer and tropical regions of America numerous vegetable gums and balsams, the use of many of which has passed over now to the white population as well, were employed for medical purposes—lotions, poultices, fomentations, dressings, etc. The number of plant-remedies in use even among the uncivilized tribes is often quite large. Among the Californian Karok, 13 species of medicinal plants were reported; among the Hohomok, 15 species; among the Pomo, 16; among the Yurok, 17; among the Suquamish, 160; among the Ojibwa 89; of the plants known to the Moqui or Hopi, according to Gerst, 75. It is of course only for medical purposes—there being probably not over 100 indigenous species in the environment. As Bartels (p. 209) notes, the Indians possess quite a large number of plant-remedies for diseases and troubles of the eyes. Abundant emetics and astringents are also provided. Plant-remedies are in vogue for the treatment of cuts, burns, bruises, wounds, bites, stings, and stomach-ache and kindred ills, diseases of the respiratory tract, and nasal troubles, in the form of poultices and plasters (often of hot leaves), decoctions, lotions, and inhalations. With the Cheroke Indians the plants furnished all the remedies as against the animal world, which inflicted diseases upon mankind. The formulae of the medicine-men of this tribe have been recorded by Mooney, and they form a body of great importance for the study of primitive medicine in its incantational and therapeutic aspects. When the gathering of medical plants there are sometimes connected certain rites and ceremonies, as, e.g., is the case with the 'medicine tobacco' of the Crow Indians of the Siouan stock. Interesting also is the sacred 'tule pollen' in use among the Apache, known as hodentin, and 'given or applied because of its supposed supernatural beneficial effect.' Many plants are employed as remedies simply for traditional reasons, without any formulated opinion as to their therapeutic benefits. 

8. Drugs, narcotics, etc.—In connexion with puberty-rites, 'man-making' ceremonies, and performances of a kindred nature, certain narcotic and stupefying substances were employed among tribes regarded as being beyond the civilised. In the Jewish ceremonies carried out on boys at the age of puberty among the Virginian Indians, the subjects were stupefied by a decoction of *Datura* ('jimson weed'). A variety of *Datura* was used by the shamans of the Californian Yotoks to induce religious frenzy. This was done also, in all probability, by those of the Indian tribes of the south-western United States (Navaho, Hopi, etc.) who are acquainted with the properties of the *Datura*. Various tribes of the Gulf States employed in their ceremonial purifications the 'medicine' known as the 'black drink,' a decoction made from the leaves of the *Hieracium*. This 'medicine' figures in the great *Bauh', the Aztec national thanksgiving feast, among the Indians of the Creeks. According to Hall (Rep. U.S. Nat. Mus., 1885), the Creeks were in the habit of preparing and drinking it before council-meetings, because they believed that 'it invigorated and invigorated their bodies for thought and debate.' In various regions of North, Central, and South America several kinds of tobacco furnished medicine for divers diseases. Pipe-smoking for asthma troubles is reported from the Dakotas, Wisconsin, Creeks, and other tribes; in several parts of Mexico, tobacco was used for similar purposes, and likewise against rheumatism. Among the *Iparras* Indians of Brazil, incurable sick people are completely narcotized by tobacco and thrown into the river. In South America, tobacco was chiefly used in the form of snuff, and, according to McGuire (*Bull. 30 BE*, pt. ii. [1910] p. 768), 'there is some evidence that the plant was chewed in Central America.' McGuire (p. 768) says:

'Tobacco was chewed by the Indians of the Yucatan, and was usually smoked by them only among the Iroquois and some of the Pueblos trade tobacco was not smoked in solemn ceremonies. At the ceremony of the priests and the entrance of the compadres that were strongly narcotic, those using them becoming ecstatic and seeing visions. To the Indian the tobacco-plant had a sacred character; it was supposed to be used on solemn occasions, accompanied by suitable invocations to their gods and deities. It was also much used to aid in disease or distress, to ward off danger, to bring good fortune, to generally assist one in need, and to allay fear.'

The general use of tobacco all over America was much further employed by many of the European colonists devoted themselves to the planting and sale of this plant. Tobacco was at first the first of its kind introduced into the Old World. Among some Indian tribes the planting, cultivating, and harvesting of tobacco had many religious or semi-religious rites and ceremonies attached to them. According to Simms (*Amer. Anthrop.*, N.S., vi. [1901], cited by McGuire (p. 768), 'the planting of medicine tobacco is one of the oldest ceremonies of the Crow, consisting among other observances, of a solemn march, a foot race among the young men, the planting seed, the building of a house of green smoke, the seed, a visit to the sweat-house, followed by a bath and a solemn smoke, all ending with a feast; when ripe, the plant was stored away, and the seed was put in a deerskin pouch and kept for another planting.'

In S. America a number of plant-juices were employed for the purpose of making more or less intoxicating decoctions, and for curing (or at least allaying) ceremonial occasions, etc.; and 'getting drunk' was not infrequently a common and regular occurrence, on festival occasions, with certain Brazilian and Paraguayan tribes. In N. America, according to Dr. Hvidtcrka (p. 387), 'among the tribes who prepare *tewin* or *tessum*, particularly the Apache, parts of a number of bitter, aromatic, and even poisonous plants, especially a species of *Datura*, are added to the liquid to make it "stronger." These are* tegestac*; the Californian tribes made drinks from *monzenta* berries, and the Pima and other tribes of the Arizona region manufactured an intoxicating liquor from the fruit of the cactus. Among many tribes of ancient and modern Mexico and Guatemala, *cacti* of the species of *peyotl* (*Acanthocereus tetrahit*), a small variety of cactus, had, and still has, a very extensive use; so also in the region of the United States north of Mexico. According to Mooney (*Bull. 30 BE*, pt. ii. p. 297), it was 'formerly and [still] much used for ceremonial and medicinal purposes by all the tribes between the Rocky Mountains and the Gulf of Mexico, from Arkansas river southward, almost to
the city of Mexico.' The Nahatlut peejot corre-
sponds to the Kiowa seeii, Comanche wokori, 
Tarahumara kihiti, etc. Under the incorrect 
title of nesel it is well known to the whites, and 
have been even used for psychological and medical 
experimentation.

The 'eating of nesel buttons' takes place during ceremonies of 
considerable length among the Kiowa (where they have been 
studied by Means), Comanche, and other tribes. With these 
peoples, 'it is rather a ceremony of prayer and quiet con-
templation than an intervention for the recovery of some 
person; it is held in a tipi specially erected for the purpose, and begins usually at night, continuing 
until the sun appears in the morning. Then, as a rule, 
the patient does not take part in the ceremony properly, but 'occupy themselves with the preparation of the sacred food and of the feast in 
which thecereulean button, their symbol of health, they give to 
at some point during the ceremony the sick person is usually brought in to be 
prayed for, and is allowed to eat one or more specially 
consecrated peejot.' Mooney says further: 'The number of 
"buttons" eaten by one individual during the night varies 
from 10 to 40, and even more, the drug producing a sort of 
spiritual excitement differing entirely from that produced by any 
conventional drug, and apparently without any reaction. 

The effect is heightened by the weird hillayi of the songs, the 
constant sound of the drum and rattle, and the fitful glare of the fire.

The Tarahumara and some other Mexican tribes have a peepo-
dance. The effects of 'nesel buttons' have been studied experi-
mentally by Havelock Ellis (Pop. Sci. Mo., Int. [1902] 87-
74.) Ellis notes (p. 267) that these thus far unexplored diseases indicate that it possesses varied and valuable medical properties, 
towards the idea of the species of the Indians who regard it almost 
as a panacea.' Father Gerbe (pp. 63-65) records its use, not 
only as a sort of panacea for fatigue, etc., but also as a means 
of obtaining hallucinations, which hallucinations, which were taken for messages 
from the gods, and prophecies of the future. The Chicimecas, 
according to Schimizu, consumed large quantities of peejot, and 
they believed: 'If they have consumed it, they shall be able to 
during battle, rendered them insensible to hunger, thirst, etc., and 
protected them from all dangers.'

The 'nesel button' or 'nesel' here described is not to be 
confounded with the nesel (food and intoxicating drink, the 
tabebuia tree) produced in district from the age of 

9. Inventions for use in 'medicine.'—Besides the 
very large number of amulets, charms, and talismans, 
of which some account is given in art. CHARMS 
AND AMULETS, a few 'inventions' of a medical or 
quasi-medical character, found among the American Indian peoples, deserve mention here. 
Such are, e.g., a sort of respirator of fine woven 
grass used by the Kwikpagnit Eskimo of Alaska 
(Bartels, p. 222) to prevent the smoke from getting 
into the lungs of the people in the 'sweat-house'; the 
scarification implements of fish-teeth made 
by the Carajas of Brazil (p. 267), which are of 
peculiar interest; the bone and horn tubes used by 
several North American tribes (Navaho, Ojibwa, 
Creek, Siouan, etc.) in the preparation of 
blood-sucking, and similar procedures. Note may be 
taken here also of the litters for the sick and 
wheeling among a number of tribes (e.g. Dakotas) 
and the various ornaments used by the 

10. Hygiene, sanitation, etc.—The idea that 
'cleanness is next to godliness' was wide-spread 
among many American Indian peoples, as their 
frequent bathing, and other cleansing procedures, 
the very common use of the 'sweat-house' (accompa-
nied often by elaborate ceremonies), the washing 
of the sexual parts, and the attention to the body 
during menstruation, after evautis, etc., abundantly 
indicate. Some of the tribes lowest in intelligence, 
apparently very careful and thorough—process beginning with the 
new-born infant, which, even in the cold north, is 
immediately plunged into the water; the mother 
also cleansing herself as soon as possible. This 
treatment of body and mother is length in the works of Ploss and others who have 
written in particular of menstruation and of child-
birth among primitive peoples. Fastimg, bathing, 
and sprinkling ceremonies are found accompanying 
the religious performances of the people, and 
also smaller, and they are also to be met with in 
connexion with preparation for and participation in 
games, which have often a more or less religious 
character. Of the Tsimshian Indians of British 
Columbia, who are sun-worshippers, Boas says 
(5th Rep. on N. W., Tribes of Canada, 1889, p. 50): 
'men make themselves agreeable to the deity by cleanliness. 
Therefore they bathe and wash before praying. For the same reason they take a vomitive when they 
wish to please the deity well. They fast and abstain from 
touching their wives, if they desire their prayers to be successful.'

It is evident that many tabus, among the 
American Indians, no less than among primitive 
peoples in other parts of the globe, are of this hygienic, 
or quasi-hygienic nature. Sometimes, as 
among the Tsimshian (Boas, p. 50), when a special 
object is to be attained, 'to make the ceremony very 
successful, their wives must join them; if 
the wish should be true to the husband, the 
effect of the fasting is destroyed.' Bathing and 
cleansing appear also frequently, and sometimes 
elaborately, in connexion with mourning rites 
and ceremonies connected with the handling and 
disposal of the dead. The use of water reaches its 
maximum, perhaps, with the ancient Mexicans, 
who 'washed the soul.' The 'purification' of the 
soul as a means of curing the body of disease was 
in vogue among a number of the peoples of ancient 
Mexico, as is well known, which was regarded as a remedy par excellence, because 
it cured the body by washing the stains of the soul.

The use of the bath (with some tribes daily) as 
a hygienic or medical procedure, often complicated 
with religious or mystical ceremonies, was wide-
spread in all parts of primitive America, the water 
used having added to it sometimes (e.g. among 
the Dakotas) certain decoctions of plants—occas-
ionally from plants from the agency of 

Some Indian tribes, like the Hopi or Moqui, and the 
Pueblos, avoided cold baths altogether; others, 
like the Pimas and some tribes of Lower 
California, preferred them. With quite a 
number of tribes (Dakotas, Creeks, Ojibwa, Klamath), 
especially in the Rocky Mountain region, hot 
baths were followed immediately by cold, 
the individual rushing at once from the 'sweat-house' 
and plunging into the nearest stream. Cold baths 
for fever were in vogue among many tribes, and the 
Huastecos of Mexico even submitted smallpox 
patients to this procedure, thereby greatly increasing 
the mortality from that disease. The Moqui, 
when suffering from fever (Bartels, p. 134), 'used 
to lie down, performed a invocation, bled, 
sucked, and preserved them from all dangers.'

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practice for the cure of disease; (3) often as purely social and hygienic—"a number of individuals entered the sweat-house together, apparently actuated only by social instinct and appreciation of the luxury of a steam bath" (p. 662). As a religious ceremony it was used by warriors before going forth, by hunters previous to departing for the chase, by boys and girls at puberty, and by all sorts of male and female persons under-taking special exploits, etc. Moreover, 'among the Plains tribes all priests who perform ceremonies have usually to pass through the sweat-house to be purified, and the sweating is accompanied by special methods. One of the objects of the sweat-house with some tribes are elaborate and complicated, especially where there is a village or a general temezoldi or estufa. Nelson informs us that, among the Alaskan Eskimo, the koshkin used for the sweat-bath was 'the centre of social and religious life in every village.' With most tribes also the construction of the sweat-house 'was attended with many rules and observances.'

Massages were practised in various ways by numerous North American tribes. The object is frequently the pressure with hands or feet, etc.). Purifications of various sorts, including fasting, bathing, taking various 'medicines,' were in vogue among many tribes, previous to participation in games and other more or less formal performances. The word "disease," here referred to such 'medicines' in connexion with the foot-races of the Tarahumara, the ball-games of Zuni, Cherokee, Ojibwa, Choctaw, Mohawks, etc. Care regarding the satisfaction of natural necessities is reported in the accounts of several American Indian peoples. According to Joest (Int. Arch. f. Ethn. vol. v. Suppl., 1893), the Caribs and Arawaks, who live near rivers, etc., go thither for such purposes. Others, some distance from the village, scratch a hole in the sand, and carefully cover up their excrement, cleansing themselves with sand. Concerning the Carayá Indians of Brazil, Ehrenreich (Bartels, p. 261) remarks on:

'\( \text{the feeling of decency of these savages exhibited in their manner of defecating, which is of cultural-historical interest. It is done as far away as possible from the village. A hole is made in the sand. The individual sits over it with outspread legs, hiding the upper part of his body behind a mat. The excrement is carefully covered.} \)'

Certain North American Indians also are very careful in the matter of relieving themselves, always doing so out of the public way, and not in view of any one.

Some of the food-tables of American Indian peoples have at least a prionia fascie hygienic value. Careful regard for the purity of water is evident both in the Pueblo region of the south-western United States and from the early accounts of the semi-civilized peoples of ancient Mexico.

Ehrenreich reports the Carayá Indians of Brazil (cited by Bartels, p. 238) as inquiring of every stranger, 'Have you eaten?' and permitting him to enter their cabin only after assuring themselves that there is no danger from tuberculosis—a disease upon the increase among them, and of whose infectious character they are fully aware. But this is post-European. Among the Indians of northern California, the Klallam, however, disease from contagious or infectious diseases are abandoned by their fellows, who, however, place water and wild fruits within easy reach before leaving (Bartels, p. 242). The ancient Aztecs, according to Gerste (p. 18), had the same fashion of treating severe cases of disease, where death might be expected.

The family of the patient carried him to the highest point of some near-by mountain, placed beside him food and a vessel of water, and left him to die out of reach, or cut off the nail on either foot after forbidding all persons to go near him. The segregation of the patient in order to keep away evil spirits, etc., was in vogue among many tribes. Some, like the Winnipigo Indians of Wisconsin and the Mosquitoes of Honduras, went farther and surround the bed of the sick with poles on which were hung various animals, or to hedge him in with painted sticks, allowing no one but the 'medicine-man' to approach the spot (Bartels, p. 244). Hygienic motives may also enter here in part, as also in the case of the abandonment of persons suffering from contagious or infectious diseases. Here perhaps ought also to be mentioned the fact reported by Dr. Farabee of the very primitive Medicine-men of the Alaskan Eskimo, who 'are more afraid of the disease from which he died than of the dead man.'

11. Personification and forms of disease.—The disease or sickness is often given some special form and recognized as having the power of pressure, like those of mantis, lice, etc., which are represented as having the power of persecution. Certain medicines, as "estufa," mean "steam chamber," and the medicine-man, is followed by relief or cure, temporary or permanent. Such procedures are known all over America, from Alaska to Patagonia, and from Greenland to Brazil. The representation of the disease as a person, carrying on the actions of the disease, is also the conception of it as a piece of stone or some similar object. The claws of such animals as the bear, the spines of the porcupine, etc., likewise figure in the same way. Living creatures, corporally or spiritually, may be the cause with many American tribes, having in some way or other, of themselves, or through the machinations of shamans or other evil-disposed individuals, been introduced into the body of the patient. The Sioux Indians, like some of the tribes of Central Mexico, personify disease as a worm; the Klamath and certain of the Sioux as some sort of insect; some Indians of Central Mexico as a louse; the Klallam, Karok, and other Californian tribes of the north as a frog; and the Dakotas as a tortoise. Another common personification is a snake. The Twa, Chinkaun, and Klallam Indians of the State of Washington believe that the disease is caused by a wood-pecker pecking at the heart of the person affected. Even quite large animals are believed by some Indian tribes to make their way into the human body and cause disease and sometimes death. Among the Twa, the Chinkaun, and Klallam it is believed that evil-minded shamans or sorcerers can send into the body of a man a bear, which eats at his heart and so causes him to become sick (Vellis, Ann. Rep. Ethn. Ins. 1892, p. 1), and the Sunka Indians of Vancouver Island, according to Boas (11th Rep. N. W. Tribes, 1890, p. 41),

'the cause of sickness is either what is called miqaltı, i.e. sickness flying about in the air. It enters the body without any enemy being the cause of it; or the sick person has been struck by sickness thrown by a hostile shaman, which is called miqalt. Their ordinary method of removing disease is by sucking and singing over the patient.'

12. Prognostics, etc.—Devices for the prognostication and prophesying of the issues of diseases of various sorts are reported from many Indian American tribes. Among the Kutenai Indians of south-eastern British Columbia, according to Boas (5th Rep. 46), 'if the hands of a dead man (before the body is buried) are not opened, it is very truly that they cannot be opened, it indicates that the
tribe will be healthy and strong and free from disease. The Indians of Michoacan (Bartels, p. 168), in Central Mexico, believe that, if the leaf of a certain plant, when placed on the sore place of a patient, stays in position when it is removed, he will recover; if it drops off, his death is certain. The Mayas of Yucatan and some of the Indians of the Yucatan, in Mexico, believe that a sick person, who is afflicted with some other creature, animal or human, is met with in various regions of primitive America. Some of the Nahua or Aztec peoples of ancient Mexico (Gerste, p. 47) had the custom, in cases of violent disease, to fabricate a little dog of maize-flour, which was then placed on a magnety-plant in the public way; it was believed that the first passer-by would carry off the disease, and thus enable the patient to recover. In like manner, certain coastal tribes were so frightened at the carelessness of man and the invasions of their rights on the part of mankind that they held a council and determined to obtain revenge by each of them inflicting some disease upon their human oppressors. This they did, the smallest as well as the greatest providing his share. This is why the incantations and rites of the Cherokee medicine-men are so full of references to animals, and why each method is represented as being caused by some one of them (the interesting details will be found in Mooney's monograph upon this subject). As a result of the action of the animals, the legend goes on to state, all the plant held a council and resolved to provide for all the diseases inflicted upon him by the former. Thus it happens, also, that for every disease brought about by the animals, there is a remedy to be found in the plant world. The idea of the origin of the animal world is obtained among many other American tribes as well, and the doctrine sometimes suggests comparison with the modern scientific theories as to the microbe origin of many human diseases. Among the Klamath Indians of Oregon, birds such as the wood-pecker, the lark, the crane, and various sorts of ducks are believed to be the causes of disease. With them also the otter is made responsible for smallpox.

15. Natural phenomena as causes of disease. When several Indian tribes, the shadow of another person is often harmful. Among the Shuswap Indians of British Columbia (Boas, 6th Rep., p. 92) widows and widowers, while observing mourning regulations, must avoid letting their shadows fall upon a person, as the latter would fall sick; otherwise, similar beliefs prevail among the Bilgula (7th Rep., 1891, p. 13). Lightning, the moon's light, etc., are sometimes supposed to cause illness. The Klamath Indians seem to have believed that the wind had something to do with the causation of disease. In some of the incantations of these Indians the west wind, in particular, is represented as 'blowing disease' out of its mouth; the rainstorm also 'calls up' disease.

16. Human beings as causes of disease. Besides enchantment, witchcraft, sorcery, and other active procedures of medicine-men and medicine-women, by means of which sickness or disease is thought to be caused in the patient, there are other ways in which men and women may infect one another or bring about a condition of ill-health. As may be seen from the abundant data in Boss's 'Das Web,' the menstruating woman is often regarded as a disease-bringer or a disease-causer, and her segregation is justified for that reason. Among the Songish Indians of Vancouver Island, according to Boas (6th Rep., p. 22), a menstruating woman may not come near sick persons, that is, not even to the extent of seeing them. The maximum theory of woman's responsibility for disease is met with among the Chiquitos of Bolivia, concerning whose 'medical code' Charlevoix states (Gerste, p. 45) that 'it consists of two prescriptions: first, to suck the part of the body of the patient affected, and, second, to kill some woman, since women are responsible for all the misfortunes of mankind.' Among the Shuswap Indians of British Columbia, according to Boas (6th Rep., p. 90), it is forbidden to expose to the public road the clothes of the sick man, in the belief that any passer-by who touched them would take the disease upon himself and so relieve the patient. This is also the idea prevalent among the Kwakkwati (Boas, 6th Rep., p. 54), twins, who are taught to be transformed salmon, have the power of curing diseases, and use for this purpose a rattle called 'Rodungan,' which has the shape of a flat box about three feet long by two feet wide; among the Nakquotjigilna (6th Rep., p. 55) twins, if of the same sex, can be brought together by a woman who is born. . . . The father dances for four days after the children have been born, with a large square rattle. The children, by swinging this rattle, can cure disease and procure favourable winds and weather.

17. Soul and disease. In primitive America a great variety of ideas as to the relationship of the soul to disease and kindred phenomena of the human body prevailed. Indeed, we meet with all grades—from the simple belief of the Arawakan Machuyucas of eastern Peru, who, according to Dr. W. C. Farabee (Proc. Amer. Antiqu. Soc., N.S., xx), think that the soul 'has nothing to do with life, sleep, disease, or death,' to the elaborate and quite metaphysical doctrines of some of the tribes occupying higher cultural stages, where, for instance, the soul may have the power to repair the loss of one of its souls, constituting sometimes a hierarchical series. Among the Indians of the North Pacific coast regions there are some (for example, certain tribes of the Fraser River, in British Columbia) who believe in the existence of several souls, the loss of one of which causes partial loss of life, i.e., sickness, while the loss of all, or of the principal one, entails death; but, according to Boas ('Bull. 30 Be,' pt. ii, p. 617), the idea that the 'life' is associated with the vital organs (blood, breath, etc.), the loss of which causes death, 'is not strongly developed among the American aborigines.' The Hidatsa Indians of the Sionan stock,
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like the Fraser River tribes, believe in a plurality of souls, as do a number of other American peoples. The doctrine of souls and of disease among the Coast Salish is discussed by Boas (J. A. F., 1893, pp. 39-43). Here there are said to be two souls, a larger and a smaller; when a man is sick, it is because the latter has left his body, and he recovers when the shaman or medicine-man has caught the soul and returned it to him. In various parts of America the diseases for 'soul-catching' are sometimes detailed, with extensive ceremonial, ritual, etc. Among the Tlinkit, Haids, and Tsimshian Indians, according to Boas (6th Rep. p. 58),

their art consists in extracting the sickness or in finding and restoring the soul of the sick person. In trying to find it, three or four shamans sing and rattle over the sick person until they declare they have found the whereabouts of his soul, which is supposed to be in the possession of the salmon or eel (Cats'-fish), or in that of one of the crested eagles. The latter is found 'by following the track of eagles, and sometimes by following their calling.' 

The soul of an individual can be removed from his body through the 'magic' of his enemies, their more powerful orendo, to use the term of Hewitt, and can be retrieved only by the exercise of the same practices of a higher order or a greater cunning. Among the Songish Indians the lower sort of shamans, or Si'oua, who are generally women, are able to cure such diseases as are not due to any absence from the body. The higher class of shamans, or Sn'ouna, are able to see the soul and to catch it when it has left the body and its owner is sick. A man becomes a soul-sn'ouna by intercourse with supernatural powers in the woods, and he acquires a supernatural power, called the Uw'uyin, corresponding to what is known as the tamunowus in the Chinook jargon, and 'medicine' east of the Rocky Mountains. 

The method of procedure of the Sn'ouna in disease-curing and soul catching is thus described by Boas (6th Rep. 30):

When he returns from the woods, the shaman is able to cure diseases, to see and to catch souls. The best time of the day for curing a disease is at nightfall. A number of guests are invited to attend the ceremony. The patient is deposited not far from the place near him. Then they begin singing and dancing with sticks. The shaman (who uses no rattle) has a cup of water standing next to him. He takes a mouthful, blows it into the cup, and pours it over the sick person. Then he applies his mouth to the place where the disease has left in order to suck and seek there. As he is finished sucking, he produces a piece of deer-skin or the like (as though he had extracted it from the body, and which is supposed to have absorbed the sickness), and throws it. If the soul of the sick person is supposed to be absent from the body, the shaman sends his Uw'uyin (not his soul) in search. The Uw'uyin brings it, and then the shaman takes it and puts it on the vertex of the patient, whence it returns into his body. These performances are accompanied by a dance of the shaman. Before the dance the Sioua must give a name to the earth, which else would swallow the shaman. When acting as conjurer for sick persons, he must keep away from his wife, as else his power might be interfered with. He never treats members of his own family, and, if he is sure his service is not needed, it is believed that he cannot cure his own relatives. Rich persons sometimes engage a shaman to look after their welfare.

The following is reported by Boas (6th Rep. p. 61) from the Kwakinti:

'The sight of a ghost is deadly. A few years ago, a woman, who was waiting for her mother, suddenly fell into a swoon. The people first believed her to be dead, and carried the corpse into the woods. There they discovered that she continued to breathe. They watched her for two days, when she recovered. She told them that she had seen two people enter the house. One of them had said: 'Don't cry; I am your mother's ghost. We are well off where we live.' She had replied: 'No; I was not aware because you have left me alone.' Then she had fallen into a deep swoon.'

This explanation of swooning, fainting, and similar states is common all over primitive America. Among the Shuswap (5th Rep., p. 59), 'when a person faints, it is a sign that a ghost pursues him.'

19. The hereafter of those dying from sickness and disease.—Among the American Indians, one frequently meets the idea that those dying by violent death, or who have died in childbirth, and people whose death is due to sickness go to a certain place beyond the hereafter. Thus the Tlinkit, according to Boas (5th Rep. 47), 'believe that the soul, after death, lives in a country similar to ours. Those who have died a violent death go to heaven, the country ruled by Tahit; those who die by sickness (who women dying in childbirth) go to a country beyond the borders of the

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earth, but on the same level. It is said that the dead from both countries join during the daytime. I believe that this idea, whether of the Holy or Patauak, must be ascribed to Eskimo influence.

A special heaven for women dying in childbirth is noted with elsewhere among uncivilized tribes; also in ancient Mexico.

20. Disease and the gods and demons.—The conception of disease as the work of deity or of demons has not yet vanished altogether from the minds of the civilized Christian peoples of the globe, and it is strongly entertained by many tribes of American Indians representing practically all grades of culture in the primitive New World. The Iroquois, or Mohawks, believe that evil demons known as 'séwe' cause various diseases and misfortune among men and women, but, when appealed to by dances and other ceremonies and by offerings of food, tobacco, and the like, they become friendly and protect them from sickness and disease, as well as from witchcraft. In the dances and kindred ceremonies of the Iroquois 'medicine-societies,' women masked, representing these disease-demons with distorted human faces, dance. The women of medicine-societies of the pagan Senseca have recently been studied by A. C. Parker, himself of Iroquoian descent. These societies serve for the healing of disease and the furtherance of well-being in the broadest sense. In a Tzapotlan myth (Joseph & Reh, vol. 10), 'the master of the moon,' the pestilence (Huitlacoche), appears as a powerful deity—something ascribable to the influence of the neighbouring Kwakiutl. The Foxes and Foxes believe that the spirit of sickness hovers about, seeking entrance into the lodges of the Indians. Among the Nuecé Indians there is a general ceremony, lasting from 3 to 7 days, carried on by all the men of the community who are between 18 and 40 years of age, with the object of conjuring out the spirit of fatigue (Bartels, p. 255); and the Indians believe firmly that by means of it they ensure themselves great strength and capacity for resistance to fatigue.

Water-demons are sometimes credited with keeping the souls of men, and thus causing various diseases and sicknesses. Examples of this are the Takan of the Mexican Cora, described by Preuss, and the Pujio of the Indians of the Bolivian-Argentine borderland, of which an account is given by Boman (Antrop. de la rbg. and., vol. 1 [1908]). In the case of the Pujio, a rather complicated offering is made, after which the soul is called back. The soul is also called back when one is 'frightened to death' among the Mixe, a tribe of Indians of Brazil, persons whose recovery from illness or disease is not expected, and upon whom all the arts of the shaman have been exercised in vain, are devoted to Inkiia, 'the great watersnake,' a prominent figure in their mythology. Ehrenreich thus describes their actions in this matter (cited in Bartels, p. 218):

'If there are any sick people who are beyond anything but the help of the Snake, one of the shamans proceeds to the river to call the Water-Spirit. After all accompanying him have disappeared, the spirit comes forth, and asks first after what gifts he has been brought. If he is satisfied with these, he declares himself ready for the reception of the sick man. The latter is smeared with fat, and then thrown into the river, on the back of which he falls with a dull thud, and wakes up. The Water-Spirit takes him into his house and restores him. The method of cure is not clearly given, but the recovered patient remains for ever in the realm of the Water-Snake, and lives there happily and forever, having no desire to return to earth. The accidentally drowned find the same reception, and those already dead on earth are rejected. Moribund people are often hurried into the next world by doctors and midwives, who believe in the great Ojibwa myth of the transference to man by the culture-hero, Manabozho, of the 'grand medicine.' Dawson has also published the Zuni account of the teaching of 'medicine' to the first

Many myths relate that the 'medicine' was received directly or indirectly from the gods themselves or their representatives, the Twins, who figure so conspicuously in the mythologies of the south-western United States, etc.; the 'transformers' of the North Pacific coast; or such animal-deities as the coyote in the Rocky Mountain region and among the Plains tribes. Dawson has recorded the great Ojibwa myth of the transference to man by the culture-hero, Manabozho, of the 'grand medicine.' Dawson has also published the Zuni account of the teaching of 'medicine' to the first...
DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Assyro-Babylonian)

23. Human sacrifice as a cure for disease. — The sacred cow, as a more or less religious ceremonial in connexion with the ritual of medicine, is known from various regions of the globe, where the process of getting well in body is carried out on lines similar to getting well in mind, and may vary by being much beyond and above him. In this way human sacrificiae sometimes occurs. Some of the Indian tribes of ancient Mexico, according to Orozco y Berra, cited by Father Gerste (p. 19), murdered a very small boy or the mother, to kill the youngest child as an expiatory sacrifice.


DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Assyro-Babylonian). — The chief difficulty in treating of the subject of diseases in Babylonia is to separate the ideas of medicine properly from the natural methods of healing. The Assyrian physician never shook himself entirely free from the more supernatural side of his profession, and, apart from the magical incantations for the sick, even the more scientific medical texts depend largely on white magic. The latter consist, for the most part, of short material recipes on which much of our knowledge of the Assyrian pharmacopoeia rests, but they also prescribe spells to be used simultaneously with the use of drugs. It is therefore clear that, although many of the recipes in use were efficacious from a purely medical standpoint, they were frequently combined with a series of chanted abracadabra of more value to the anthropologist than to the student of medicine.

The present inhabitants of the plains of Mesopotamia and the hills of the neighbourhood are probably liable to the same diseases as their ancestors were some thousands of years ago, and we may therefore start with the Assyrian, which probably dates from the time of King Sargon. Such diseases, which are described in the affected persons, are expected to relieve them from the obscure tabus which he might have incurred, unless there was some unusual physical condition demanding it.

1. For these, see art. Charms and Amulets (Assy.-Bab.).

2. S. 661.

3. S. 1065.

4. R. 4073; cf. R. 5999 b.
DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Assyro-Babylonian)

Just as we may pronounce the 'unwitting' tabu (in whatever way the word may be translated) of the OT to have manifested themselves in some physical way, so must we suppose that an Assyrian would not have recourse to a priest-physician unless absolutely driven by pain or fear. Sickness is due to the Devil or Divine influence, and it is well known that a savage fear to incur a breach of tabu from some ill-defined sense of danger from god or devil; it is clear, therefore, that the Assyrians had the same terror in their minds when they edited the curage-series for the benefit of sick men. The sorcerer must discover—or trick the powers into believing that he has discovered—the tabu which the patient has transgressed, and he can then proceed to cleanse the man from his breach, and lift the ban from him.

The principal god connected with healing is Ea, but it is his son Marduk who is appealed to by the physician as intermediary with the higher power. Marduk, when called on for help, is supposed to reply to his father to ask him what the sick man must do to be healed. This episode is constantly repeated in cuneiform incantations for the sick; indeed, to such an extent was it recognized as the usual procedure that it is frequently inserted in the text, together with one or more containing abbreviations of the three principal sentences, thus: 'Marduk hath seen'; 'What I'; 'Go, my son.' The full formula is as follows:

Marduk hath seen him (the sick man), and hath entered the house of his father Ea, and hath said, 'Father, headache against the sick man must be healed.' This episode is repeated in the case of a woman as follows: 'Marduk hath seen her'; 'What I'; 'Go, your daughter.'

Then follows the actual prescription for the patient. This method of bringing in a Divine episode is nothing more than a development of the principle of the Word of Power, which tradition demands shall be one of the sorcerer's most potent aids in spell-working. A scene is represented on certain of the magical plaques which is apparently intended to portray the sick man and the forces arrayed against him: the celestial powers, demons, potencies and spirits, protective circles, sick man on his bed, etc., form an interesting picture (see Frank, LSSt ii. 3).

Now, this Word of Power, so generally recognized in all magic, consists in its simplest form of the name of the god invoked against some thing invoked against the power of evil which the physician is expelling. Hence many of the Assyrian incantations end with the line, 'By Heaven be ye exorcized! By Earth be ye exorcized!' and numerous gods are invoked in the same way.

Two other concomitants of the exorcisms are necessary to the exorcist: first, the knowledge of the name or description of the devil which is being expelled; and second, some material with either medicinal or magical properties, some thing invoked against the power of evil which the physician is expelling. Hence many of the Assyrian incantations end with the line, 'By Heaven be ye exorcized! By Earth be ye exorcized!' and numerous gods are invoked in the same way.

1 This is the only variation in the formula, being the first line of the tablet.

2 Tablet XI of the Marduk-series (Thompson, Devil i. 35). This is probably the meaning conveyed by amulet motto (vilaparasite) not as the present translation, which makes the text sound elliptical. See also Thompson, Semitic Magic, p. viii.

3 The word translated 'tannur' in G11.x.11 is undoubtedly some form of tree, the Assyrian equivalent being arn, probably the Syrnic arn. The word translated 'tannur' in G11.x.11 is undoubtedly some form of tree, the Assyrian equivalent being arn, probably the Syriac arn. The word translated 'tannur' in G11.x.11 is undoubtedly some form of tree, the Assyrian equivalent being arn, probably the Syriac arn. The word translated 'tannur' in G11.x.11 is undoubtedly some form of tree, the Assyrian equivalent being arn, probably the Syriac arn. The word translated 'tannur' in G11.x.11 is undoubtedly some form of tree, the Assyrian equivalent being arn, probably the Syriac arn. The word translated 'tannur' in G11.x.11 is undoubtedly some form of tree, the Assyrian equivalent being arn, probably the Syriac arn. The word translated 'tannur' in G11.x.11 is undoubtedly some form of tree, the Assyrian equivalent being arn, probably the Syriac arn. The word translated 'tannur' in G11.x.11 is undoubtedly some form of tree, the Assyrian equivalent being arn, probably the Syriac arn. The word translated 'tannur' in G11.x.11 is undoubtedly some form of tree, the Assyrian equivalent being arn, probably the Syriac arn. The word translated 'tannur' in G11.x.11 is undoubtedly some form of tree, the Assyrian equivalent being arn, probably the Syriac arn. The word translated 'tannur' in G11.x.11 is undoubtedly some form of tree, the Assyrian equivalent being arn, probably the Syriac arn. The word translated 'tannur' in G11.x.11 is undoubtedly some form of tree, the Assyrian equivalent being arn, probably the Syriac arn. The word translated 'tannur' in G11.x.11 is undoubtedly some form of tree, the Assyrian equivalent being arn, probably the Syriac arn. The word translated 'tannur' in G11.x.11 is undoubtedly some form of tree, the Assyrian equivalent being arn, probably the Syriac arn. The word translated 'tannur' in G11.x.11 is undoubtedly some form of tree, the Assyrian equivalent being arn, probably the Syriac arn. The word translated 'tannur' in G11.x.11 is undoubtedly some form of tree, the Assyrian equivalent being arn, probably the Syriac arn. The word translated 'tannur' in G11.x.11 is undoubtedly some form of tree, the Assyrian equivalent being arn, probably the Syriac arn. The word translated 'tannur' in G11.x.11 is undoubtedly some form of tree, the Assyrian equivalent being arn, probably the Syriac arn. The word translated 'tannur' in G11.x.11 is undoubtedly some form of tree, the Assyrian equivalent being arn, probably the Syriac arn.
of the cuneiform priestcraft, and it occurs in various forms in the examples given in this article.

The name of the physician proper was not, and, as the treatment was frequently of a magical nature rather than purely medical, it was often the akkipriest or a doctor who was called in to heal a sick man. The akkipriest is the one who can release the patient from the taboo under which he lies; the same word occurs in Hebrew under the form esh'el; and in Assyrian for the Incantation Tablet of the gods (from the same root). 1 He claims in his exorcism that he has been implored by the power of Ea, Damkina, and Marduk:

"The man of Ea am 1, the man of Damkina am 1, the messenger of Marduk am 1. The great lord, Marduk, to revive the . . . sick man; he hath added his pure spell to him, he hath added his pure spirit to him, he hath added his pure prayer to him; the destroyer[1] of the limbs, which are in the body of the sick man, hath the power to destroy the limbs—by the magic of the word of Ea may these evil ones be put to flight."

Similarly, when the priest comes into the house of the sick man, he declares that he is aided by several gods:

"When [I] enter the house, Samas is before me, Sin is behind me, Nergal is at my right hand, Nisik is at my left hand; when I draw near to the sick man, my right hand on the head of the sick man, may a kindly spirit, may a kindly guardian angel stand at my side. Whether thou art an evil spirit or an evil demon, or an evil goddess, or an evil god, or an evil friend, or sickness, or death, or phantom of night, or wraith, or sad soul, may they be removed from before me, out of the house go forth! (For) I am the sorcerer proper of Ea, it is I who [re]cite the incantation for the sick man."

He completes the spell of the Third Tablet of the same series with the words:

"O Ea, King of the gods, I [ask thee! to see; I, the magician, am thy slave. Month thou on my right hand, help on my left; add thy pure spell to mine, add thy pure voice to mine, vouchsafe (to me) pure words, let the words of the priestly incantation which is, which is, be heard by me."

Armed with these heavenly powers, the priest might exorcise any of the demons which assail mankind, and one of the commonest methods of treatment among the priests was an astone ment. The word used is kappar (the noun is takpiratu), the same as the Heb. ṣe, as was pointed out by Zimmermann ("Rituftaftem," p. 92). As the idea in the Assyrian method is that the demon causing the sickness is to be offered a sacrifice as his victim, and hence a young pig or kid is slaughtered, and placed near the patient. The devil goes forth at the physician's exorcism and takes up its abode in the carcass of the substitute, which can then be made away with, and the baneful influence destroyed. This is fully laid down in one of the magical texts against the akkubu (provisionally translated 'fever'), where it is told how Ea, the lord of the incantation, in showing a method of treating the sick man, lays a kid before Marduk, saying:

"The kid is the substitute for mankind, he giveth the kid his life, he giveth the head of the kid for the head of the man, he giveth the neck of the kid for the neck of the man, he giveth the breadth of the kid for the breadth of the man."

Instead of the kid, the substitute might be a sucking-pig, and the directions are to put it at the head of the sick man, 3 take out its heart and put it above the patient's heart, and sprinkle its blood on the sides of the bed: the clay branch of wrath.

1. From Sozomen: 2 From Julian: 3 From Sozomen:

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must be divided over the man, and apparently spread upon him. The ritual continues with a purification by pure water and fumigation by a censer (as in the story of Tobit), and ends:

'Put twice seven loaves cooked in the ashes against the shut door, and give the pig in his stead, and he shall be as his flesh, and the blood as his blood, and let him hold it.'

Let the heart (which thou hast placed on his heart) be as his heart,

And let him say, etc. . . .

The migration of demonic influence to the pig is closely paralleled in the story of the Gadarene swine (Mark 5). The Indian Muslims of the present day who come to Abdulgulzar, the largest mosque in Baghdad, tend to a pig image and offer sacrifices, 'vow that if a man is ill begins to recover he shall go to the shrine.'

'He is stripped to the waist. Then two men lift a lamb or a kid above his head, and bathe his face, shoulders, and the upper part of his body with the blood. While the butcher tells the annual the sheik repeats the first sura of the Koran. They also write him in the skin of the animal.'

The 'twice seven loaves' is paralleled in the Seventh Tablet of the Surpu-series: when a man has incurred a certain taboo, seven loaves of pure dough must be broken, and he must perform ceremonies. The magician makes an 'atonement' for the patient, and puts his spittle on the 'atonement' as symbolic of the removal of the tabu from the man to the substitute. The loaves are then to be carried into the desert to a clean place in the Levitical, and left under one of the thorn bushes growing there. At the present day in the Hejaz, if a child is very ill, its mother will take seven flat loaves of bread and put them under its pillow, giving them in the morning to the dogs. Another exorcism gives directions more fully: Manluk is advised by E a to take a white kid of Tammmūz:

'Lay it down facing the sick man, take out his heart, and Place it in the hand of that man; Perform the Incantation of Elrūš. (The kid whose heart thou hast taken out Is unclear! I mean therewithon shalt make an atonement for this man, Bring to him a censor (and a torch, Scatter it (the kid) in the street.)'

But the Assyrians did not confine the 'atonement,' ceremo- nies of the career of the seven avatars towards ridding a sick man of his devil, not only that of inducing the incubus to leave the human body to enter a little figure fashioned in the likeness of the patient. The magician took vials and filled them with the kindred spirit of the sick man with them, and made 'atonement' for him; he then modelled a dough image of his patient, poured out his magic water on him, and remituated him with incense. Then, just as the water trickled away from his body, the pestilence in his body was supposed to trickle off, the water being caught in some receptacle beneath, and poured forth abroad so that the sickness might be dissipated.

Sympathetic magic was likewise called in as an aid in other cases. A sickness-tabu might be removed by the use of charms made of black and white hair, just as they are among modern savage tribes. These examples from different peoples will be mentioned to show how close the Babylonian methods resemble those of other nations.

1. Tablet N, col. ii. 14 ff. (Thompson, Devirs, ii. 17; Semitica Magic, 160). The fifth and seventh in the translation with Forbes. (Recueil de Textes, new series, x. 129), 'qūli (by manvare demons) en espimant.'

2. On the customs of sacrificing barking pigs among the Greeks, see AJPh, 1900, p. 256.


6. Tablet T. 1. 39 ff. (Thompson, Devirs, ii. 107; Semitica Magic, 159, 161; i.e. Skeat, Malay Magic, Lond. 1900, p. 347.

In India the 'fairy-women' take three different coloured threads and knot them twenty-one or twenty-two times, and when the work is finished it is Fastered upon the neck or upper arm of the patient. Among the Malays it is customary to make little images of dough of Beasts, etc., and to place them on a tray with betel-nuts, cigarettes, and towels. If the patient is set on a silver dollar, with the end of a particoloured thread inserted between the dollar and the foot of the taper, this thread the patient holds during the repetition of the charm. The disease-devil is supposed to enter the images, and as soon as this has happened the magician looses the knot and throws them away. Among the modern Persians, O'Donovan saw a similar method for removing fever: a man spun some cotton's hair to a stout thread, and folding it three times on itself spun it again. He tied seven knots therein, blowing on each one, and then threw to be worn on the neck, a knot being united each day. When the last knot was loosed, the thread was to be thrown in a fall into the river.

The prescription, as given in Assyrian, in the Sixth Tablet of the Surpu-series runs as follows:

'He hath turned his [steps] to a temple-woman (?), sitar hath sent her temple-woman (?), hath seated the wise-woman on the seventh floor. A knot is placed on a hag. woman, and a woman is given him. And the son of Manluk:

'Take the hair of a virgin kid, let a wise woman spin (it) on the right side, and double it on the left, bind knots seven times, and purify the incantation. And sprinkle the head of the sick man, and bind the neck of the sick man, and bind the soul of the sick man, and bind up his hands.'

Without going further afield into details of comparative magic, it is worth mentioning here that the same superstition is still believed in at Moshal, close to the mound of Nineveh. A recipe for fever was given the present writer by a boy employed on the excavations, in which the physician, in this case a shikhash, in his hand, and the hand of his child, the white flowing hair, and his unshorn hands cut them off, that the hair, its cord, may go forth to the desert to a clean place.'

Or again, in the case of headache, the method is recommended, as follows: to the son of Manluk:

'Take the hair of a virgin kid, let a wise woman spin (it) on the right side, and double it on the left, bind knots seven times, and purify the incantation. And sprinkle the head of the sick man, and bind the neck of the sick man, and bind the soul of the sick man, and bind up his hands.'

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drink; at the approach of the star in the morning let the patient drink them without eating, and he will recover."

Not only this, but the use of the enema also was well known, the directions being quite explicit:  

1 An enema (bus) of oil thou shalt make, and introduce per anum, 2

For stomachic troubles there were many remedies. Pains were treated with a mixture of 'salt of the mountain' and annaim-salt pounded together and put in fermented liquor, which was to be drunk on an empty stomach, used also as an enema, and sprinkled upon the patient; 3 or a mixture of the nachuret-plant and several corns of wheat, similarly to be used as a draught and an enema. 4 As a simpler method, the patient was to sit on his haunches and let cold water flow on his head; 5 or the physician was to lay his head lower than his feet, and knead or stroke the back gently, repeating the formula:

'it shall be good.' 6 If the patient have colic and his stomach will not retain its food, and there is flatulence, the prescription is to bray up together 1/4 lbs of cassia juice with oil and wine, three shekels of purslane, two shekels of honey, and ten shekels of the annaim-plant. The patient is to drink this before the rising of the Enam-star in the morning, without eating; and then be made to be followed by his draught and an enema of 1/4 of St-GA, with which he is also to be sprinkled. 7 If there are internal pains—the Assyrian being in this case, 'when a man's inside eats him—he is to be given halattupannu-plant and salt water drunk and dissolved in water or fermented drink, or simply halattupan, or tipata, or St-St. in fermented drink. 8 When the patient's internal organs burn and he is constipated, let him drink a medicine of garlic and cummin, 9 or the potion d and green d (a plant) mixed with swine-fat. 10 Remedies are prescribed when 'garlic, leeks, beef, pork, and beer are unrestrained by a man,' and 'in his belching the gall is withheld.' 11 For what the Assyrian doctor describes as the food being returned to the mouth 'the head and breast were to be bound and certain drugs eaten in honey, nutton fat, or butter, while the patient was to be kept off certain food for three days, and was not allowed to wash.' 12 For liver complaints, garlic was prescribed, 13 or it was drunk in beer or large draughts of beer or 'wine-water.' 14 In the case of jaundice, of which the symptoms are given fully, the physicians were not so hopeful of recovery; but some prescriptions seem to have been potent:

1 When a man's body is yellow, his face is yellow and black, the root of his tongue black, abhaz (seizer) in his name; then I say: the drink, which he shall drink it in fermented drink. Then will the abhaz, which is in him shall be routed.

In constipation, the patient drank a mixture of green garlic and kuhur-rind in fermented drink, followed by dates in swine-fat or oil; or another prescription is cypress-cones pounded up and mixed with fermented drink. If, in addition to constipation, his inside is much inflamed, the prescription is a decoction of halattupannu-plant, sweet reed ballaktu-plant, and cypress administered as an enema. An enema is also prescribed when a man is constipated after heavy eating and drinking; and his insides are angry. 15 In the case of drunkenness, the following remedy is given for the morning after:

1 When a man has drunk fermented drink and his head aches and he forgets his speech, and in speaking is incoherent, and his understanding is lost, and his eyes are fixed (eleven plants) together and let him drink them in oil and fermented drink before the approach of Gula in the morning before dawn, before any one sees him.' 16

Venerable diseases are prescribed for in various tablets; 17 the colour of the urine was also observed in diagnosis. 18 It is curious to see how persistently the old beliefs survive among the Arabs of Mesopotamia of to-day. Toothache is still attributed to a worm, and the writer heard this story on good local authority. A man with toothache had only to innoculate his aching teeth with the smoke from dried withered apricots (salvarex), and the worm would drop out of his mouth. This is a belief not confined to the Arabs alone, but does among other peoples, 19 and it certainly dates back to several centuries B.C., and we find a Babylonian tablet describing the genesis of this tooth-worm:

'After Amu [had created the heavens], 20 the heavens created the earth, the earth created the rivers, the rivers created the canals, the canals created the marshes, the marshes created the Worm. The Worm came and went before the Sun-god, Before Ea came her plane: 21 'What wilt thou give me to eat, What wilt thou give me to drink?' 'I will give thee ripe figs, And sweet-scented wood.' 22 'What are thy ripe figs to me, Or thy sweet-scented — . . . wood? Let me have the worm, and let me eat the worm. And let me rest amid the guns, 23 of the teeth will I suck the blood, and destroy the strength (of his guns)? So shall I hold the bolt of the door.'

May Enki smite thee with the might of his fist.'"

The intimation prescribed for the toothache is:

'Then shalt do this: Mix beer, sakibup-plant, and oil together. Repeat the intimation three times thereon, and put in on the tooth.'

Just in the same way as the tooth has a semi-magical, semi-medicinal intimation prescribed for it, so do we have similar texts for the heart and eyes. For some form of 'heart' medicine the following intimation is given:

'The heart-plant sprang up in Makkan, and the Moon-god rooted it out and (Planted it in the mountains); the Sun-god brought it down from the mountains, (and) (Planted it in the earth); its root fillets the earth, its horns stretch out to heaven.

[It seized on the heart of the Sun-god when he . . .] it seized on the heart of the Moon-god in the clouds, it seized on the heart of the ox in the stall, it seized on the heart of the goat in the fold, it seized on the heart of the ass in the stable, it seized on the heart of the sheep in the meadow, it seized on the heart of the pig in the sty, it seized on the heart of the man in his pleasure, it seized on the heart of the maid in her long-chamber, it seized on the heart of N. son of N. . . .

Magan or Makan is supposed to be the Sinaitic Peninsula, and it is there that the Hygrogyrus muticus grows. The Arabs call it the sakirin ('drunken'), from its intoxicating effect; it has long spikes very much like the fox-glove, only purple in colour, which may be compared with the 'horns' mentioned in the intimation. It seems quite possible that the Assyrians may have had a knowledge of its existence and properties; at any rate, the name 'heart-plant,' coupled with its provenance, Sinai, another description given of it, is suggestive.

In certain cases of ophthalmia, the prescription is carefully led up to by a description of the cause of the blindness:

'The eye of the man is sick, the eye of the woman is sick. The eye of man or woman is sick—who can heal (him)? Then shall send them to bring pure ST.S of the date-palm (chew (te-keba) it in their mouth, twist (te-peta) it in their hand; and shall find it on the temples of the man or woman, and the man or woman shall recover . . .'

DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Assyro-Babylonian)

"The wind blows in heaven and brings blindness (in its列车) to the eye of the man: from the distant heavens he brings blindness. The eye of the man therein: blindness. The eye of the man therein: he is sick (in its列车) to the eye of the man: and there is no man who could treat the eye of the man therein: blindness. The eye of the man therein: he is sick (in its列车) to the eye of the man: and there is no man who could treat the eye of the man therein: blindness. The eye of the man therein: he is sick (in its列车) to the eye of the man: and there is no man who could treat the eye of the man therein: blindness. The eye of the man therein: he is sick (in its列车) to the eye of the man: and there is no man who could treat the eye of the man therein: blindness."

Similarly, the sting of a scorpion is treated with an incantation against the poisonous creature, to be recited while anointing the hurt:

"He is stung out like those of a holy bull. Her tail curls like that of a mighty lion. Bel hath made a house—when he maketh fast the hair. When he breaketh the wall of lapis-lazuli, May the little finger of Bel carry it off.Water carry off the water... (as affected by the inflammation)"[1]

It is a little uncertain what the text actually means, but it seems as if the patient puts the scorpion in the model of a house, which Bel is supposed to have made, and, after fastening the door, he takes it out with his little finger by a hole in the wall.

Another prescription for scorpion-sting is to mix in oil of cedar various substances that have been brayed up, and anoint the wound. For snake-bite the wounded man was to peel willow root and eat it, or drink a potion of St-Si plant in fermented liquid.[2]

The 'Baghdad oil,' or 'Mosul button,' was apparently as troublesome in ancient times as it is to-day. A tablet exists in the British Museum, giving the omens for what follows from the bite of the 'mosul button' on certain parts of the body. A case of the oil appears to be referred to in an astrological report to the king of Assyria:

"Concerning this evil of the skin, the king, my lord, hath not spoken to me in ten years. The sickness is a year: people are sick all over."

The oil is popularly supposed to last for a year.

Incantations are found for diseases of all parts of the body: the tongue and lips[3] (K. 9435), the nails and fingers (K. 10464), the hands and feet (K. 9160), or the neck (K. 5615); if it is a sore "sick" (inurgum) (K. 9509); if a man's breast and MAS-As-hurt him (K. 10720); when a man has palpitation (Tar-hat) of the heart and his heart... (holds) fire (K. 8769). If a man's left side hurts him (Garumma), then water, oil and heavy earth—incantation, repeat seven times and rub (tumma), Aram. אֶזְכַּר (ezkar) his left side, and repeat the following incantation over his side and he will recover (K. 9431)."[4] (K. 9432) G. A. 318. 17. 31. 32.)

When "a man's brain holds fire," in which the various symptoms are compared with fire, such as neuralgia of the temples, bloodshot and weeping eyes, etc. (see the present tr.'s tr. in ASSU, Oct. 1907). The following are specimens (Tablet ii. K. 2911, col. i. 2: Ex. Texts from Bab. Fields, 1909, vol. xxiii. p. 43): When a man's right thumb hurts him and his right eye is swollen and weeps tears, it is the hand of a ghost or the hatred of a goddess against (or for) his life; mix anu (tene), argunu (tene), bartrate (tene), one shkel of "river-fum," glibhat plant, giber (inar) or ground meal, steep it in beer (and) bind on as a poultice. Similarly, when the left thumb and eye are affected (col. iii. i. 2), the physician must bear together dates from Dilmun, thyme, and cedar-sap in oil of gir, and apply them before the patient breaks his fast. If the patient, in addition, was sick, his nose is infested, it is the hand of a ghost, and the remedy is to exorcise human hours and bring them, and then rub them on the place of oil with cedarsap. These instances might be multiplied, even from the texts[5]


[2] The translation of the first line preceding this is uncertain.

[3] The translation of the incantation has been omitted here (according to the copy in Beek's Catalogue of the Kuyunjik Collection).

[4] See the present tr.'s tr. in ASSU, Oct. 1907.

[5] Some equivalent to miscellaneous paraphrase appears to be mentioned in the incantation on price for a man (K. 10720).


[9] "Something equivalent to miscellaneous paraphrase appears to be mentioned in the incantation on price for a man (K. 10720)."


[11] When a man's left thumb is infected and he himself is not aware." Kuppul is perhaps to be referred to the Hebrew root "t'22, to double."
DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Celtic).—The classic authority is the statement of Caesar in his Gallic War that "the art and science of healing, came within the sphere of religion among the Celts. The nation was religious: 'Natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dehitis religio], all matters connected with religion were submitted to the judgment of the Druids. They were the 'medicine-men' as well as the teachers and the priests of the Celts: 'acute ob cam causam, qui sunt affecti gravioribus morbibus . . . aut pro victimis homines immolant, aut se immolant in the administratio ad ea sacrificia Druidibus utuntur.' The principle of life for life was recognized (cf. art. BLOOD-FEUD [Celtic], vol. ii. p. 725): 'quod, pro vita hominis nisi hominem vita redditur, non posset altero immortali eam numer placari arbitratur' (de Bell. Gall. vi. 16).

1. Gods of medicine.—The God of healing is identified by Caesar with Apollo, who held the place of honour next to Mercury: 'post hunc, Apollinem Liburnetum et Deum Medicorum.' In his canon fre, quam relique gentes, habent opinionem: 'Apollo nec morbos repellere ...' (ib. vi. 17). The Druidic doctrine of immortality emphasized the value of life and health, and gave Apollo at this period a higher position than Mora, 'regit idem spiritus artus

Orbe alio; longae (canitis si cognita) vitae
Mors media est' (Incan. Phars. i. 456 ff.).

Several Celtic deities of healing have been identified with Apollo. One appears as a presiding deity of healing springs and health resorts. The name occurs sometimes on inscriptions as Boreo: 'Deo Apollo Borvoni et Damone' (at Bourbonnes-les-Bains in the Haute-Marne). Other forms are Boro, in central France, Bruni, in Provence, Boromis in Spain. This deity is associated sometimes with Damone, as at Bourbonnes-les-Bains and Bourbon-Lancy in Saône-et-Loire; sometimes with Dionysus, worshipped in the Drôme. The word is akin to the Welsh beuri, 'boil,' and has reference to the hot springs (Rhyd, Celtic Heptadon, p. 254 f.; Anwy, Welsh Religion, p. 40).

Another deity was Granos. In an inscription at Horberg in the Haut-Rhin, he is called 'Apollo Granos Mogounos.' The name Granos has been connected with the Skr. word ghar, 'glow,' 'burn,' 'shine.' It is considered equivalent to the 'Phosphorus' of the Dacian inscription: 'Dena Bonus Puer Phosphorus Apollo Pythius.' Apollo, the dispenser of light and warmth, was regarded as the replicer of disease. The name is associated with several hot springs. The name of Aix-la-Chapelle, or Freibergen, or Gneus Mogounus. Inscriptions to him have been found at Graux in the Vosges and at Granheim near Mengen in Württemberg. The stream which receives the hot waters of Plombières in the Vosges is called Entz Gransone. Granos was identified with Asklepios and Serapis by Caracalla ( Dio Cassius, Lxxv. 15). The other name Mogounos in the Horberg inscription appears in the old name of Mainz, Moguntiacum. The word Mogounos points to the brother of the Dacian inscription (Rhyd, op. cit. p. 22).

The name Mapo no occurs in inscriptions in the

north of England. The Arthwithe inscription reads: 'Deo Apollo' (Mot. Hist. Brit. i. sec. 121). It is the old Welsh maphon, now mabon, 'boy' or 'male child.' The name is therefore identical in meaning with the bonus puer of the Dacian inscription from Carlaburg in Transylvania. The witness of the record is ample proof that healing arts were carried across Europe along the line of the Celtic advance (Rhyd, p. 21). The memory of Granos is still preserved in the Auvergne at the Festival of the Brands on the first Sunday in Lent. Fires are lighted in every village. The ceremony of the Grammasias takes place after a dance round the fire. A torch of straw called granno-mis is lighted at the fire, and carried round the orchards. The old Gaulish deity, in his aspect as the sun-god, is invoked with song:

'Granno, mo nio!  
Granno, mon pôvre!  
Granno, mo monère!'

('Granno, my friend . . . my father . . . my mother!).'

A bas-relief of an Etruscan represents Apollo Grannos associated with Sirona. Sirona is connected with the Irish sir, 'long.' The two deities represent the ever young sun-god and the old goddess, and may be compared with Apollo and his mother Leto in Greece. The hero Mabon of the Welsh Morion of the story of Kullikw and Olwen is probably the same deity, Mapo no, and Mabon and Morion are suspected of being the exact equivalents of Grannos and Sirona (Rhyd, p. 29). An inscription from Weisbaden reads: 'Apolloi Tontorici.' The name Tontorix means 'king of the people,' and expresses the same thought as the title apophydris given to Apollo as 'leader,' in Greek mythology. He was considered by Homer to be a survival of solar worship, and the rite illustrates Rhyd's derivation of the name (Antiquary, xxviii. 1902-3 50).

An altar found near Ancey is dedicated to a deity Viruta or Viruto: 'Apollini Virutoi.' Rhyd tentatively suggests that the word may be compounded of a Gaulish equivalent for vir and tutore, and may mean 'man-healing' or 'man-protecting' (op. cit. p. 21).

A law-relief of an Etruscan represents Apollo Grannos associated with Distich of Bern born more to Tontorix than to the historical Theodor the Ostrogoth (Rhyd, p. 39).

The Brigit of the Welsh poems of the Christian era is a Celtic deity. The story of the Christian religion in mythology holds a place of honour among the Celtic gods of medicine. The Irish god, the Dagda, had three daughters—Brigit, the poetess and seer, worshipped by the poets of ancient Erin; Brigit, the patroness of healing; and Brigit, the patroness of smiths. This points to a Gaelic goddess, Brigit, who corresponded to the Minerva of whom Cesar says, 'Minervam operam atque artificiorum initia tradere' (op. cit. vi. 17). She has also been identified with the Brigantia of the inscriptions from whom the Brigantes took their name (Rhyd, p. 74). Brigit has also the attributes of the ancient goddess of fire (Whitley Stokes, Mart. of Orac., p. 1). The hymns in honour of St. Brigid and the legends attaching to her name suggest that she has stepped into the place occupied by the Brigit of Irish mythology. In the hymn Brigit be ithin miath, she is addressed as 'flame golden, sparkling' (line 2), and asked to guard against disease; 'May she win for us battles over every disease!' (Irish Liber Hymnarum, ii. Bradshaw Soc., 1897, ii. 39). In the story of the visit of the three disciples of Brigid to Biasantia (Piacenza), they are preserved from the effects of a drink of poisoned ale by reciting this hymn (ib. ii. 37). The story illustrates not only the healing cult of Brigid but the memory of her ancient fame among the Celts of Italy. It is perhaps due to the same tradition of
Celtic heathenism that as late as the middle of the 18th cent. human blood was considered in Italy to be a cure for apoplexy (Antiquary, xxxvii. 205).

The 'cauldron of renovation' is represented as a talisman of healing in the Welsh story of Branwen, the sister of Llyr; in Ireland it is the Cauldron of the Dagda in Irish legend, one of the treasures of the Tuatha Dé Danann. It was called the 'modrug' cauldron, for it was never empty (Rhys, p. 256 l.). It was brought from the mythical Muiras, some place beneath the sea. The fire beneath the cauldron was fed by nine maidens (ib. p. 379). In the Talhassin verses of the Mabinogion it is represented as the cauldron of sciences, from which Gwion received three drops. It is with this cauldron that Caradog was associated (Mabinog. pp. 256, 307).

In the early tales underlying the Quest of the Holy Grail (Grail) the Cauldron rather than its gift of fertility may have been emphasized (A. Nutt, Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail, London, 1888, p. 57).

2. Diseases and their cure. — Among the diseases which have been a last resort in the treatment of diseases on Celtic tradition is the *buidechar*, 'yellow plague.' It is probable that it was the occasion of the composition of the Lorica of Gildas:

> 'at non secum tradat me mortalitas
> in his neque munii vanitas.'

The first outbreak of this disease was in 547 (Irish Lib. Hymn. i. 206, ii. 243). Ireland was especially subject to it in the 7th cent. The hymn *Dé* of Colman was written against it. 'Colman mac Ut Clussaig, a scholar from Cork, made this hymn to save himself from the Yellow Plague' (ib. ii. 12). Gilles (Gaelic Names of Diseases, pp. 10, 23) states that he is unable to identify it. It could scarcely be yellow fever; it probably did not return, or perhaps typhus under its known aspect of bilious fever.

Much of the folklore of disease may be traced back to the magic and medicine of Celtic heathendom. The healing powers of the ash-tree, whether the Boar Tree or the mountain ash to be attributed to its association with ancient Celtic and Norse deities. In a Leicestershire wart-charm it is addressed:

> 'bain-tree, Ashen tree
> Pray buy these warts of me.'

The 'shrew-ash' in Richmond Park recalls an old cure for lameness and cramp in cattle by boring a hole and enclosing a live shrew-mouse in the tree. In this there is an echo of the ancient magic of exchange or transference of disease. In the case of the wart-charm, a pin is stuck in the tree, then in the wart, finally in the tree again (Antiquary, xii. [1906] 429). A curious example of the practice of exchange of diseases occurs in the Martyrology of *Bonnan:

> 'Furs once happened to visit Magman of Kilnamnian, and they make their union and exchange their troubles in token of their union to the, the headpiece or pile of which Furs suffered to be on Magman, and the reptile that was in Magman to enter Furs' (Marti. Oen., ed. Whitley Stokes, p. 45).

The first of August was dedicated to Lug, the Sun god of the heathen, by the Welsh as *Gwyl Arod*, was transferred in Brecknockshire to the first Sunday in August. Early in the morning a visit was paid to the Little Van Lake in the Beacons, to greet the expected appearance of the lake and the reed regarded as a goddess of the dawn, who returned at times to converse with her children. The eldest of them was named Rhiiwallon, and had been instructed by her in the virtues of herbs. He was the founder of a family of physicians in South Wales. The physicians of Myddfai, as they were called, were not attached to their own kind: they were of a mystical character, and may be identified in the Triads with Rhiiwallon of the broom (yellow) hair. He was thus invested with a solar character (Rhys, p. 423). Folk-medicine consists partly in charms, partly in superstition, partly in a real knowledge of herbs. It rests ultimately on the religious ideas of Celtic heathenism. Witchcraft and medicine were different aspects of Celtic priestcraft in its better sense. The priests, if they were the sorcerers and wizards of their people, were their healers also.

Among the plants and herbs associated with Celtic medicine, the mistletoe takes the first rank. It was the sacred bough of the Druids, the gift of the Divine oak-tree, the gift of the Celtic Zeus himself. The Celtic Zeus was 'the Blazer of the mountain-top,' and the great stone-circles mark the sites sacred to him. A story of the Irish hero Diarmaid makes mention of the tree, the well, the side of the earth, where the stone-circle consecrated to the Celtic Zeus.

> 'He saw, right before him, a great tree laden with fruit. . . .
> It was surrounded at a little distance by a circle of pillar-stones; and in the centre, taller than its other centre near the tree. Beside this pillar-stone was a spring-Well, with a large round pool as clear as the sea.'

These sanctuaries in ancient days were places of healing, as well as places of worship. In the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick the idol of Cenn Cruach, covered with gold and silver, was surrounded by a circle of twelve other idols, covered with brass. Lorkan in the 7th cent. states it had disappeared. They represent the primitive pagan sanctuary of the Druids. The name *Cenn Cruach*, 'Head or Chief of the Mound,' when transmuted from Goddelic to Brythonic, re-appears in the old place-name *Pannasuccion* on the Wallowing Street. The site is at Strontian, not far from its modern representative Penkridge in Staffordshire (Rhys, p. 203; North Staff. Field Club Transactions, vol. xii. pp. 116–118).

The mistletoe, the gift of the Celtic Zeus, was the all-healer (oliach: omnis sanans) (Pliny, HN xvi. 95). It was cut at a New Year Festival with peculiar ceremony—a priest in white, a golden sickle, two white oxen. The oxen were sacrificed, the sacred meal followed. The mistletoe has great life-giving powers. It healed unfruitfulness in man and beast, and was a protection against poison' (Grup, Kultur der alt. Kelten u. Germanen, p. 149).

Another plant mentioned by Pliny is the *Selago*, which has been identified with the Savin-tree, a species of juniper, and with the club-moss. It had to be plucked stealthily. Bread and wine were offered, and the priest with bare feet and white robe drew with his hand, putting his right hand through the left fold of his tunic, gathered it without using a knife. Like the mistletoe, it was then placed on a white cloth. For healing purposes the plant was burnt, and the fumes were regarded as beneficial for the eye (Grup, op. cit. p. 150).

A similar ceremony was followed at the gathering of the *samolus*, whether the brook-weed (*Samolus volcaranii*) or the watercress. It was gathered fasting, with the left hand, and with a white cup, not a silver one. The watercress was used as a cure (Grup, p. 151). The St. John's Wort and other plants were burnt or hung over the door to keep off disease. The St. John's wort (*Hypericum perforatum*) is known as *chasse-diable*.

Inscriptions and poems have preserved the traditions of the gods of healing and the healing craft among the Celts.
DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Egyptian).—I.

From the diagnosticks of the Egyptian papyri we can distinguish—even identify, in many cases—about 250 different kinds of diseases, and the Ebers-Papyrus alone describes 170 varieties. Many of them are the common ills of all humanity, and we cannot of course say that the Egyptians learned more of the ancient cult of the local gods of medicine.

The folk-lore of Ireland is rich in its memories of old-time medicine. Diancacht, a member of the Tuatha de Danann, may almost be regarded as the Irish god of medicine (cf. CELTS, ii. 299). A magic cauldron of renovation was ascribed to him. The methods of the Irish witch-doctors still form part of the home medicine in country districts today. Snails pounded in salt were prescribed as a dressing in an Irish MS of 1450. They were still used for that purpose in Staffordshire at the close of the 19th century.

Urine was in common use for eye-disease and jaundice; dungh was prescribed by Wesley in his Primitive Physic. In Ireland, as in England, these remedies were administered, to the recitation of certain charms (Wood-Martin, Elder Faiths, London, 1892, ii. 166–205). The rag-offerings tied to trees and bushes in the immediate vicinity of unhealthy wells and met with in many parts of Ireland, especially in the west. They are thought by some to have a reference to the transference of disease to the tree-spirit (ib. ii. 84). Salvia was also in use as a salve. A part of the young plant of euphorbia at 1450 was the bursing of a young cock alive (ib. 188).

A more normal system of healing is traceable in the Irish sweat-houses, which were in use as a hot-air cure until the 19th century. These sweathouses were usually of a circular type, covered with clay, with a low entrance. They were heated with turfs, like a brick-oven, and the patient was shut in for a given time. The bath was followed by a plunge in a pool or stream near by. This was the usual cure for rheumatism.

A custom clearly connected with medicine among the Irish was the cowade. On the birth of a child, the father was obliged to take to his bed and submit to a vicarious process of nursing at the hands of the doctor and nurse. The custom was widely spread throughout the world in primitive times, especially among races where kinship was reckoned through the mother. At the same time it is a custom which witnesses to the responsibility and care for the welfare of the child which is exacted the principle of motherhood (Wood-Martin, op. cit. ii. 40). See article BIRTH (Introduction), vol. ii. p. 653.

In the legendary history of the invasion of Ulster by the Fir Bolg, the adult males were en cowade and unable to defend the kingdom of Conchobar against the enemy. The defence was made in heroic manner by Cuchulain and his father only. Rhys (p. 622) refers to this incident as the "distress of the gods and the sun-hero's aid." Cf. article CUCULANN CYCLE.

The Ultonian cowade lasted five nights and four days, in accordance with the use of the number nine in the reckoning of time among the Celts. It was called en cowade na Bru, the Ulsterman's sickness of indisposition or lippitude (ib. p. 363). There is a significant correspondence between the Ultonian cowade and the notion of the sabbath as the holy day of the gods. The Ultonians would place the origin of Aruan within the Arctic circle. He sees in the labours of Cuchulain the sun-hero a mythical witness to the period during which the sun is in the south, and the ancient home of the Aruan remained above the horizon (ib. p. 623). Would not the cowade, or "distress of the gods," be a more normal state during which the sun remained below the horizon, the period supposedly preceding its re-birth and entrance on the world of the dead? The Ultonian cowade cannot, however, explain the origin of the custom, but only the application of a primitive usage to the explanation of the annual birth of the sun-god Persephone in the Arctic circle.


THOMAS BARNES.
DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Egyptian)

The disease called fever or malaria is mentioned in the Ebers Papyrus and other ancient Egyptian medical texts. The gods Horus and Tefnut were associated with the sun and its protective forces, and their worship was believed to prevent disease.

The ancient Egyptians believed that the gods were involved in human affairs, and that by invoking their names and performing rituals, one could prevent or cure illness. They believed that diseases were caused by a variety of factors, including the anger of the gods, the workings of evil spirits, and the presence of harmful substances. Remedies included the use of herbal medicines, incantations, and the placement of talismans or amulets.

In the Ebers Papyrus, there is evidence of a systematic approach to treating diseases, with specific remedies for various conditions. The texts also suggest the use of a variety of plant and animal extracts, as well as the application of heat and cold treatments.

The ancient Egyptians believed that the body was a temple of the gods, and that the soul could be protected through proper care and the use of magical practices. This belief is reflected in the use of magical incantations and rituals to prevent disease and promote health.

It is clear that the ancient Egyptians had a deep understanding of the human body and the natural world, and that they were able to develop effective treatments for a variety of illnesses. Their beliefs and practices provide valuable insights into the history of medicine and the role of religion in healing.

1. On the dangers and harm resulting from conjunction with women in the various religions, magical, etc., acts of Egyptian life, see ar. Maus (Pap. 1).

2. The danger and harm resulting from conjunction with women in the various religions, magical, etc., acts of Egyptian life, see ar. Maus (Pap. 1).
Disease and Medicine (Egyptian)

spite of all the gradual attenuation of magic in favour of pharmacology and actually experimental science, therapeutics remained closely bound to Divine influences, both in its staff of officials and in the composition of its didactic treatises. The remedy proper never entirely supplanted the ritualistic and conjuratory part of the process.

The pharmaceopia also suffered this general influence. A great proportion of the substances owed their supposed virtues to the magical powers of the books or objects from which they sprang, or to their supposed mythological connexion with a certain god or spirit. The pharmaceopia of curative and harmful plants is related, in origin at least, and often to the very end, to the beings or objects protecting against disease; and the Egyptian ideas on this point are found faithfully represented in the list of thirty-six magical plants of Papyrhus (De Simplificium Medicin. Facultations). Finally, it is traditional compositions and collections of objects against disease had been perpetuated, in Egypt as elsewhere and for the same reasons, the use of amulets (cf. Charms and Amelets [Egypt. ]).

3. For the understanding of Egyptian ideas on diseases on the grounds of its own, the writers on medicine, were not always in agreement, as the following examples illustrate. The laws which regulated the distribution of certain drugs were held by the gods or seized from their secret powers. The original fetish-doctors, then, had as their inevitable successors priest-doctors; and the growth of knowledge was, above all, a mechanical growth, by the union into collective classes, of the 'arts and mysteries' at first scattered over as many sanctuaries as there were originally independent gods. The primitive connection between the emanations of god and protection against disease was likewise the cause of the particular manner in which the books relating to diseases and their cure were composed, and of their double character, in the historic period, of the medicine books. The methods of curing which the Egyptians were stating an absolutely historical truth when they attributed the additions of these great works on diseases to the god Memphus, or to that of the Thebans. As leading priest in his kingdom, the king was naturally versed in the magical-medicinal art of healing, and this was formally said of the most ancient kings, says one Manetho (upon Africanus) of Athens. Such an attribution to the Pharaohs of a character, if not to the books, of their subjects agreed in every point with their nature as sons of gods, and with their function, which was, above everything, to continue and maintain the union between the gods and the man. The books, the codices, being originally the possession of the priests, containing the knowledge of the ancient physicians, came to be the possession of the monks, under the title of Manetho's Book of Wisdom.

Being logically devoted to everything that was very ancient and so brought him a little nearer to the Divine origin of all that is good on earth, the Egyptian made scarcely any change in the basis or the form of the knowledge thus obtained; he was always content to the new reception of one of these ancient books of knowledge beneficial to man was attached to the origins of national history. And, indeed, criticism has proved that the books of this period, as manuscripts, copy directly from the proto-Theban and the proto-Thoth from still earlier times. The books that had grown too old materially were piously copied. In the actual body of texts relating to a certain disease, like the Pharoah's, generations resided in inserting glosses, in slightly retouching the efficacy of a certain formula by extolling in the margin its proved excellence (Ebers papyrus, lxxix. 17, xxxv. 18; and Reisner papyrus, passim), or by telling how it had once cured such and such a mighty personage, prince or king (Ebers papyrus, lxxiv. 4, lxxvi. 15). The re-copying or re-modelling of several ancient versions in circulation led the scribe to note the variants in the texts used in composing the new edition, or to insert—rather unskilfully and such as they were—the scholia of his predecessors (cf. the excellent, and unfortunately still unique, work on the Ebers papyrus considered from this point of view, by Schäfer, Commentationes, pt. 1, p. 304, Leipzig, 1892). The most serious material changes, then, were not in the idea held of disease, or in the manner of defining or conjuring it, but in the increasing of the means combined for this last purpose. This is the object of the lists of disease symptoms forming the annexes of the sacred calendar in Egypt, its tales of beasts (see Feesvaye [Egypt.], its Books of the Dead, and its 'Books of the king'), the different cures obtained in the hippocratic sanctuaries gathered together small local collections, and later on made exchanges with each other of their cures that thus obtained. They usually proceeded by simple juxtaposition. To the body of information relating to a certain disease the generations gradually added that of different provincial 'wisdom,' and grouped around a book on eye-diseases, internal complaints, and divers the cures and diagnostic methods contrariwise, latterly obtained by these combinations. The part of the body or the disease stated in the title of the work, having served as the basis for the work of compilation, did duty also as a 'rallying sign' for all works on any analogous subject, without distinction of date or origin. This is the explanation of the common pronoun, in papyruses, parts common to the Leipziger Papyri and those of London and Boston, or to the latter and the Reisner Papyri of California, and so on. These common parts show the common origin of our papyri, and their character of compilation from much older writings. The manner in which the very scanty remains of the Xth dynasty treatises were composed shows that these processes of compilation, so evident in the XIX dynasty, had been employed long before. And this fact, in conjunction with a study of grammatical language, of the magical traditions, of the magical-medicinal art of healing, and this was formally said of the most ancient kings, says one Manetho (upon Africanus) of Athens. Such an attribution to the Pharaohs of a character, if not to the books, of their subjects agreed in every point with their nature as sons of gods, and with their function, which was, above everything, to continue and maintain the union between the gods and the man. The books, the codices, containing the knowledge of the ancient physicians, came to be the possession of the priests, under the title of Manetho's Book of Wisdom.

The sacred library of the proto-historic Egyptian temple became the depository of the lists of diseases and their cures, and the evidence of historical times in this regard is fully in accord with the reality of the facts, when it speaks of the library that was at Heliopolis, 'the hall of rolls,' and the compositions thence of the temple of Ptah at Memphis (cf. Wilkinson, Memnon and Custom, 1878, ii. 353, 358), or when the inscriptions of the 'library' of the temple of Edfu mention the preserved books of books, for turning aside the cause of disease (cf. Maliet, Kast el Agoua, Cairo, 1890, p. 21).

The gradual formation of medical treatises properly so called came about in the same way that the sacred calendar itself, by the appointment of a fixed days of consultation forming the annexes of the sacred calendar in Egypt, its tales of beasts (see Feesvaye [Egypt.], its Books of the Dead, and its 'Books of the king'), the different cures obtained in the hippocratic sanctuaries gathered together small local collections, and later on made exchanges with each other of their cures. Such a process that thus obtained. They usually proceeded by simple juxtaposition. To the body of information relating to a certain disease the generations gradually added that of different provincial 'wisdom,' and grouped around a book on eye-diseases, internal complaints, and divers the cures and diagnostic methods contrariwise, latterly obtained by these combinations. The part of the body or the disease stated in the title of the work, having served as the basis for the work of compilation, did duty also as a 'rallying sign' for all works on any analogous subject, without distinction of date or origin. This is the explanation of the common pronoun, in papyruses, parts common to the Leipziger Papyri and those of London and Boston, or to the latter and the Reisner Papyri of California, and so on. These common parts show the common origin of our papyri, and their character of compilation from much older writings. The manner in which the very scanty remains of the Xth dynasty treatises were composed shows that these processes of compilation, so evident in the XIX dynasty, had been employed long before. And this fact, in conjunction with a study of grammatical language, of the magical traditions, of the magical-medicinal art of healing, and this was formally said of the most ancient kings, says one Manetho (upon Africanus) of Athens. Such an attribution to the Pharaohs of a character, if not to the books, of their subjects agreed in very point with their nature as sons of gods, and with their function, which was, above everything, to continue and maintain the union between the gods and the man. The books, the codices, containing the knowledge of the ancient physicians, came to be the possession of the priests, under the title of Manetho's Book of Wisdom.
everything that could be found in the various temples of the nature of formula relating to abscesses. Thus it happened that there were several different methods of diagnosing one disease, and sometimes contradictory methods—e.g. there occurred side by side, in the same compilation, an explanation of diseases based on an anatomy in which the human body possesses twelve great blood-vessels, and another founded on the assumption that it has forty. It was not, then, that the number of remedies actually increased in Egypt throughout the ages; there was rather the diffusion among a greater number of Egyptians of one and the same remedy, which was more or less a matter of embodying in a multitude of petty provincial theories. A general invocation at the end to the god of the place of compilation was enough, in the compiler's opinion, to guarantee a sort of unity to the work composed in this way.

The whole result was, as we may see, far from equal to a treatise of synthetic—not to mention philosophic—character on disease or diseases. It would nevertheless be inaccurate and unfair to see in such works (as do many modern writers) a complete embryology of medicine. Their systematic and methodical arrangement, the character of which has remained almost intact throughout the whole existence of Egypt. The science of disease was marked, to the very end of Egyptian history, by its original character: it was logically independent of the world of the gods, and with their ministers; it was rational and formalistic.

Thus the rule not to use remedies that the minister had not taught is to be explained not so much by the will of the legislator, looking to the social interest, as by the belief in the connexion between the virtues of the remedies and the magic teaching of the gods; and the same explanation helps us to understand the non-responsibility of the doctor in a case of death, if he had observed the rules of canonical therapeutics (Diod. i. 82). The assertion that physicians were paid from the public treasury is simply a misunderstanding in the classics, but a misunderstanding which is exactly based on the absence of an account of compensation, with historical truth. Born originally in the 'fetish-hunt,' the science of healing fixed its abode in the temple. The masters remained the ministers and interpreters of the gods, and the series of meditations, hypocrisies, steps, and statues show that, from the Memphite Empire to the Ptolemies, the great doctors—those of Pharaoh, e.g., the Scnaw oury (=chief physicians)—were at the same time high ecclesiastical dignitaries.

Just as the teaching remained religious, the art of healing in its three great branches (symptomology, therapeutics, and pharmacopoeia) remained equally impregnated with animistic and magical concepts; thus the classical doctor continued to prepare his own medicines, like the sorcerer of primitive times, and it was held as a fact that in complicated drugs each element acted on a special part of the organism, or, rather, on the evil specially infecting that part; numerous ingredients were considered curative specially for reasons of sym pathetic or contagious magic (chieflly animal substances, skin, oils, and the horrible 'coprotherapy'). And yet, there are terms in Egyptian medicine, and the very real perfection of its equipment, diagnosis, metrology, and healing processes are, on the other hand, as certainly incontestable facts (see for example the popular account in Erman, Life in Anc. Egypt, tr. Tirard, London, 1894). The distinction of a nation of superior endowment, like Egypt, is precisely the ability to substitute, gradually and without sudden breaks, the abstract methods of treating one disease, for the unexplained magical effect; and, as science and magic-religion both proceed, essentially, from experimentation, it happens in many cases that only the interpretation of the mechanism of the energies, and not their manipulation, is under the control of the ancient medicine.

Such as it is, with its original flaws, its lack of theoretical views, its crying errors, its childish complication, and its naïve formalism, the Egyptian science of healing nevertheless constituted from the very beginning a very real system, one thousand years in advance of the rest of human society. It retained this pre-eminence as long as Egypt existed. The testimony of Homer (II. iv. 229), the admiration of the Persians (Herod. iii. 1 and 182), the fame and reputation of Egyptian medicine under the Saites and the Ptolemies, and the reputation in Rome of the Alexandrian school can only be mentioned at present. Such enduring fame is an explanation of the fact that the medicine of Greeks and Romans, of Egyptians, of Africans, successors of the Copts, has given a great deal of the ancient Egyptian medicine to our school of Salerno, e.g., or to any other of our ancient seats of medical knowledge in the Middle Ages and down to the time of the Renaissance.

5. The development of Egyptian science succeeded in giving a more distant and lofty character to the priest-doctor's sources of information. And it never completely suppressed the primitive notion of direct Divine intervention in cases of illness. We find gods of healing in Egypt as everywhere else; and, similarly, the great scourges—plagues or other great epidemics, i.e., are recognized as sent by the gods. Egypt, however, strikes an original note, in regard to this last point, in the very restricted part played by the idea that great calamities come from the gods, though this idea was almost certainly known (at least we have less familiar, however, than in the classic East, on account of the proverbial healthliness of the climate). We first mention in Manetho (Muller, Führ. ii. 530) of the plague which devastated the country in the reign of Semenopic, and a connexion is assumed in the text between this scourge and the great sins committed by men. But such statements are very rare in the Egyptian texts. The point is worth noticing in contrast with other organised religions, for the understanding of the conception by the Egyptians of the general role of his gods. In the case of individual sicknesses, on the other hand, history shows that the gods were removed from the 'non-civilized' stage to establish any connexion between such and a bodily complaint and the violation of a taboo; that, in short, the idea that the incubus of disease sent as a punishment by the gods, who either cause it themselves directly or leave the sinner defenceless against the spirits of disease, hypocrisies, stephies, and confessions of later date, like the hermetic books, in which mention is made of these 'divine stances which send us disease or heal our pains according to our decrees' (Manetho, Hermes Trismegistus, 1885, p. 140), seem to be somewhat mingled with Greek or Asiatic conceptions. Here we find, however, as in Egypt, the popular cult—be the direct punishment for a personal offence against a deity, but this is of course quite different from the conception of an infraction of an eternal rule (see Ernus (Eycy.), and, for offences against the 'goddess of the Summit,' see Maspero, "Nav. ii. (1883) 318-352."

Several, if not all, of the gods who had composed the first means of battling with disease continued to grant or reveal directly to men the means of healing; and the majority of the sanctuaries, to which numerous worshippers journeyed, for their oracles (see DIVINATION (ancient)), retained the privilege of miraculous cures. The temples of Isis at Coptos, of Min at Panopolis, and, in general, all those temples in which the medical books locate the marvelous inventions of Isis, the revelation of healing remedies (Hermopolis, Lycocephal, etc.) were the places where the gods were themselves able to rout, with a single blow, the inmost parts of the human body. We must add to this list a great number of smaller provincial sanctuaries, the local
Finally—the primitiveness of the practice of exorcism by statute being a fact—we may hold that, at the end of a long period of evolution, the views of the Egyptian upper classes on disease often came near to really lofty conceptions. Though, as everywhere, sorcery, the bastard child of medicine, the toints of Muselman shaihks which have succeeded to the veneration of ancient days for these places.

Toward the latter days of history, political events tended to group the most important of these cases of medical prolongation in the capitals of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the infiltration of Persian and Hellenistic ideas added new elements to the rôle of the gods against disease.

6. The means used by the gods in such cases to instil higher knowledge were well known in general. Several texts say that, under the influence of Greek ideas, the custom spread in Egypt of going to sleep inside the precincts of the temples of the gods of healing, or near the supposed tombs of the gods, or, in important cases (personages whose legend gradually confused with mythical kings and the gods of healing (see Divination [Egypt]). This is the case for Inhoteep (cf. P-herenpet stela). His nails were injured, and it often occurred in dreams, as proved by a certain number of allusions in the epigraphical monuments, by the accounts in popular tales, and by the witness of Dial. i. 23. Direct cure, following upon a prayer, and without direct revelation, is not formally entertained except in Herod. ii. 63, according to whom suns of money equal in weight to a half or a third of the sick child's hair (!) were vowed to the gods in case of recovery, or a promise was made to buy a beast for the temple herd.

The sudden inspiration of the doctor enlightened by Divine grace and working διὰ τῆς ἴδιας δυνατίας is not a very Egyptian trait, and may be due to foreign influences (cf. Berthelot, Archi- manisches Pros., p. 230). It is not a naturally native form of miraculous cure by the intercession of the god appears to have been worked chiefly by the direct application of the healing fluid, either by the priest who carried the Divine relics, the sibyls, or, in important cases (personages whose possession, epilepsy, and the like), the god himself. The famous Stela of Bakhtan is a familiar example of this type of curing by exercise worked by a Divine statue. The adjuration of the demon of disease, and his operation for the body of the princess, are merely instances of a practice current in all the religions or 'semi-religions' in which there is a 'dispelling of demons.' It is more interesting to note the manner in which the statue of a god was supposed by the Egyptians to be capable of possessing the necessary power. The Egyptian text proves that this power was possible only to a 'secondary' statue of the god—one of those animated, for a special series of activities, by an 'energy-seed' of distinctive name. It derived its chief power from the 'essential' statue of Khonsu, the statue which contained the magic soul of the god and made his will known by movements of its head (see Divination [Egypt]).

This famous statue never left Thebes; it kept the best of the Divine substance there, and consented to detach and lend its healing forces only to such and such a one of its doubles, 'by bestowing upon it (by the most mysterious rite) its protective films at tour intérêts' (which is a very valuable indication of the antiquity of the magical conception).

Apparently, then, the power against disease did not belong to all the 'doubles' of a god. It was the privilege of the one image in which dwelt the 'true name,' and this assumes that power against demons was a part of the ultimate reserve of the personality of a being.

GEORGE FOUCART

DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Greek and Roman).—Disease and its treatment in ancient medical means belong to the domain of scientific medicine. The help of the gods was sought in illness and accidents by purely religious means—by prayer, sacrifice, and, above all, the institution of incubation. The gods granted their assistance either directly, by a miracle of healing, or indirectly, through the medium of an oracle of healing. The subject will be fully treated in the art.

HEALTH AND GODS OF HEALING, INCUBATION.

DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Hindu).—1. Disease.—The earliest view of disease in India was that of the most logical and abnormal states of body and mind for which no special name was assignable were due to the action of demons. In the medical charms of the Atharvaveda, the earliest medical book of India, the diseases are constantly addressed as demoniacal beings. Thus Fever, a demon in the form of a man who makes those attacked by him, like fire, is implored to leave the body, and is threatened with annihilation if he should not choose to do so. 'O Fever,' says another charm, 'thy missiles are terrible: from these surely exempt me.' Ich jañārī na rati tāpasyatī. The malevolent spirits of disease were regarded as specially dangerous to children. Thus infants were liable to be attacked by Naigamesa, a demon.
DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Hindu)

with a goat's head, who is mentioned in early Sanskrit literature, and represented in an old sculpture found at Mathurā. Jambha, another Vedic godling of disease, was supposed to cause the trismus of infants. A ‘dog-demon’ attacking boys is said to make epilepsy or perhaps a whooping-cough. Another ancient superstition attributed the origin of dropsy to Varuna, the god of the waters, who binds the guilty, e.g. liars and false witnesses, with his terrible snake-bonds, or dropsy. Elves and nightmares, called *apara* and *vanacharav*, were believed to pay nocturnal visits to men and women. Disorders of the mind were also very generally ascribed to possession by a demon (*bhuta*), even in some cases such as the name words of Charaka and Susruta. When the belief in transmigration took hold of the Hindu mind, it furnished a new explanation of the origin of disease. Diseases and infirmities were traced to sins and offences committed in a previous birth. According to this doctrine of the ‘ripening of deeds’ (*karmavipaka*), a mortal sinner will have leprosy in a future birth; a Brāhma-killer, pulmonary consumption; a drunker of spirits, black fever; a perjured one, a bad sore; a maligning one, stinking breath; a thief of food, dyspepsia; a thief of horses, lameness; a poisoner, a hammering tongue; a seer, epilepsy; an incurable one will be born a madman; one who kills a child is born with a long face, etc. (Vaiśṇavārtha, ch. xlv.). Most of these punishments in a future life are symbolical. As a consequence of these beliefs, religious penances were performed, for instance, by lepers in order to atone for the leprosy contracted in a former existence to which their illness was attributed. A more rational theory of disease was found in the idea that worms gave rise to morbid conditions—a universal belief which may perhaps be viewed as the first germ of the modern bacillus theory. Headache and ear and eye diseases, as well as intestinal diseases, were attributed to worms; worms in children and in cattle also find special mention in the hymns of the *Atharvaveda*. The ancient physician Jivaka (see below) is alleged in the Buddhist scriptures to have cured a patient by making an incision in his head and pulling two worms out of the wound. The medical Sanskrit works derive the origin of internal diseases principally from a wrong mixture of the four humours (*rūpāntara*):—wind, bile, and phlegm; and thus distinguish between wind, bile, and phlegm diseases.

Of particular diseases, *fever* is perhaps the most important. It is called in the medical works the ‘king of diseases,’ and appears to have been already the most dreaded ailment at the time of the composition of the *Atharva-veda*, the symptoms mentioned suggesting true malarial fever. This corresponds with modern statistics, according to which nearly two-thirds of the surviving cases of the disease are due to fever. *Lepra*: is said to consist of eighteen varieties, seven heavy, and the remaining ones light. It is evident, however, that true leprosy became confused with various skin diseases of the skin, *pox* (māññikā) is first mentioned in medieval medical works. The *plague* is not mentioned in Sanskrit medical works, and seems to be of recent importation in India.

Folk-medicine in India is closely connected with sorcery. ‘The most primitive witchcraft looks very like medicine in an embryonic state’ (Sir Alfred Lyali, *Asiatic Studies*, 1st ser., 1907, p. 118). The earliest collection of charms found in the *Atharva-veda*, which is reckoned as one of the four Vedas, though it never attained the same degree of sanctity as the other three, probably because it contains incantations for destroying an enemy, the idea of injuring another, be he even an enemy, being opposed to the spirit of Hinduism. In the medical charms of the *Atharva-veda* and of the *Kusakara*uta, the diseases, and frequently the curing agencies as well, are addressed as supernatural beings (see above). The remedies are most often those based, in many cases upon a rude kind of homoeopathic or allopathic principle. Thus the yellow colour of a patient affected with jaundice is sent where it naturally belongs—to the yellow snake, and yellow birds—the patient being seated on a couch beneath which yellow birds are tied. The hot fever is sent to the cool frog, who may be supposed to find it enjoyable. Dropsy, the disease sent by Varuna, the god of the waters, is cured by sprinkling water over the patient’s head by means of twenty-one (three times seven) tafts of sacred grass, the water sprinkled on the body being supposed to cure the water in the body. A coral spear-vihaud is used to counteract pains that seem as if from a spear—either rheumatism or colic. White leprosy is cured by applying black plants. Red, the colour of life and blood, is the natural colour of many amulets employed to secure long life and health. Amulets, mostly derived from the names of the gods, are worn by the sick, the idea being that the supposed curative substance has to be brought into contact with the body. The sores, tumours, and pustules apparent in scrofulous diseases are conjured to fall off, or fly away, because they were not born in the body; they were brought on the afflicted person. The cure of wounds and fractures is effected by incantations which have been compared by A. Kuhn with the Mersburg charm of German antiquity. Flow of blood is mentioned as a charm to cause it to stop; incantations to indicate the use of a bandage or compress filled with sand. There are many charms for the cure of the poisonous bites of snakes, also charms directed against poison not derived from serpents. Water and fire are viewed as excellent remedies for many diseases; thus a Vedic charm declares: ‘The waters verily are healing, the waters enure all diseases.’ Fire is especially invoked in charms against mania, and sacrifices to the god of fire, burning of fragrant substances, and libations are amongst the principal rites against possession by demons. Some of the herbs used in medicine seem to owe their employment as remedies to their names only, not to any real curative properties possessed by them. The charms are supposed to have been derived from the sacred formulae of the Cherokees, and other spells current among the Indians of North America. On the other hand, they must be acknowledged to contain a fairly searching diagnosis of some diseases, as, e.g., of malignant fever, with its accompanying symptoms, such as jaundice, headache, cough, and itch.

The second period of Indian medicine is the Buddhist period, ushered in by Jivaka Komatra-blanchener, who in the *Chronicles of the Buddhist* (see above), was discovered by Mingai MS, written in the 5th cent. A.D., and called after an English traveller who discovered it at Mingai in Central Asia in 1890, contains three medical treatises, one of them being the *Mingai MS* of the Buddha himself, when a young pupil of his had been bitten on the foot by a cobra. Buddhist kings founded hospitals for men and beasts, and appointed regular physicians. The famous Bud-
DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Jewish).—I.

DISEASE.—I. Biblical.—Three initial stages may be traced in the DISEASES in the Bible; the punishment was dealt to the Defendant, is sent from the Deity; it is therefore a punishment for sins committed: that is, every one who suffers from disease has previously done some wrong for which he is being punished by his bodily afflictions. It is obvious that this case is completely covered by the same and more general question of evil, as dealt with, for example, in Job. Yet, although the Book of Job might be said finally to solve the problem as far as contemporary thought was concerned, inquiry reasserts itself as a new subject (Job, xxi. 27).

In the investigation of Biblical examples of sickness consequent on sin, care must be taken to exclude those cases where the punishment takes the form of a violent or unnatural death. These are included in the later category of the case of Korah (Nu 16.31) and that of the disobedient prophet (1 K 18.17) do not apply, but the death of Bathsheba’s first son (2 S 12.4) or the smiting of the Egyptian firstborn (Ex 11.6) might certainly be cited. It was also important to differentiate cases where the sinner himself is smitten from those where the punishment falls vicariously on others who may be innocent, but whom the sinner loves more than himself. To the former category belong the punishment of leprosy meted out to Miriam (Nu 12.10) and Gehazi (2 K 5.27); to the latter, the death of Ahijah, son of Jeroboam (1 K 14.25), for the death of the child meant the destruction of Jeroboam’s fondest hope—the foundation of a dynasty. But, as a corollary to the latter class may be mentioned those cases in which the community suffers from disease because of (a) general and (b) individual trespasses. The community would seem to be punished because it participates actively or even passively by not rejecting the criminal, for in the absence of duly appointed officials it is every one’s duty to take the law into his own hands. It is also suggested that the knowledge that the commission of a certain action may involve others besides the sinners and pain may act upon the evil-doer as a deterrent.

An enumeration of all the cases in the Bible
where disease is a punishment is unnecessary. It may suffice to mention a few examples where it is inflicted as a retribution for sin. In some cases leprosy is the means of chastisement: thus Miriam (Nu 12: 10), Gehazi (2 K 5: 27), and, were it not for the attitude with which this disease for slander, avarice, and presumption respectively. Shameful diseases are the result of foul crimes or irreverence (e.g. Er and Onan, Gn 38 etc.; the Philistines, 1 S 5: 27); Pharaoh (Gn 12: 23) and his household were afflicted with plagues on account of the abduction of Sarah; Abimelech and all his house (Gn 20: 17) were smitten with barrenness for the same cause; the Solomonites were struck with blindness (Gn 19: 24) for their sins, and, finally, Job's sickness was ascribed by his friends to his sinfulness. Gluttony was punished by gastric plague and death at Kibroth-hattavaah (Nu 11: 14), and in the Topheth, or Reuben chapters (Lv 26: 14 etc., Dt 28: 8 etc.), various diseases are enumerated which will inevitably follow disobedience to God's word.

Turning to the NT, we trace the same tendency. Thus (1 Co 11: 30) those who receive communion in an unworthy manner suffer disease and death. Further, there is the opposite case of apparently undeserved blindness (Jn 9: 1), as an explanation of which the possibility of sin in utero used to be suggested; and, finally, there are the instances where disease is said to be due to Satan's agents or demonic possession (Lk 13: 16, Mk 9: 24, Lk 11: 14).

That diseases follow sin may also be inferred negatively from such passages as Ex 15: 26 ("If thou wilt surely hearken to the voice of the Lord . . . then I will put out my hand and smite them, so that thou mayest have possession of the land") put on thee," cf. Dt 28: 20); or the Fifth Commandment, where longevity is the reward for obedience to parents; or, in a more general way, Lv 18: 3 ("Ye shall keep my statutes and my judgments by doing which a man shall live").

Although these and similar instances are capable of being classified under various different heads and of being arranged in other ways, yet it is by no means clear that alterations would produce any re-adjustment of ideas with reference to the theory of disease. It is not safe to dogmatize or to differentiate between the attitude of the Pentateuch and the Prophets; it is unwise to establish distinctions of time or place, because in no subject is there a change which put the Egyptians I will let them go, but put on thee," cf. Dt 28: 20); or the Fifth Commandment, where longevity is the reward for obedience to parents; or, in a more general way, Lv 18: 3 ("Ye shall keep my statutes and my judgments by doing which a man shall live").

The 'golden mean' may offer a workable compromise, but it will not often bear philosophic investigation. The Senecites, as has often been shown, identified cause and effect. Pendakah means both reward and the deed which merits the reward. Hotatth means both sin and sin-offering. The children who mocked the prophet were devoured by bears (2 K 2: 24), and the irresistible conclusion to be drawn was post hoc ergo propter hoc. The writer of the Books of Kings and Chronicles has history purely from the standpoint of morals; happiness and misfortune, health and disease, are the result of previous conduct; and insistence on this theory was the key-note for the study of history. The adoption of this attitude was responsible for a belated in free will, since man thus had the power and choice of avoiding disease, while the opposite theory, which made disease fortuitous, led to predestination. To such an extent did the theory that conduct alone is responsible for disease prevail that Ams (2 Ch 16: 9) is blamed because 'in his disease he sought not the Lord but the physicians.'

The Deity, then, is the source of evil as well as of all good. Divinity and humanity are blended; in early times it was felt to be impious to ascribe misfortune and disease directly to the Godhead. Hence all manner of expedients were adopted to avoid such a position. In the Books of Samuel (cf. 1 S 28: 15) the spirit of a dead prophet was called to deliver happiness, while sickly and ill were wont by 'a spirit from the Lord.' This was largely developed in the Targums (cf. Memra, Logos, etc.). There is no escape from attacking Divine omnipotence, if disease is independent of the Godhead. Still disincarnation to ascribe disease to God grew and gained strength from the earliest times. The example of Korah's sons is a case in point. All the guilty parties gather together, the innocent are warned to withdraw from their company, and finally (Nu 26: 11) it is stated: 'notwithstanding, the sons of Korah died not.' Still stronger instances occur which afford negative proof. The wicked cannot involve the righteous in disease and death, but the righteous may benefit the wicked. Ten good men can save Sodom (Gn 18: 20); punishment extends to the third and fourth generation 'of them that hate me,' while loving-kindness prevails to the thousands and hundred thousands of generations (Ex 34: 7).

2. Rabbinical.—In considering Rabbinical literature it will be found that the same tendencies may be traced and the same stages observed. We are brought back to earlier views such as may be found in the Pentateuch and Former Prophets, and, seemingly, the teaching of Job and Ezekiel established the idea of individual responsibility, and the doctrine that suffering and disease are not necessarily the consequence of wrongdoing.

1 There was korith (engraving) on the tablets of stone (Ex 32: 19). Read not freedom but korith (freedom). Freedom from what . . . from chastisements . . . R. Simon b. Yohai says, at the hour when we stood at Sinai and the Lord said, 'I will make you a nation and can we doubt that he said it?

2. Ezekiel: 'Entirely fair art thou, O my companion, neither is there blemish in thee.' When they signed, not many days passed when there were found among them those with uncleavable lepers and lepers. About that hour it is said (Nu 5: 4), 'And they dismissed from the camp every leper, etc.' Henceforward Israel was liable to issues and leprosy. R. Huna . . . leprosy came for slander . . . to teach thee that plagues come only in the form of slander . . . [The whole passage should be studied.]

In the Mekhilta on Ex 23 4 (ed. I. H. Weiss, Vienna, 1863, p. 1064), top acceptance of bribes is said, on the basis of the Scriptural verse, to lead to blindness:

3 Every one who accepts money to pervert justice (or even to execute justice) will not leave the world until he be bereft of his sight. According to R. Nahman, on the other hand, he will fail him: he will lose his knowledge of the Torah, so that he will not have to discard one eye or the other. R. Judah ben Ilia would have him or he will lose his eyesight.

4 A similar thought is expressed in the parallel passage in Siphre to De 16: 2 (ed. M. Friedmann, Vienna, 1864, §144), towards the end of the section. The Mekhilta on Ex 15: 26 (fol. 106a fol.) in this passage be regarded.

1 See Maimon ben Israel's Commentary (ed. E. R. Lindo, London, 1843), question 89, p. 128, question 134, p. 246; also pp. 20, 114, and question 120, p. 528.
The death of women at childbirth is due to three causes:

1. Because they have been negligent in regard to their periods of separation, in respect to the consecration of the first cake of the dough and in the lighting of the Sabbath lamp (Mishnah, Shabb. ii. 5 (Singer’s Prayer Book, p. 125)).

2. The effect of sin (mazker ha-aretz) on man and on the creation generally is to cause great disfiguration, and if many wounds are due to sin, a passage from Bereshith Rabba and elsewhere dealing with this point may be studied in F. R. Tennant’s Sources of . . . Original Sin, ch. vii. II.

3. Finally, R. Ami says: ‘There is no death without sin, and there is no chastisement without crime’ (Rab. Shabb., 55a foot). This passage should be carefully studied.

Outside the immediate range of the Talmud and Midrashim the idea may be traced frequently; e.g. Sir 31:2 (p. 24, ed. Stracke, Leipzig, 1903): ‘In all thy actions be modest, that no misfortune befalleth thee’; or Judah hal-Levi’s Kitab al-Khawari, pt. ii. 558: ‘It was one of the wonderful attributes of God that His displeasure for minor transgressions was shown on the face of the house and in the clothes, while for more grievous sins the bodies were more or less severely stricken’ (p. 119, ed. Hirschfeld, 1906; see the whole paragraph).

II. MEDICINE.—Connected with the question of disease is the question of care. The function of the priest as physician is clearly laid down in the Pentateuch, and the rabbis, more especially the Sages, cited in the Midrashim and Talmud, have added much to our knowledge of medical science. The Rabbis declared that it was a positive commandment (772 773) for a man to seek himself cure, on the basis of Ex 21:19 (see also Rashi, in loc.). Healing as a result of special prayer occurs repeatedly in the Bible. According to the Rabbis, all healing is a miracle, and repentance will effect a cure. Thus Bab. Ned. 41a declares: ‘No sick man can recover from his disease until his sins are forgiven . . . for the miracle is performed to a sick man by his restorer to health that which was not in him, and his body is not under the influence of the disease, and the patient recovers from the disease, and his body is healthy and free from sin’ (see also further).

So, the Palestinian Rabbis denied that demons could cause or cure disease (see DEMONS AND SPIRITS (DEMONISM)), for disease came from God without reference to their agency (see also S. Schechter, Fragment of a Zadokite Work, Cambridge, 1910, p. 1, ch. xiv. p. 12, line 3). On the other hand, a man must not avoid sin on that account alone.

‘A man must not say, “I will abstain from forbidden foods in order to strengthen my body and avoid disease, but in order to do it I will follow the commandments of God.”’

The technical nature of cures recommended by the Rabbis does not fall within the scope of the present article. Cures by prayer were frequent. See Mishin, Berakhoth, iii. 19 (p. 10, ed. Staerke, Litzmann’s series, Bonn, 1910).

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DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Persian)

gods), which are variously estimated, however, as 90,000 in the Gujarati translation, or as 10,000 (Bund. ix. 4), or even as low as 4335 (Dinkert, ed. Peshotan, vol. iv. cap. 157. 41, 43). A considerable number of the names of diseases are preserved amongst various parts of the Avesta, and have been care-fully collected and discussed, especially by Geiger in his Ostirn. Kultur; but most of the names are decidedly obscure, and little improvement has been made in this Geiger's study; even Bartholomew's great lexicon throws no further light upon the terms used.

It is fairly certain, however, that we may find in their fevers (ktara, donta, and diseases of the heart, khrutta, atuze). His skin diseases were still and are a special scourge of the Iranian countries, we naturally expect to find mention of leprosy, and as a matter of fact this dread disease apparently (in spite of de Harlez's striking argument to the contrary) is indicated by the term putes vamada whana (Vend. ii. 85; iii. 77 v. 92), probably 'leprosy which segregates the body' (cf. Pahlavi, piskh, Paxed piskh, Mod. Pers. pes, Khorish paez). In passages (I. ix. 48) we may see other leprosy, according to the general interpretation, or itch (9, E. Dahbah), which is probably also indicated by sarosas. Among other terms, more or less obscure, the identifi-cation of which is largely conjectural, vascehita (I. xii. 131) probably indicates a venereal disease; tafus . . . tannuva sarosas (I. xii. 75; xxii. 13) purulent fever; shakita (I. x. 160) may indicate a rapture; anbogita (I. vii. 145) and sanomazati (ob. xx. 9, 11) most probably signify rickets and eczema of the skin (ob. xx. 14, 20) almost certainly callous karunha (ob.) seems to be the Modern Persian kurni, carbuncle (Hormus Smith, Zoro. 25, p. 546). In the Avesta we seem to have the name of some eruptive disease, like small-pox or measles. Among a number of hitherto quite unidentified terms, the expression with ask in all probability refer to diseases caused by snake-bite.

The origin of the art of medicine as recorded in the Avesta, is supernatural, and is associated with the name of the hero Thrata, who, according to the Vendidad, was the first physician, 'the first of those heroic, active, benevolent men, with magic power, brilliant, powerful, before the giving of the Law, who made the various diseases cease, who besought Ahura Mazda for a remedy against poisons (vish-citrem, or perhaps 'eine of Gift-.,pflanzen stammende Arznei' [Geiger]), and a metal knife (for surgical operations). Ahura Mazda narrates that he gave him thousands and millions of medical plants, among them the mysterious gokhrena, the later gokh tree, the source of all medicines (Vend. xx. 1-17). The Yashts appear to confound this Thrata with Thraetaona, whose name is said to be a patronymic derived from the former—for his frangash is invoked against diseases. Darmesteter quotes Hamza as stating that Faridun (i.e. Thraetaona) was the inventor of medicine, and adds that the Modern Persian annables are derived from the name of Faridun (see Chandez, AMULETS [Iran.], vol. iii. p. 449). Moreover, the genius Aryanman (apparently the personification of prayer) is also intimately connected with the medical art. Ahura Mazda calls him to come and expel disease and death (Vend. xxii. 9, 23). Later on, in the Pahlavi Dinkert he becomes the tutelary genius of physicians, to whom he gives miraculous help to cure men's bodies. As we shall see, prayer was always regarded as the most efficacious of remedies.

The commonest term to indicate differently 'medicine,' 'healing,' 'medicaments,' et. "physician," in beshakha, correspond- ing to Beshah, Mahzah. In the Avesta we find this word, as beshah, but more commonly under the curiously inverted term, which is used in Modern Persian, and in the Armen, words bakhsh, 'physician,' and bakhshet, 'heal.'

The Avesta attributes great importance to the threefold division of medicine according to the metaphor used: keraeto, the knife; urana, herbs; mantiha, formula—as we would say, surgery, medicine, and prayer. This is also the well-known division of the Greeks: Pinard, speaking of Asklepios, says (Pyth. iii. 91-95):

1. t'cote ou phisekh
2. $\alpha$\varepsilon\iota\omicron\omicron\omicron\iota\varepsilon\omicron\omicron
3. t'cote ou phisekh, ti
4. t'cote ou phisekh, $\gamma$\omicron\iota\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron
5. t'cote ou phisekh, $\gamma$\omicron\iota\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron

As Findar gives the first place to eza system, so the Avesta esteems the cure by prayer or conjuration the best of all; so that the prayer-physician (waithnu-bashtana) is called 'the physician of physicians.' In fact, the Manitha Spenta, or conjuror, is a similar personage. The Avesta, however, is not a conjuratory formula, as employed so often among Eastern peoples. Homer, too, shows it as employed together with surgical treatment:

The there is an excellent specimen of these conjuratory formulae in Vend. xx. 7: 'I conjure thee, disease! I conjure thee, devil! I conjure thee, smallpox!' There is a striking analogy between these conjurations and those employed by the Akkadians (Lenormant, Chaldée. 176). Among the peoples of Greece, the genus of metals, Khshathra Vairya, is said to have given the first physician, Thrata, a knife with a golden point for surgical operations (cf. Vend. xx. 3). Careful instructions are given for the training and examination of surgeons and physicians, based on the principle of experimenta in corpore vili. The candidate is to practise, not on a Mazdaean, but on a devo-worshipper, that is, the follower of any other religion. Should he operate upon one such with fatal result, a second and a third time, he is declared incapable for ever of practising either medicine or surgery. Should he persevere and injure a Mazdean, he is held guilty of a crime equivalent to homicide. After three successful experimentations on a fully qualified medical man (Vend. vii. 95-104). A serious view was taken of a physician's duties: he must make all speed to visit his patients; if the disease attack one at nightfall, he must hasten to arrive by daybreak; he must arrive by daybreak; he must arrive by nightfall, he must labour during the day; and he must be in the village, a clan, or a province, are respectively an ass, a horse, a camel, and a yoke of four horses; whilst, for the wives, female animals corresponding are required. It would appear that later on these fees were changed into monetary payments: the Pahlavi commentator estimates the prayers paid by the priest at 3000 stirs (Gr. sthpy), whilst the yoke of four horses is valued at 70 stirs. It may be remarked that the Avestan physician was also a veterinary surgeon, for a scale of charges is also fixed for the treatment of cattle, great and small (Vend. vii. 105-117), and it is distinctly said that the same means must be employed for the cure of a mind dog as for one of the faithful (ib. xxii. 97-99).

Turning now to the later Pahlavi literature, we find the whole subject of the art of medicine most fully and systematically treated in an interesting treatise incorporated in that encyclopaedic work, the Kultur, and first printed, in vol. iv. of Peshotan's edition (Bombay, 11 vols., 1874-1910). It is by far the most con-siderable chapter of the whole work. It falls into

1 An amusing remark by a more recent Parsi commentator quoted by Darmesteter (note to Vend. i. 130) is thus naively expressed: 'He may not cure, but he will do no harm!'
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four distinct parts: (1) medicine, (2) the medical man, (3) diseases, (4) remedies.

It is well known that Hindu medical science also distinguished the 'four feet' (pātha) of medicine, which, however, were reckoned as the physician, disease, or medicine, the

number of the limbs having a threefold division: 7 7 7 of

tinsky, or của, or 49, or the (de Nobis. Vf. i. 1).

The author begins by stating that (this is, the necessity of medicine, which is, of course, owing to the action of the Evil Spirit. He next distinguishes between spiritual and material medicine, and again between general

and individual medicine. In the treatment of the latter, he makes a thorough division: the body; and the various oppositions between the powers of the former and certain vices co-existent and yet hostile are detailed at length. In the whole passage we have a well-sustained distinction between the Avesta (distinguished from the Hindu by the use of

words which the present writer propounded in the Academy, xxviii. 1881) 39. A further distinction is then made between the elements of the body and the hostile forces, cold and dryness, produced by the Evil Spirit—a veritable bellum intestinum between the four elementary qualities as described by Galen and other early medical writers. Curiously enough, however, with the Iranians the position of dryness and moisture is reversed, dryness and cold being together reckoned among evil qualities—an inversion, no doubt, to be explained by the prevalent veneration of the sun and the hot climate in ancient Iran. The action of the blood, of food, and of moderation are next explained, as well as the necessary interdependence of spiritual and corporal medicine.

An interesting distinction is that of the relations between Iranian medicine and that of India and Greece. The researches of Hauss (ZDMG xxx., xxxi.) and Müller (ib. xxxiv.) have conclusively shown the great influence exerted by Greek medicine upon Persia, and a question of the latter writer deserves our attention here: 'A fact which concerns not Indianists, but rather students of Middle-Persian and Arabic literature, is this—it may be derived from the Aryan from a Persian source, and an assistant; should be amiable, without jealousy, gentle in word, free from haughtiness; an enemy to disease, but

friend of the sick; respecting modesty, free from crime, from

injury, from violence; expedient; the right hand of the

widow; noble in action; protecting good reputation; not

acting for gain, but for a spiritual reward; ready to listen;

having become a physician by favour of Aryans, possessed

of authority and philanthropy; skilled to prepare health-giving

plants medicinally, in order to deliver the body from disease, to expel corruption and contamination; to further peace and multiply

the delights of life' (§ 19).

The regulations for the probation of the medical candidate are the same as those we have quoted from the Avesta; whilst, as for the treatment

simply refers to the sacred text. In the third part,

we meet the statement that there are two fundamental maladies, denominated faragvad and avibhid, which seem to indicate rather some forms of moral, evil, but their explanation is extremely obscure, although the words occur in several treatises. The

Evil Spirit (Gnàk Mdw) is the cause of all evils, both of soul and body—for the former, of every kind of vice and evil passion; for the latter, of cold, dryness, evil odour, corruption, hunger, thirst, pain, 'and all other causes of malady and death.' The number of diseases is given as 4533; they are simply those of the Avesta in a slightly altered form. One interesting division of maladies is that which divides diseases of voluntary into voluntary (such as venereal disease) and involuntary (such as fevers); whilst the diseases of the vital principle (joma) are distinguished as vice tending forward (e.g. passion and anger) and vice tending backward (e.g. idleness).

The fourth and last part of the treatise may be styled therapeutic. The number of remedies derived from the vegetable kingdom is said to be seventy, and they are divided again into those which are by nature beneficent, and those which of their nature are poisonous, but may be so treated as
to become medicinal. As an example of the former kind, the treatise gives of the murraya of Calcutta (Murraya koenigii), which is mencioned. The miraculous (amulet) trees, the Gòkòrt and the white Hôm—here clearly distinguished from one another—are referred to as sources of healing. Health is next divided into two kinds—healthy in body and body; and the various oppositions between the powers of the former and certain vices co-existent and yet hostile are detailed at length. In the whole passage we have a well-sustained distinction between the Avesta (distinguished from the Hindu by the use of words which the present writer propounded in the Academy, xxviii. 1881) 39. A further distinction is then made between the elements of the body and the hostile forces, cold and dryness, produced by the Evil Spirit—a veritable bellum intestinum between the four elementary qualities as described by Galen and other early medical writers. Curiously enough, however, with the Iranians the position of dryness and moisture is reversed, dryness and cold being together reckoned among evil qualities—an inversion, no doubt, to be explained by the prevalent veneration of the sun and the hot climate in ancient Iran. The action of the blood, of food, and of moderation are next explained, as well as the necessary interdependence of spiritual and corporal medicine. An interesting distinction is that of the relations between Iranian medicine and that of India and Greece. The researches of Hauss (ZDMG xxx., xxxi.) and Müller (ib. xxxiv.) have conclusively shown the great influence exerted by Greek medicine upon Persia, and a question of the latter writer deserves our attention here: 'A fact which concerns not Indianists, but rather students of Middle-Persian and Arabic literature, is this—it may be derived from the Aryan from a Persian source, and an assistant; should be amiable, without jealousy, gentle in word, free from haughtiness; an enemy to disease, but

friend of the sick; respecting modesty, free from crime, from

injury, from violence; expedient; the right hand of the

widow; noble in action; protecting good reputation; not

acting for gain, but for a spiritual reward; ready to listen;

having become a physician by favour of Aryans, possessed

of authority and philanthropy; skilled to prepare health-giving

plants medicinally, in order to deliver the body from disease, to expel corruption and contamination; to further peace and multiply

the delights of life' (§ 19).

The regulations for the probation of the medical candidate are the same as those we have quoted from the Avesta; whilst, as for the treatment

simply refers to the sacred text. In the third part,

we meet the statement that there are two fundamental maladies, denominated faragvad and avibhid, which seem to indicate rather some forms of moral, evil, but their explanation is extremely obscure, although the words occur in several treatises. The

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DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Teutonic)

struggle, or whether it befall with startling suddenness in the heyday of life—in either case the terror-stricken mind was forced to face the questions as to the cause and origin of the dread occurrence.

Death from loss of blood and death by strangulation were of course more or less familiar incidents of the chase and of war. But what mysterious power was it that suddenly opened the veins within the body, and brought a comrade's life to an end by hemorrhage? or, again, obstructed the air passages from within, and thus caused the hale and hearty youth to perish by suffocation, convulsive clutching at his throat? The inmates of the smoky turf-habitations did in fact perform this malign power at work, as it squatted—crushing and squeezing—on breast and throat, and had waked with screams of terror and bathed in perspiration: it was the dreaded 

The burning-demons, as Schelmenbeine (A.S. scolmene, O.N. scoltun, Danish et sværd), striking the skin (A.S. on sell sværd), the flesh (on fæste sværd), the blood (on blod sværd), or the limbs and joints (on hånd sværd); or as the less injurious elf-breath, which, when merely blown (O.N. elfblæst, Swe. elfvakt, O.Fr. elf-est, Swed. elfvika) upon human beings, caused a swelling of the limbs; or even as a voracious sucking (A.S. elf-sogob) of blood or narrow or bone; or as some other vagrant affliction, 'elf-roll,' 'elf-walk,' which falls upon a person in its flight. When a man fell a victim to such an 'onfall' (A.S. on-fæll), his neighbours said 'the elves are upon him.'

Besides these, however, there were numerous other noxious spirits ill-afflicted to mankind, as may be inferred from the personal cast of many of the ancient names applied to particular diseases, as, e.g., Nessia, Nigedo, Stechedo, Troppho, Caunhptho. Touching-demons caused dysentery, lymphangitis, and anthrax; and choking-demons (cf. 'moon-struck'), face paralysis and mental derangement; burning-demons, blisters and gangrene; biting, pinching, scratching, and bruising-demons, skin-affliction like cancer, extravasation of blood, itching, and varicose ulcers; all of which, so they injure, but they could also affect the body internally, and give rise to ulcers in the stomach (O.H.G. magobizado). Astearing-demons they produced gnawing pains in nerves and muscles; as striking-demons they afflicted, no one else had perceived: the fell work, surely, of gruesome creatures, invisible, but to feeling all too real, which hemmed them in, prowled after them, fell upon them like stealthy foes—the spirits and demons of disease—had crept stealthily in, with their unconsciously creative tendency and its power of stimulating the imagination, depicted in endlessly varied forms, corresponding to the observed phenomena accompanying the affliction. A special object of misgiving was the unseen, though living and potent, entity which dwelt in friend and foe alike, which passed from the body at death and left it behind, i.e. the soul, as primitive man was always obsessed by the suspicion that he himself had caused it, or even by his instincts of fear and hostility, in the shadowy host of disease-spirits.

Among the Teutons the souls of the dead were believed to join the great demonic host which, comprising elves, 'elves'; Tiridens, Schrak, and trolls, swept along in the train of Woden and Holla: winged creatures who appeared everywhere, and had their home in the savage forest. On occasion these demones assumed bodily shape, showing themselves in every variety of form, and appearing in the disease itself as worm-like threads that creep under the skin, or as actual worms living in wounds and sores, or being discharged therefrom. The idea of the wriggling worm as the embodiment of the disease-demon was widely current among the Teutons. The demon was supposed to emerge from the worm in the form of some winged being, or of an ugly, crawling, slimy toad.

In importance to the incubi, or spirits of the dead, who afflicted the survivors with horrible nightmares, or consortled with them lasciviously in dreams, and who, in the form of some animal, often forced their way to the fireside through holes and cracks [earl. A.S. ef-cynn], 'the torment of the mare,' mark, triul, also cauchec-mor [scywe, from Lat. calcar, 'to tread'], 'the walk of the mare,' it was the horde of elves—creatures fabricated from the imagination from the nightmare—"the Elben," the race of elves (A.S. elf-cynn), who, as noxious demons practised their wicked magic (A.S. elf-cen) upon mankind, especially in attacks of fever. They were the personal causes of the so-called elf-sweat, which injures such As (A.S. elf-svedst), or "shot" (A.S. elf-svedst, O.N. elfakud, Danish et sværd), striking the skin (A.S. on fell sværd), the flesh (on fæste sværd), the blood (on blod sværd), or the limbs and joints (on hånd sværd); or as the less injurious elf-breath, which, when merely blown (O.N. elfblæst, Swe. elfvakt, O.Fr. elf-est, Swed. elfvika) upon human beings, caused a swelling of the limbs; or even as a voracious sucking (A.S. elf-sogob) of blood or narrow or bone; or as some other vagrant affliction, 'elf-roll,' 'elf-walk,' which falls upon a person in its flight. When a man fell a victim to such an 'onfall' (A.S. on-fæll), his neighbours said 'the elves are upon him.'

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what more advanced conception of disease, which must have coexisted from the outset with the demonic view, the latter applying more particularly to the great brood of them, and was the whole brood of 'nervous' disorders. The demonic view of disease has a direct link of connexion with the NT conception of demons in the Gothic word dæmonizance, and at length culminates in the medieval theory of possession by devils (A.S. dæfela and dæffælæn).  

2. Medicine.—In the practice of healing, likewise, a simple empiricism no doubt prevailed among the ancient Teutons from the first, though naturally the evidence of the facts is to some extent concealed. But this experimental therapeutics became almost inseparably combined with demonistic conceptions and modes of thought.  

A wound was first of all cleansed and bound up with vulnerary herbs; then a soot was mixed with the wound's dust, the sord was sprinkled with the dust of dried plants, and the bandage was tightened. But, as this did not always prove effective, recourse was had to the 'more potent' remedies—of which we shall speak presently to what extent and in what manner of treatment was presently applied in all cases and 'for all cases'; i.e., it became customary to use such remedies at the very beginning of the treatment, as unexpected and apparently causeless complications of burning—complications as mysterious as they were dangerous, such as inflammation, erysipelas, diphtheria, hospital gangrene, and lock-jaw; in short, all those concomitants of bodily injuries which were personified. These actual and phantom manifestations were regarded as 'gruesome companions,' the personified influences of malicious demons of the world of spirits and demons, though they might also be due to the machinations of evil-disposed human beings who were able to move the demonic realm and make it subservient to their will. Moreover, there was always the possibility that the invalid had in some respect neglected the claims of religion. He might have failed in the discharge of his duties towards the friendly deities of his people, so that they had sent the injury as a punishment, or had given to the wicked elves, whom they generally held in check, this extraordinary permission to work evil against him. And the ongoings of events so fiercely availed themselves. For all such possibilities timely and rapid measures had to be taken. Horror lowered upon primitive man from all sides, and it was the part of wise counsellors both men and women who, in all that related to disease, more especially women—to soothe the terror-haunted soul.  

Diseases of supernatural origin, and, in fact, all painful things that could not be traced forthwith to sensible causes, might be Divine punishments, from which the sufferer could be absolved only by expiation—by the bloody or unbloody sacrifice. The sacrificing priest secured his people against the demons of plague, Odin himself, however, is the master-magician, the 'magic-father' (O.N. goldr-father); as the sun-god he scatters the nocturnal swarm of the 'night-goers' (nithypngr); he is the mighty elf-dispeller, the scourge of the adps (grottî alfa). Nevertheless, it was also the custom to write spells or incantation on the bodies of such—such as were often well-affected towards men, and had some knowledge of the plants that must be dug on moonless nights. The cult of Eir, the special goddess of healing, is of relatively late origin; she was the personification of the gentle hand of woman in nursing the sick (O.N. eira, 'to care for,' 'nurse'). But Odin still held his place as the supreme god of healing, and the healing 'touch' of 'Wodan's finger' was long the prerogative of English and Frankish kings—descendants of Odin—as a cure for sensula and struma ('king's evil'). At an earlier date the power of curing disease was ascribed to the god Thor, the great god of thunder, and as such he was the protector of the family, home, and hearth, of home and family, of life and death, the destroyer of evil spirits. But Odin the Wise knew all the secrets of the magic which counteracts the work of demons; 'succouring spells' and protective runes (Spindrif cultivation, and at length culminates in the medieval theory of possession by devils (A.S. dæfela and dæffælæn).  

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DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Vedic).—Limitation of the subject.—The distinction between charms for securing prolonged life (ayurveda, cf. MAGIC [Vedic]) on the one hand, and the charms of exorcism (cf. WITCHCRAFT [Vedic]) on the other hand, is clearly indicated in the AitareyaBRhadaranyakaUpanisad, 4.2.10, where it is said that only one type of charm is frequent—charms for easy childbirth, for abortion, and for the promotion or destruction of virility might properly be classed among them, but are in fact classed regularly among the rites pertaining to women (sīrī-karmaṇa, cf. MAGIC [Vedic]). Instead of attempting any theoretic distinction, it seems best to follow the Hindu classification, and treat in this article only charms of the type contained in the bhāgavata-purāṇa-chapters (xxv.—xxxii.) of the Kauśikī Sūtra, reserving the related charms for the articles cited above.

I. Sources.—The chief source for our knowledge of the beliefs relating to disease in Vedic times and of the practices based upon them is the Atharvaveda. Of hymns or parts of hymns intended to secure the cure of more or less sharply defined diseases, the Atharvan Suṁhitā contains something over a hundred. The practices by which these were at one time accompanied are given in the bhāgavata-purāṇas of the Kauśikī Sūtra.

It cannot, of course, be always confidently asserted that the practices there described are identical with those employed when the hymns were composed. But the emergence of the ritual are, in the main, based upon a good understanding of the hymns shown by the flood of light that the study of the ritual has thrown upon the interpretation of the hymns (cf. the history of their interpretation which is given in the Commentary to pages 1-48 of Bloedel’s, The Atharva-veda, 3RD, vol. viii.). That the treatment of the hymn in the ritual is secondary is sometimes too hastily assumed. Thus vi. 44 is clearly a charm against šūsras (diarrhoea) and sūthira (production of wind in the intestines), but Kauśikī xxxi. 6 is supposed to indicate it in a remedial rite against slander. The position of the rite in the Kauśikī shows that it is intended for the cure of some disease, and that, if the commentator is right (as he most probably is) in saying that it is to be employed in case of slander, this means only that the origin of the disease sūthira is ascribed to the evil speech of an enemy (cf. below, for discussion regarding from certain semi-medicinal—a naive, but not improbable, conception. On the other hand, both the matter medica of the Kauśikī and its therapeutic practices—all these are seem more advanced than those of the Suṁhitā itself. In some cases also the connexion between the rite and the hymn is so superficial that there can be no doubt of the secondary mechanical adaptation of the one to the other. In such cases it is usual to assume that the rite has been made to fit the charm. In view of this conservativeness that in general controls such practices, and the probable probability origin of certain ideographic inscriptions (cf. Bloedel, The Atharva-veda, v. i., and the literature there cited), the opposite possibility deserves more consideration. In the present state of Vedic studies, at all events, we can only hope to do better than understand an Atharvan hymn as the Kauśikī understood it.

Taken together, the two sources furnish a better
picture of primitive medicine than has been preserved in any literature of so early a period. Further interest is added to the subject by the fact that these medical charms are the germ from which the various medical sects were evolved. The standard of its development represented in the medical Sutras implies several centuries of evolution from the standpoint of the Kaushikas, and is now known (through the discovery of the Bower MS.) to have been attained previous to the 5th cent. of our era. The relation of the later medicine to the Atharva is recognized by the Hindus themselves, who regard the Yajurveda as an ‘after-Veda’ (apaveda) of the Atharva. Hindu medicine in turn has, through the Arabs, left its effect upon European medicine.

Other Vedic texts, owing to the purpose of their composition, do not have occasion to handle the phenomena of disease in the same concrete fashion and to the same extent. The addition of details of a similar nature, their chief contribution consists in a picture of the general attitude of their authors and users towards disease. Into this picture as a background the details of the Atharva fit perfectly. The difference between the hieratic texts (the Rigveda in particular) and the Atharva is neither a difference in time, nor a difference in enlightenment between the adherents of these Vedas. It is a difference in attitude of the priest and the physician (each liberal enough to employ on occasion the resources of the other) when brought face to face with disease.

2. The Atharvan practice of medicine.—(1) Knowledge of anatomy.—The Atharva evinces a very thorough knowledge of what may be called the inner anatomy of the human body, naming its various external subdivisions, and many of its internal organs. Thus ii. 32 tells the Atharva how to move the parts of the body from which the disease is to be torn; similar lists occur also in ix. 8, x. 2, and xi. 8. Beyond this knowledge, which was to a great extent a pre-historic acquisition (cf. O. Schrader, Beilage. d. indogerm. Altertumsk. 1901, s.v. ‘Körperhüllen’), the Atharva can hardly be said to go. The apparent distinction between veins and arteries in i. 17, 3 is offset by the occurrence of the same words in vii. 35, 2, with the more general sense of ‘internal parts’. By showing how vague were the ideas held with regard to such subjects. The isolated statement of ix. 8, 10, ‘what is diseased shall become urine’, may be mentioned as an accidental approximation to a physiological conception. To be held, however, is the fact that the Hindu theory of the constitution of the body of three elements—bile, phlegm, and wind—does not appear in the early Atharvan texts. Vatikāyānām of vi. 44, 5 cannot be urged as proof to the contrary, as it means, not ‘destructive of diseases’ produced by the wind in the body (vāyukāyānām), but ‘destructive of that which has been made into wind’. Evidently, from its association with diarrhoea, it refers to wind in the intestines. The later theory, which appears first in the Saṃpūrṇa-gīyā, Atharv. Par. 68, is, of course, familiar to the commentators, who endeavour to foist it upon the Kaushikas.

(2) Theory of the origin of disease.—The popular method is to read at sight in disease the manifestation of the will of a supernatural power. To the Atharvan this was generally one of the hosts of demons by which he believed himself surrounded. How slight was the distinction made between disease and possession is shown by the hymn like Atharv. ii. 4, which is directed against disease and demon alike. Compare also v. 23, 2, where Indra is invoked to destroy the worms in a child, and it is immediately declared that all the aviti (certain female demons) are slain. It is also clearly implied by the fact that the Kaushika contains, among its remedial practices, ceremonious acts in on behalf of the deva of the disease (cf. xxvii. 36, xxxi. 3–4); in providing the patient with an amulet to resist their attacks (xxvi. 26 f., xxvii. 5 f., xxviii. 7); or in spells to dispel and remove the harm they have done (xxvi. 29–32, xxviii. 9–11).

These demons of disease are generally vague in outline and indefinite in number, and are known by the names pīkha, rakṣa, atīra, and kopa. Of their various miscellaneous activities, it may be noted that the pīkha devor the flesh of their victims (Atharv. iv. 36, 3, v. 29, 5); the etymology of atīren points in the same direction, while the kopa prey especially upon the embryo (ii. 25, 3). Other unnamed demons (ib.) are suckers of blood and takes away of fatness, while in xii. 36, 6 figure the dog-like she-demons that recall the dog-demon of epilepsy (Aṣṭamangāya Gṛhya Sūtra, xvii. 1) and the dog-like gandharvas of Atharv. iv. 36, 11. Another class of beings to whose influences diseases are ascribed are the gandharvas and their consorts—the mind-bewildering apsarases (cf. Atharv. ii. 2, 5, iv. 37, xiii. 36, 6). Insanity in particular is ascribed to their influence (cf. vi. 111, 4, also Rigveda x. 11. 2). The difference in attitude of the priest and the physician (each liberal enough to employ on occasion the resources of the other) when brought face to face with disease.

As the Atharva makes but slight distinction between demon and human sorcerer, it is not surprising to find the latter causing disease (Atharv. i. 25, iv. 28, xix. 39, 1) or diseases attributed to magic (iii. 7, 6; for methods of this producing disease, cf. art. WITCHCRAFT [Vedic]), curses, or the evil eye (ii. 7, v. 15 and 16, vi. 96, 2, xix. 33, 3, and Kaūr. xxvi. 53, xxix. 15–17).

Theoretically the diseases themselves are demons, and in some cases—e.g. vaisākhaṇḍa and vaisākhaṇḍaka—is it impossible to decide whether the word should be considered the name of a demon or of a disease. But the personality of disease-demons is rarely strongly marked, and none of them is exactly comparable to that of the demons described by Sītalā. The closest approach is to be found in takman (fever), the Atharvan name for the disease known to the later medicine as jīvra (cf. esp. the hymn v. 22, in which he is adjured to go elsewhere; and i. 25, vi. 29, and vii. 116, in which he is offered homage). Certain scrofulous sores called ṛaplakīt are supposed to move of their own volition, as they fly through the air and settle upon their victim. So much is this the case, that neither interpreters understand the word as the name of a noxious insect. As in other popular systems of medicine (cf. A. Kuhn, in Kuhn’s Zeitschrift, xiii. 49 ff. and 113 ff.), a number of diseases are ascribed to the presence of demons (cf. above) located in various parts of the body, and most fantastically described (cf. Atharv. ii. 31 and 32, v. 23, with numerous parallels in other texts to be cited below).

Less frequently the Atharva ascribes a disease to one of the greater gods, and then often as a punishment for sin. Varuna sends dropsy to punish crime, especially falsehood (cf. Atharv. i. 10–14, ii. 10, 1, iv. 16. 7, vii. 53, 1–4, xii. 44, 5; once also, i. 25, 3. the takman is said to be his son
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[i.e. sent by him], and in vi. 96. 2 (a charm employed by Kauńska to heal the dropsy, but probably originally of a wider scope) the prayer is to be 'the sacrifice of the feet — the feet of Rāma [Death], and every sin against the gods'). Certain sharp pains are ascribed to the spear of Rudra (Kau. xxxi. 7); the arrow of the same god causes tumours (Atharv. vi. 57); the tokman and the kāsika (cough) are his weapons (xi. 2, 229), and in xi. 2. 26 he is said to send the tokman. A ceremony to his children, the Maruts (Kau. xxvi. 24), serves as a cure for leprosy. Diarrhoea is connected in i. 2 with the arrows of Parjanya (the rain-god), and lightening for the sake of its heat, and productive of fever, headache, and cough. Takšaka, a serpent-god, is worshipped in Kauś. xxviii. 1, xxix. 1, xx. 20 (charms to cure the bites of poisonous reptiles).

The name īṣṭre is supposed to have some evil influence on the hair (cf. Atharv. vi. 20. 1). At present it is supposed to have some evil influence on the hair (cf. Atharv. vi. 20. 1).

(3) The diseases treated.—The identification of the diseases treated in the Atharva is difficult in the extreme. In the first place, there is nothing that can be called diagnosis in our sense of the term. The names of the symptoms are not really with the troublesome symptom; of the cause of the symptom, the disease itself, he knows nothing. Sometimes the symptom, e.g. jāluvra (‘water-belly’), is definite enough to enable us to identify the disease; but frequently the terms apahītī (‘sores’) and akṣata (‘tumours’) must have covered a great variety of afflictions from the most harmless to the most malignant. In the next place, the Kauńska, as a rule, does not state the disease for which the charm intended. This important item is left to be inferred from the hymn rubbed. Unfortunately the hymns often combine the most varied diseases; extreme instances may be found in ii. 33; ix. 8.

The commentators (of much later date) endeavour to supply this deficiency. Their statements, however, are not only frequently contradictory, but are also evidently affected by their knowledge of the later Hindu medicine. As an example of the way they work may be taken Kesava’s statement that Kau. xxv. 10, 11 is devoted to the treatment of jaundice, for the ritual and the hymn rubbed (vi. 24) are plainly concerned primarily with dropsy; this disease is frequently complicated with heart-disease, which is therefore, mentioned in the hymn. But in i. 22 (a cure for jaundice) heart-disease is also incidentally mentioned. Kesava seems to have reason to believe that the cure for jaundice (i. 22) cured heart-disease, therefore another cure for heart-disease (vi. 24) must also cure jaundice! Finally, there are many obscure terms both in the Sāmkhya and in the Sāutra.

The most dreaded disease was the ‘fever’ especially predominant in the autumn (visvāyāvada). Its later name īṣṭre does not occur in the Atharva, where it is known as tokman, a name which conversely is confined to this Veda. To its especially devoted i. 23, v. 22, vi. 20, vii. 116; and to its specific, the kāsika-plant (Uracus speciosus), v. 4 and 8. The mention of jaundice in the Atharva of Tokman is found in i. 12; 2, 4; v. 8, 9, 8, 6, 6, 34, 10, 29, 1 and 10. The Gāṇḍāla, Atharv. Par. 32, gives a long list (cf. KauŚ. xxvi. 1 n.) of hymns that encompass its destruction. This list, tokmanasasvatān, contains, according to five hymns cited above, and adding to them the hymns against kṣetriya (iii. 8 and 10, iii. 7), against yaksina (iii. 11, vi. 85 and 127), various panacea-hymns (ii. 9, ii. 28, v. 9, vi. 30 and 91, ii. 8), and a hymn (vi. 42) originally intended to cure disease. The symptoms described are alternation between heat and cold, delirium, return of the fever either (at the same hour) every day, or every third day, or omitting every third day. Associated with it are jaundice, certain red eruptions (v. 22, 3), headache, cough, spasm, and itch (polma), the last being its brother’s son (v. 22. 12).

Yaksina (yaksina rājāyakṣa, ajāyāyakṣa, to which Taitt. Sin. ii. 3. 1—3, 5. 4—5 add pāpa-yaksina) seems to have in the Atharva (cf. ii. 33, iii. 11, vi. 29, xiii. 127. 3, ix. 8, xiii. 36 and 41) no narrower signification than disease. With this accords the statement of Vai. Sin. xvi. 22 that there are a hundred varieties of yaksina. The employment of its hymns in the tokmanasasvatān implies either a disease of marked febrile symptoms or (preferably) such an indefinite meaning. So also is included in i. 1, 22 employed yaksmanapāghata as a synonymous name for this gāva, while other texts give the form yaksāna, congenerically adapted to tokman. Zimmer (Altindisches Leben, 1879, p. 97 ff.), in accord with the latter medicine, sees in it a pulmonary disease. But a variety of yaksina, called jānyan (Taitt. Sin. i.), is probably identical with the Atharvan jāyapya; for jāyapya is associated with yaksina in Atharv. xix. 44. 2, and called rājyapya by Kesava, xxi. 127.

To correct if yaksina means simply ‘disease’, and still in harmony both with Dārila’s statement (loc. cit.), that jāyapya is some species of tumour (akṣata), and the fact that both etymology and the ritual point to the latter as the probable correct meaning is, evidently an attempt to harmonize the ritual with the meaning of yaksina in the later medicine. Here may be added the mention of ‘abscesses’ (eudranta, vi. 127, ix. 8); ‘scrofulous swellings’ (kildsa); ‘dropsy’ (kildsa); ‘fearful’ (kildsa), and the similar. Venereal disease (grāma) is treated in Kauś. xxvii. 32 ff., while the hymn there rubricated deals with ajāyāyakṣa and rājyapya. Sāvāna’s statement, that consumption produced by sexual excesses is malignant, is evidently an attempt to harmonize the ritual with the meaning of yaksina in the later medicine. Here may be added the mention of ‘abscesses’ (eudranta, vi. 127, ix. 8); ‘scrofulous swellings’ (kildsa); ‘dropsy’ (kildsa); ‘fearful’ (kildsa), and the similar.

Leprosy (kīśan) is the object of two hymns (i. 23 and 24). Kesava also assigns to its cure the practice (Kauś. xxviii. 15) with the kṣatriya-plant, which Dārila, supported by the Gāṇḍāla, declares to be a cure for fever. Kesava’s statement has probably no deeper basis than the fact that kṣatriya in the later language means leprosy.

Endri is another term of uncertain meaning. The Atharvavedins regularly explain it as ‘inherited disease’, though ‘chronic disease’ has recently been suggested by Jolly. No description of its symptoms is given. As in the case of yaksina, the statement of its effects and the similar, suggests either a disease of marked febrile character or a general term for disease. Even if, as is most probable, the word means ‘hereditary’, there is no reason to believe that the designation was accurate.

Easily identified, on the other hand, is dropsy (jāluvra). To its cure i. 10, vi. 22—24 and 96, and vii. 33 are devoted. In vi. 24 it is associated with heart disease—vāda. In the Atharva the mention in the same hymn of pain in the eyes, heels, and front part of the foot refers to the characteristic pulling of these parts. Heart-disease (hṛdaya, hṛdayāyakṣa) is mentioned only incidentally (i. 32; v. 20, 12. 30, 9; vi. 14. 1, 24, 1. 127. 3), and probably referred to any pain in the region of the heart. Paralysis (pādikāta, lit. hemiplegia) is mentioned in the KauŚa itself (xxxi. 18), but the hymn rubbed is extremely obscure, and was probably not intended for this purpose.

Excessive discharges (āṣārata), and in particular diarrhoea (āṣāra of the later medicine), have for their cure i. 2, ii. 3, and probably also vi. 44 (cf. above). There is perhaps an allusion to it in
connection with fever in v. 22, 4. The opposite troubles, retention of urine and constipation, are the subject of cure (cf. accord. to Kauś. xxvii. 10). The practice of bleeding the hymn itself seems, however, to be entirely concerned with the first of these diseases.

Cough (kōśa, kōsa) is mentioned in connexion with fever (i. 12, 3, v. 22, 10-12), and is also the other main symptom of which fevers are composed (vii. 107) are rubricated. Balaśa is variously interpreted as ‘consumption’ and as ‘internal sores’; the assonance both with kōśa and with balaśa is noteworthy, and strengthens both interpretations. The hymn in which 3 figures most prominently is vi. 14, rubricated by Kauś. xxix. 30 in a ceremony which Keśava terms a ‘phlegm-cure.’ This term cannot, however, be taken to indicate necessarily some throat disease, as it means any disease ascribed to an abnormal condition of the ‘phlegm’ in the technical sense of the later medicine (for Keśava’s use of such terms cf. xxvi. 1 and 28).

Balaśa is also mentioned in iv. 9, v. 8, 22, 11-12, vi. 127, 1-2, ix. 8, 16, xiv. 34, 10. In connexion with it (v. 22, 11) appears udvyoga, perhaps ‘spasm.’

Headache (śiśoṛkita, śiśirgana) is mentioned in i. 12, 3 and v. 4, 10, both times in connexion with fever, and also in iv. 8—an effort to enumerate all diseases cured of by Dārā. To this the rubrication of Dārā may be added in a broader fashion. Neonaila (vīnāyat) is mentioned in vi. 127, ix. 8, v. 42; pain in the ribs (paśīdayayana, inter-costal neuralgia) in vi. 10; rheumatic troubles are perhaps meant by viśvakanda, and śānśāṅkunda (i. 16, 3, ii. 4, iii. 9, 6, iv. 9, 5, xiv. 35, 33, 1); with these may be associated śīkara (ii. 4, 2), ākṛikita, and śākṛikita (v. 34, 10). Some sharp internal pain is ascribed in vi. 90 to the vessel Pānas. Its exact nature is indeterminable, but the later medicine applies the same term to colic. A ‘limb-splitting’ disease (niyakāda) also occurs in xiv. 4, 2, while in ii. 35, ix. 8) aim at eradicating pain and disease from all parts of the body. Pains in the eyes (cf. also v. 4, 10, 23, 3, vi. 24, 127, 3) and ears may be especially mentioned. A separate charm for diseases of the eyes (alāji occurs also in ix. 8, 29 as the name of some form of eye disease) is found in vi. 16 according to the asariyumāga, a charm for bad visions, and Kauś. xxx. 1-6. The parallelism of the hymn with v. 23 suggests that the pains in the eyes are ascribed to the presence of worms. For diseases of the ear see above.

Of more external evils a ‘flow of blood’ (loḥita, vi. 127, vičikata, ix. 8, xii. 4, 4) means, perhaps, bleeding at the nose (cf. the association with diseases of the head in ix. 8, 1). A special charm against bleeding is i. 17 (rubricated at Kauś. xxvi. 10), to stop, according to Keśava, either an external or internal hemorrhage, or excessive menstruation. Against the last of these troubles is directed the practice of Kauś. xxviii. 15, rubricating v. 6. The cure of wounds and fractures is the object of iv. 12 and v. 5 (rubricated at Kauś. xxvii. 5-6 and 14). Wounds or sores of unknown origin (ajñātāras) are healed with vi. 83, 4. In a snake-infested country like India cures for poison were sure to be in demand. For the poisonous bite of snakes the Athavāra contains three charms (v. 13, vi. 12, x. 4), besides one (vii. 56) against the bites of scorpions and other poisonous reptiles, and another (iv. 6 and 7) against the poison of arrows. Internal poisoning of diseases does not seem to have been treated separately.

In certain forms of disease, e.g. mania, epilepsy, the distinction from possession is very slight. In case of possession, iv. 29 and 37, vi. 2, 2, or 32, or 111 (this last hymn speaking unmistakably of madness), or the chatuṣmārga (list of hymns for expulsion of demons) may be employed. In a rite against madness, Kauś. xxvii. 12, Athavār. v. 7 of 3 is rubricated, and to it is ascribed, like xxv. 10, the cure of one of the diseases for which i. 22 is employed at Kauś. xxvi. 14-21. Gṛhiḥ, ‘fit,’ ‘seizure,’ is practically a shāne demon (cf. ii. 9, 1, 10, 6, iii. 11, 1, vi. 112, vii. 12, xii. 3, 18). Another demon name is jayam—apparently a designation of convulsions or lock-jaw (cf. ii. 4, 2; Kauś. xxxii. 1-2).

The Kauśika, in accordance with its method of treating symptoms, has also cures for ‘thirst’ (xxvii. 9-12) and ‘brightness’ (xxvii. 28 ff.), which we should hardly class as diseases. The latter may be what we call nervousness, but V. Henry has no warrant for interpreting the former as dyspepsia. Inauspicious marks (cf. art. PROPHETIES [Vedic] on the body (pāpalakṣaṇa, xxxi. 1), orīṇa, xxvii. 15) are also treated as diseases. Keśava thinks that the ceremony to remove wrinkles (Kauś. xxv. 4 f.), has reference only to wrinkles in a young man, in whom they are portentous. The ceremony to stop the loss of hair (Kauś. xxxii. 28), employing two hymns, vi. 136 f., evidently composed for this very purpose, is to be ascribed to the same motive rather than to vanity. A person whose hair has come into contact with a hemp-tree is called in. It, 15 is supposed to be in danger of suffering some injury to his hair. For his benefit is the ceremony of Kauś. xxxi. 1, and the hymn rubricated seems to have had the same case in view.

Finally, at least four diseases are designated as panacea (cf. Kauś. xxv. 4-5, 20, 21, 22-36, xxvi. 1, 34, xxvii. 5-6, 27, 34, xxviii. 8, 17-20, xxx. 17-18, xxxi. 5, xxxii. 3-4, 18-19, 26-27), though in some cases a more narrow interpretation seems possible.

(4) The materia medica of the Athavāra.—That the waters should be considered healing is most natural in virtue of both their cleansing and their cooling properties. So it is stated in Athavār. ii. 29, 6 that they are medicinal ones. Waters serve as messengers (cf. xxviii. 8), and as remedies. To the waters are especially devoted the hymns, Athavār. i. 4-6, employed as a panacea at Kauś. xxv. 20, and vi. 22, 24, employed as cures for dropsy at Kauś. xxx. 11-13. Of particularly great efficacy, however, is the use of ant-hill waters (cf. Athavār. ii. 3, vi. 100, and Bloomfield, Am. Jour. Phil. vii. 482 ff.). Hence earth from an anti-hill serves as an annull, a drink, or an external application for the cure of diarrhoea, etc. (Kauś. xxv. 7), and of kṣetra (xxvii. 45), and as an antidote for poison (xxxii. 35, xxxii. 6). There is the possibility of the patient’s receiving sufficient formic acid (cf. art. CHARMS AND AMULETS [Vedic] for method of investiture) to act as a cathartic. In all these cases the patient is associated with it a lump of ordinary earth. The separate use of the latter as an enetic in Kauś. xxvii. 3 (so Dārā) is doubtfully, as Keśava and a few others understand the fruit of the madhunja-tree. Noteworthy is the fact that both the elod of earth and the anti-hill seem to be looked upon as growths (cf. their inclusion in the list of auspicious plants, Kauś. vii. 16). Similar remedies are earth from a mole-hill, to cure constipation (Kauś. xxvii. 11), this material being selected because the ant-hill makes its way through dark passages, and also because one of its names, aḍukarasa, is compounded with a word for ‘excrement’ (cf. Satyavāla Brāhmaṇa, ii. 1. 1. 8) and earth from a beel-live (xxix. 10), as an antidote to poison.
Plants are to the Vedic mind the offspring and the essence of the waters, the embodiment of their curative properties. Hence, they too, are implored to bestow remedies (cf. Atharv. vi. 96, and esp. the long hymn vii. 7 addressed to all plants, and used as a panacea at Kauñ. xxvi. 40; cf. also the soudhi-stuti of the Rigveda cited below). The list of plants employed as remedies in the Kauña is long, and comprises the following: in a number of passages (xxv. 29, xxvi. 40, xxvii. 5, 20, 33, xxix. 30, xxx. 8, 11, xxxi. 8) the prescription calls simply for a 'auspicious tree,' thus it is the tree enumerated below. Of this tree in this list are specifically prescribed: pathás = Butaca frondos (xxv. 30, xxxi. 34), a tree of pre-eminent holiness because of its mythical associations (cf. art. CHARI S AND AMULETS [Vedic]); kāhpālī = Crousion aorad. (xxvii. 13; etc.); jānapā = Terminalia arjuna (xxvi. 43); vēta = Gnamus cinereus (xxvii. 10). Other remedies figure in the list of auspicious plants (Kauñ. vii. 16): śrīrā = Prospis açcitor (xxviii. 13, xxxi. 1); samākā = Cinnamomum aromatica (xxv. 1); durba = Grass=Poa cynosuroides (xxv. 37, xxvi. 30, xxviii. 23, vii. 2 [Com.]); also, after its use as sacrificial straw, barnī (xxvi. 31); dārīya = grass = millet (xxvi. 13); bimba = Acacia celebica (xxvii. 1); also, the grass=Gramin (cf. also the grass below); acey = barley, yaw (xxvii. 17, 27, xxvi. 2, 3, 43, xxxii. 20, 19, xxv. 17), efficacious because fancifully connected with āvayaati, 'he separates.' Another plant not in this list, but evidently employed because of its holiness is the same=plant (xxvi. 22).

Other plants owe their efficacy as remedies to their anti-demonic qualities (for these qualities cf. art. CHARI S AND AMULETS [Vedic]): igadvit=oil (xxv. 39); tāla, tattvam = and the oil made from it (xxvi. 1, 13, 43, xxvii. 33, xxx. 8); red (xxvii. 27); víra = and uśā = Andropogon muricatus (xxv. 39, xxvi. 26, xxviii. 24-26, xxvii. 13); hemp (xxviii. 25, xxvi. 33); kālīra = Acacia celebica (xxvii. 29); gandhar = gymnaster (xxvi. 18, xxvii. 27, 13, 23); the Anerikapala, Atharv. Par. 35); tōpol = colocyn (xxv. 23; also mentioned by Keśava at xxvi. 22, where it seems to be used principally for its colouring property). The use of wood of trees in their different parts is connected to their efficacy.

A number of other plants owe their employment to more or less fanciful etymologies: mūla = grass = Saccharum munja (xxvvi. 6, xxvii. 2, 33, xxxi. 3), associated with mānchichi, 'he boozes.' Leaves of the plant=asava (= anax) employed at xxv. 14 to cause sores to open, and wood of the kṛsand tree=at xxvii. 2 to cure wounds inflicted by poisoned arrows, because kārkūka means 'bough.' Growth of the hair is promoted (xxvi. 28) by the nākatā plant, 'she that takes root,' with which are associated the jīvi (root jīv, 'to live') and the alakā plants. The bākā of xxvii. 5 seems to be a synonym for arnabhā of the hymn iv. 12, felt to contain arūsa, 'wound,' and the root arūsi, 'to set,' and hence employed to cure fractures and wounds. Branches of grass=stamba are employed (xxiv. 4) to confuse (root stambh) the effects of poison; they are also added (xxx. 3, 14) to water with which a patient is washed or sprinkled.

In addition are employed: lotus roots (bīsa, combined with ala and ala, xxv. 18); hāriśtri = Kurrona longa, as a cure for jaundice (xxvi. 18) [because of its yellow colour], as an antidote to poison (xxvii. 4, xxvii. 7 [Com.], or as a panacea (xxvi. 40)]. It is also prescribed, according to the commentators, in the cure for leprosy of xxvi. 22. As the cure consists merely in painting out the spot, Keliu pastra or indigo may be used instead. There is mention also of prīnaparā = Hemiscissus cordifolius root (xxvi. 30); pipalī, pepper (xxvii. 38); black bean (xxvii. 14); sudanī, "DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Vedic)"
sometimes be made from cornelian instead of a spoon (xxvi. 30), or the medicine must be administered from a vessel filled with a particular sort of cow's horn (xxxi. 6), or a red copper vessel (xxix. 19), or through a yoke (xxv. 1), or with a pestle (xxix. 22); or must be prepared in a vessel of red and stirred with a reed (xxvii. 10), or stirred with fire (xxviii. 31); or the fire used must be a forest fire (xxix. 19), or made of birds' nests (xxv. 27); or built on a mat of reeds floating in water (xxix. 30). The place of the ceremony is not always a matter of indifference; one ceremony (xxvii. 4) must be attempted at the confluence of two streams, other cases at the cross-roads (xxv. 30, xxxv. 18), or in a ditch (xxvii. 4). The position of the patient (xxvii. 10, 25), the clothing and food of the celebrant (xxxi. 28), are also efficacious. So, too, is the time of the ceremony; thus that of xxvi. 21–25 must be repeated at sunrise, noon, and sunset. The time most frequently prescribed is amavasayat (xxvii. 29, xxviii. 5, xxx. 9) [Darila], xxxi. 28, 'at the time when the stars fade away'. The purpose is clearly expressed in Atharv. iii. 7. 7: 'when the constellations fade away and when the dawn fades away, (then) shall he shine away from us every evil and the kaśtriya.' In one case (xxxi. 28), where the duration of the ceremony is specified by the word 'kaśtriya', the time is further defined as 'before the cows come.'

(5) The Atharvaveda methods of treating diseases.—Of practices of a real therapeutic value the Kaṇśika contains but little. The most delicate is the probing of a wound (xxv. 15–16) for the relief of one suffering from retention of urine. It is instructive to observe that the discovery of this operation may be due to an attempt to carry out practically the statements of the hymn itself. 1 From the time when the patient is stopped, the fire is extinguished, and the liquid is collected, to the time when the patient is permitted to take solid food, the whole operation is repeated until the urine appears in profusion. This is a clear illustration of the ancient custom of restricting food and drink until the evil is expelled by a fluid or exudation. Another practice is the application of leaves or kernels of the herba dudh in a localised wound or boil. The leaves of the plant are first rubbed together; the mother of the liquid is then trickled over the diseased part, and the preparation is left on for a few minutes. The purpose of the exercise is to heal the wound or boil. A similar method is prescribed for the cure of dropsy (xxv. 28–29) by the application of the leaves of the plant. A patient suffering from dropsy is first made to eat a quantity of the leaves of the plant, and then the leaves are spread upon the patient, and the patient is placed in bed. The leaves of the plant are rubbed on the body of the patient, and the patient is then placed in a bed, and the leaves are spread upon the patient. The patient is then allowed to sleep in this manner, and the leaves are removed from the body of the patient.

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while in the latter case it is merely blessed with the hymn, unless, as in xxv. 28, xxviii. 8, xxix. 30, the patient is specially directed in this act. In the former case, the patient is blessed in the usual way, but the repetition of the leavings. In either case the patient is wiped down (vii. 17) from head to foot, and given (vii. 26) some of the water to drink. The water may, of course, contain other substances also, and the position of the patient and the manner in which it is to be poured are also in some cases specified. Instances of the apsanas are xxvi. 41, xviii. 4, 7, 34, xxviii. 19, xxix. 26, xxxii. 3, 14; of the auraschans, xv. 17, 57, xxv. 25, 31, xxvii. 1, 8, 28, 29, 32, and to the above apsanas, xxxi. 8, 10, 15, xxxii. 2, 28, xxiii. 4, 10, 15, 17. The two are sometimes combined (xxvi. 41, xvii. 1, 4, and 7-8, xxxii. 3-4 and 14-15). In the last case hot water is used for the one cold water for the other. Other methods of washing, chiefly of a more local nature, are xxv. 34, xviii. 1, xxx. 11, xxi. 1, 11, 13. The leavings of the offerings are also put directly upon the patient's head (xxvi. 30, xxix. 19), or blessed substances are inserted in his nostrils (xxvi. 8, xxxii. 21). Frequently also the magic substance is given to the patient to drink (xxv. 7, 11, 18, xxvi. 1, 12-13, 14, 17, xxvii. 12, 29, xxviii. 1-4, 6, 14, 16, xxvi. 2, 8, 10, 11, 13, 18, 30, xxxi. 5, 6, 23-25, 26, xxvii. 2, 7) or to eat (xxvi. 17, xviii. 31, xxviii. 19, 12, 15, 26, 27). This hot water or climbing (jīlīta), prepared by plunging a burning or heated substance in water, are employed (xxvii. 29, 33, xxvii. 2, xxvii. 8, xxix. 10).

The medicine may also be applied as an amulet. In this case the patient will have to drink a solution in which the amulet has been steeped for three days, so that it may be benefited more than would at first sight appear (cf. art. CHARMs and Amulets [Vedica]; and the instances of the xxvii. 33. The potsherd from a ruin [2] to stop the flow of blood; xxvii. 21, hairs from the breast of a red steer, glued together and wrapped with gold wire, to cure jaundice; xxvii. 36-27, four stalks of white-blooming Andropogon marcisutus [gāvīsu], or four pieces of red reed, each burnt in three places, to cure 'fright'; xxviii. 7, sūdānūngśa-plant = Celutropis gigantea, in case of possession; xxxi. 1, mustard for diseases of the eye; xxxi. 26, piece of an ant-hill, in case of bladder stones, and the second administered in liquid form, according to the commentaries. The transfer of a disease to another person is a wish most vigorously expressed in Athavā, v. 22, 48, and the ritual emphasizes this in xxvii. 9-13, in the interest of a person suffering from 'thirst.' More frequently the transfer is to an animal; fever to a frog (xxvii. 17), jaundice to yellow birds (xxvi. 18), madness to birds (xxvii. 35). The selection of the cross-roads for some ceremonies is doubtless to be connected with this idea, as is also the direction (xxxi. 10) for the rubbing of sores against the door-post (cf. also Athavā, xii. 2, 19, 20). In these and other general practices there are a number of symbolical acts adapted to the special situation, sometimes with a great deal of ingenuity, sometimes in the most haphazard fashion. As it is impossible to describe all these in detail, it seems best to present some typical examples of the whole process of an Atharvan cure.

Athavā, 1:8 is a prayer to lightning conceived as the cause of pain and fever. A person suffering from a disease is given to eat, honey, ghee, and sesame oil that have been blessed with this hymn. The head of the patient is then covered with a leaf or a piece of meat. This is not only connected by its name with the idea of soothing, but it is also a mythical healing of lightning (Agni), from which the patient is supposed to derive its effect. The leaf is then placed in the left hand (this is miraculous) a serve containing parched grain (a symbol of the effect of the fever), and walks along, eating the grain while he recites the hymn. He continues to advance, carrying in his kit hand the sieve and the turban, in his right hand a bow-string and an axe. He is followed by the celebrant, and preceded by the latter's assistant—a measure of precaution. When some manifestation of the disease occurs (so that the presence of the demon (rajas) cannot be regarded as a cause of the disease), and the procession returns. On the way home he lays down the bowstring to stop permanently the demon who has entered the man is blessed with the hymn and put up the patient's nose. Finally the priest mutes the hymn, while touching the patient's head with a bamboo staff that has four joints (and seems to serve as a conductor of the magic potency).

In a case of plague, the practitioner desires to banish the yellow colour to yellow objects, and to obtain for the patient a healthy redness, or, as the hymn puts it, "to envelop him in a red veiling and to have the yellow of the red core." Hence he puts the hair of a red bull into water, blesses it with Athavā, ii. 22, and gives it to the patient to drink (xxv. 8, 9, 20, 21; xxvi. 25, 26) and gives that to the patient to sip. An amulet, prepared from the part of a hide pierced by a peg, is tied on the patient while he is sitting down, the hide, the red bull, and he is also given milk to drink. Next the patient is fed with a porridge mixed with yellow turmeric, and he is doused with the rest of this porridge and with another porridge from which he has not eaten. He thus acquires a yellow coating that can easily be to mean (cf. i. 114, 7, S, Rs. 23.1, 4-6, 11, 14, 15, iv. 3, 6, vi. 28. 7, x. 169. 1). These are but general statements of the association of Rudra with disease which the Atharva (vi. 90, and passages cited above) expresses in concrete form. Of the particular kind, xxvii. 13 is the one most qualified to cure it, and hence he is styled (ii. 33. 4) 'the most eminent of physicians.' His healing powers are mentioned with great frequency, as are also the choice and numerous remedies he holds in his hand which are to ameliorate the disease and make all sound, both man and beast. His distinctive remedy, the jīlīta, is shown by the Atharvan ritual to be cow-urine, the medicinal use of which goes back to Indo-Iranian times, when gāo- maneṣa is prescribed in Avesta (cf. Bloomfield, Am. Jour. Phil. xii. 425-429). For these aspects of Rudra, cf. i. 43. 4, 114. 5, ii. 33. 2, 7, 12, 13, 41, 53. 14, iv. 47. 3, vii. 33. 6, 46. 2. 3; Athavā, ii. 27. 6.

The Aīvins are also divine physicians, but, unlike Rudra, they are invariably invoked. Aīvins, i. 34. 6, 8. 9, 157, 6, vii. 71. 2, viii. 9. 15, 18. 8, 22. 10, x. 30; Athavā, vii. 53. 1). What is most characteristic of them is that, in addition to general invocations of their healing aid, stories are frequently told of their cures of particular individuals, which are not to be explained as merely myths relating to natural phenomena. They restored Chyavāya to youth and its powers (i. 10. 10, 11. 3, 18. 6, vi. 74. 5, 75. 5, vii. 68. 6, 11). An asthma of the throat and did this for him (cf. ii. 12. 15, x. 39. 8) and also the gift of a husband to Ghoṣa (i. 117. 7, x. 39. 3, 6. 40. 5) was preceded by a similar rejuvenescence. To Ṛṣiva they restored his sight (i. 116. 10, 117. 17-18); for Vīṣṇu they provided an iron leg (i. 116. 13, 14) to
The number of medical charms in the Rigveda is extremely limited. They are, however, of the same general name as the Atharvan charms, and most of them recur also in the latter collection.

Rigv. i. 50. 11-13 is a prayer to Surya to destroy disease and dry up, upon which Atharv. i. 22 has drawn. Rigx. x. 137 says that in Atharv. iv. 13 is a form of prayer for a hundred cures, viz., the gods form to make alive again the man that has sinned; one wind shall blow him a remedy, another shall blow away his disease; the one practitioner who has performed this kind of miracle should have its special efficiency (cf. above, including all cases of amulets).

In still another way Varuna is brought into connexion with disease. Disease is the punish-ment of sin, and Varuna is the moral governor too (cf. 112, 8) both of blindness and of lameness. For the story of their cure, in connexion with Saranvati, of Indra, cf. below. The methods of their cure are not indicated, but rather have the air of the miraculous. It may be noted, however, that honey is most closely connected with these gods (cf. Macdonell, Ved. Mythol., 1897, p. 49), and also possesses medical efficiency (cf. above, including all cases of amulets).

Furthermore, for unseen, the they hold, twenty-one (ii. 162. 16), and the connexion is particularly clear in i. 24, 9: ‘Thy remedies, O King, are a hundred, a thousand. Let thy good will be broad and deep. Drive into the distance Nritti. Free us from the sin committed’ (cf. also vi. 74 and x. 97). It may be the assistance of any and every god; but, apart from these, the explicit mention of healing in connexion with other deities than those mentioned is very sporadic, though doubtless it is conceived as included in a general fashion in their powers of giving long life and prosperity and of the thing in connexion with Varuna’s relation to disease is the fact that he, as the lord of the waters, sends dropy in punishment for sin, and especially falsehood. This idea, unmistakable in other texts, is probable for Varuna, who in i. 298. 6 is ‘speaker away of the heart-piercing demon’ and Hillebrandt, Varuna und Mitra, 1877, p. 63 E.), though it is not so clear as to be beyond the possibility of denial (cf. Bergaigne, Religion rédigue, 1878, p. 95).

The healing power of the waters is also mentioned quite frequently. Rigv. i. 23, 16-24 is devoted to their praise; they are said to contain immortality and all remedies, and are besought to bestow their restorative power on sin (cf. x. 153, 7, and note the frequency with which the waters appear in prayers for long life). In Rigv. vi. 50, 7 they are healing, and in x. 137, 6 they are healing and dispellers of disease.

It would, however, be a mistake to infer from such passages that the concept of the cause of disease is radically different in the Rigveda from what it is in the Atharvāra. The association with the Rakshas is clear in i. 15, i. 7, 1, 6, 8, 35, 7, viii. 35, 16-18, ix. 55, 1, 97, 6, 86, 12, 192, 1; furthermore, in x. 85, 31—a prayer to Indra to send the rain, mention is made of a censurer—‘is to be recognized the sacriseption of disease to the influence of the spirits of the dead. It is for this reason that the sun-gods (i. 153. 3, and Agni 153. 9) and the Rakshas (i. 18, 2, 98, 3) are dispellers of disease—they being the spirits of the dead, and the power of no disease (an arispati, ii. 33, 2. 14, 7. 9) may also be men- tioned here as based on the idea of the disease—demon entering a niswar—‘godness Ayva, a sick man, an embodiment of deflection from fear’ invoked in x. 143. 12, may be classed as a disease—demon (cf. Atharv. ii. 2, 5, 1, ix. 9).

Medical charms are, of course, likely to call in the assistance of any and every god; but, apart from these, the explicit mention of healing in connexion with other deities than those mentioned is very sporadic, though doubtless it is conceived as included in a general fashion in their powers of giving long life and prosperity and of the thing in connexion with Varuna’s relation to disease.

The Adityas drive away disease (viii. 18. 10); Indra cures Aupalā of skin disease and her father of baldness (viii. 80; for the treatment of this legend in the Brahmans, cf. Oerter, J. E. E. iv. 290); the Maruts, as children of Rudra, have pure, salutary, and benedictory remedies (ii. 13. 13), which they are asked to bring from various places (vii. 20. 234, cf. also v. 53. 14); Vata gives remedies (i. 59. 4, x. 150. 1); for Soma, cf. i. 91, 12, iii. 61, 14, viii. 32. 17, 20. 2, ix. 97. 43, x. 25. 11; for Soma-Rudra, vi. 74; for Vāsātpati, vii. 54. 1, 55. 1; for the Dawns, x. 35. 6; for the All-Gods, x. 63. 12; for Yama, x. 14. 11; and for the more general prayers for health among the other blessings, iii. 16. 5, 59. 3, x. 18. 7, 57. 7.

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DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Vedico)

auka, , kāna, mithādy; defects of hearing (ba-
dhīra, abadhīra); lameness (arṣcana, ṣrova); loss of
virility (vaḍhī). It is neither possible nor desirable to treat at this
length the whole of Vedico literature; but, as the occurences of
disease are no less important than the treat-
ments, it seems best to limit the treatment to certain texts as representative of the Yajurveda,
the Brāhmaṇas, and the Upaniṣads. For the Yajur
texts the Vājasaneyi Sānkhīta has been chosen.
One of the objects of sacrifice is an attempt to
induce the gods to bestow prosperity, in which
health is an important element. It is, however,
noteworthy that health is by no means so
conspicuous an object of prayer as is wealth.
Even when it is sought (cf. xxv. 14-25—Rig, i. 89),
it is in general terms, thus resembling the charms
for long life (āgyayini) rather than the medical
(āgyayā) charms.
For such incidental prayers compare, in addition to prayers
for strength, lustre, vigour, life of a hundred years, that occur
pānita, such formulae as: ii. 15, 'O Agni, thou art protector
of body and soul of the bodhisat (my God)'; and the art-giver of my
life, o Agni, giv me life. O Agni, thou art giver of splendour, give me
splendour. O Agni, when sitting in my body, that do thou call me out for
me my life, my sight, my hearing, my speech; quicken my mind, protect my
being.
For words of the same general type, cf. vi. 27, xv.
7, xvii. 15, xviii. 6, xxvi. 23, xxvii. 12, xxxi. 1, 3.
O Agni, direct my prayer. For this prayer see also as i. 20. 'The
my sight (I take)'; and ii. 16, 'Thou art protector of sight, O
Agni, protect my sight.' Numerous parallels from other texts
are found there.' The body is consdered as one 'where weakness is not
found,' and in xvi. 105 the speaker quite 'weakness, lack of
strength, fail.'

The incidental statements of the relation of the
gods to disease are on the plane of the Rigveda,
and are frequently repetitions of that text. Varuna
in xviii. 33 is styled a healing seer (cf. xvii. 23—
Rig, i. 24, 8, and xvii. 29, v. 9, i. 11, 24). For
the healing power of the waters, cf. iv. 12.
ix. 6, xv. 33, xxxvi. 12; for Bṛhaspati, iii. 29—
Rig, i. 18, 2; for Savitar, xxxiv. 25—Rig, i.
35, 9; for Agni, ii. 29, xxv. 8; for Aśvin,
xxxv. 19, xv. 7, 49; for Varuna, xvi. 7, 8; for
the divine artifice, is more directly connected with the
repair of the body than in the Rigveda (cf. ii. 24—
viii. 14—Atharv, vi. 53, 3 and Vāj. Śū. xxviii. 9).
Of more interest are the collections of mantras
for the treatment of diseases directly connected
with the subject. At the sākenchana, the third parvan
of the cāutorsoga-sacrifice, occurs a pitṛjātaka after
which are employed four verses (iii. 53-56) of one
of the Subandhu-hymns (Rigv. x. 37, 3-6), to
keep the spirits of those engaged in the sacrifice
from following the pitṛa on their return to the
world of Yama. Another portion of the same
sacrifice is the Trayāṅgukobhak̄a to Rūdra.
The formulae are found in iii. 57-61; their purpose
is to ward off the evil genius and to ward off other
peoples without harming the sacrificers.
Of similar nature is the Satarudrīyatana at the
agnicyayana. The sixteenth book of the Vāj. Śū.
is composed of its mantras. The concept of
Rūdra is essentially the same as that of the
Rigveda, though worked out in fuller detail.
The Śaatrāmanci is a sacrifice originally in-
tended to expel the sin of excessive soma-
drinking, which leads to a drunken discharge of
the urine. The heaven-born, to the demons
this ceremony is the cure which the Āśvin and
Sarasvati wrought upon Indra when he had been
gueloged into surī-drunkemess by the demon
Nāmuci. For the details of this story, cf. Bloom-
field, p. 145-163. employed constitute books xix.-xxi. of Vāj. Śū.
Of particular interest are: xix. 10, containing
the name of the disease-god; xix. 80-95, the
detailed account of Indra's cure; xix. 12, 16,
xx. 3, 56ff., 75, 80, xxii. 13, 18, 29, references
to the healing power of his physicians and their
remedies; xix. 55, 62—Rigv. x. 15, 4, 6, prayers
to the gods for the health. (For the ritual, cf. A.
92-106, and A. Hillebrandt, Ritualliteratur,
1897, p. 159.)

Anatomically interesting are the lists of various
parts of the body affected (xxvii. 19-31, xxviii.
10, parts of the horse), xxxi. 10-13, xxxii. 8-10,
and the statements relative to conception and
birth (xix. 76). The theory of the vital breaths
now begins to become prominent; but the whole
of this question must be dismissed with a refer-
ence to A. H. Ewing, The Hindu Conception
of the Functions of Breath, J.A.O.S xxii. 249-308.

Of names of disease few occur: yākṣma is
disease in general (cf. the coupling of ṣuva kṣma
anuvayi, i. 1, iv. 12, xvii. 6, and the mention of
the hundred yākṣmas, xii. 97). This disease
is also mentioned in the esādhistati (xii. 75ff.—
Rigv. x. 97). Its last verse (xii. 97) is, however,
perticular to the version of Vāj. Śū., and mentions
the weakness, the weakness of the voice (vagam,
țīva, and pādārta of uncertain meaning).
Yātra occurs in xiv. 44=Rigv. x. 103, 12, while Vīṣṇukī,
(xix. 10) is an equally vivid name ('she that makes
go in all directions') for the demon to whom are
ascribed the nauseating and charming effects of
deanach. Heart-disease is mentioned in viii. 23—
Rigv. i. 24, 8; diseases of the eye, arm, in xxx.
11; skin-disease in xxx. 29; leprosy in xxx. 17,
21; various deformities in xxx. 10, 21, 22.
Physicians are recognized in the profession
(xxx. 10). An amulet is used by the Divine
physicians (xiv. 80) for the cure of Indra.
Finally, iv. 3 is a formula addressed to ointment
from Śī. Trīkāda: 'Thou art the eye of Viṭa'ra
(for my eye);—cf. Bloomfield, The Myth of the
Heavenly Eye-ball, Am. Jour. Phil. xvii. 399-408),
thou art the giver of sight, give me sight.'
In the Aṣṭārya Brāhmaṇa there is very little
material bearing on the subject. Incidental aluta-
sions to the subject of disease and remedy are
likely to be noted the distinction between the
senses of taste, sight, and smell, and their organs
(v. 22). The processes of procreation and birth
are also frequently alluded to in the effort to
produce a son endowed with disease-free earthly
limbs. Disease is likewise a great deal of talk about the 'vital
breaths'—the way in which they may be established,
in the sacrificer, or may be cut short.
The same is true of the various senses and the
power of virility; and there is the constantly
recurring effort to secure vigour, splendour, sharp-
ness of sense, and the full term of life.
All of this is too general to be of interest in
the present connexion. More concrete are i. 18,
where the physician to whom is to be the physicians
of the gods; v. 34, where the Brāhmaṇa priest is the
physician of the sacrifice. Freedom from disease
is expressly sought in viii. 10 and 11; the healing
power of herbs is recognized in general in lii. 40,
and in particular that of collyrium for the eye
in i. 3. That disease may be produced by a curse
is seen in v. 1 (deformity) and vi. 33 (leprous).
Madness is alluded to in vi. 33, and in v. 29 there
is mention of a girl possessed, den, by a demon.
Varuna's words, as productive of dropings in punish-
ment for a broken vow, figure in the story of
Sūñāṣeṣa (vii. 15 and 16). The origin of certain
deformities is explained mythically in i. 8. The
closest approach to a cure for disease is found
in iii. 19 in the formulae that equipped the knowledge
that will enable one to preserve his sight to old age.
In i. 25 is explained the way in which the Hotor
may cause the sacrificer to suffer from vyāpyāna, which here seems to mean some (serofolous) disease of the neck.

An examination of the Brhadārayana and Chhandāla Upaniṣads shows that the chief interest of these texts in this connexion lies in their anatomical statements. Besides more isolated instances that occur postāni may be noted the list of the parts of the body (Bṛh. i. 1. 1.); of the human body (Bṛh. 4. 11.); and the elaborate comparison of man with a tree (iii. 9. 28). There are also statements about the heart and its veins (Bṛh. ii. 1. 19, iv. 2. 3. 29); Chhānd. viii. 1 and 16; on the disposition of food in the body (Chhānd. vi. 5); the process of sleep and dreams (Bṛh. ii. 1. 16 ff., iv. 3. 7 ff.; Chhānd. iv. 3. 3); and the process of death (Bṛh. iii. 2. 11 ff.). All these statements are, however, connected with the theory of the ‘vital breaths,’ and appear to be entirely speculative.

With regard to the origin of disease may be noted the power of a curse to produce bodily ailments implied in the thread ‘thread shall burst’ (Bṛh. iii. 7. 1, 9. 26; Chhānd. i. 8. 8); the statement (Bṛh. iv. 3. 15) that the evil caused by waking a man while his spirit is abroad in dreams is hard to cure; and the mention (Bṛh. iii. 8. 4) of ‘punishment for sickness.’ Sickness is incidentally mentioned (Bṛh. iv. 3. 36, v. 11. 1; Chhānd. iv. 10. 3, vi. 15. 1, vii. 26. 2, viii. 4. 2, 6. 4). The itch (prānam) is the only disease specifically mentioned; and Rākṣaṇa’s surgical treatment (Bṛh. ii. 1. 8) is probably a method of cure to be associated with the cases of transference cited above.

The full term of life is often promised as a reward for certain knowledge (Bṛh. i. 2. 7, ii. 1. 11 ff.; Chhānd. ii. 11 f., iv. 11 ff.); an upaṇyāsī ceremony is also mentioned (Bṛh. iv. 4. 25). In Chhānd. iii. 16 are contained directions for the cure of any disease, by following which one may live 110 years.

A number of factors combine to prevent diseases and their treatment from figuring to a great extent in the Śrāvnta ritual. All connected with the sacrifice must be in good health: an animal viewed must not be infirm, and a thread ‘thread shall burst’ (Bṛh. iii. 7. 1, 9. 26; Chhānd. i. 8. 8); the statement (Bṛh. iv. 3. 15) that the evil caused by waking a man while his spirit is abroad in dreams is hard to cure; and the mention (Bṛh. iii. 8. 4) of ‘punishment for sickness.’ Sickness is incidentally mentioned (Bṛh. iv. 3. 36, v. 11. 1; Chhānd. iv. 10. 3, vi. 15. 1, vii. 26. 2, viii. 4. 2, 6. 4). The itch (prānam) is the only disease specifically mentioned; and Rākṣaṇa’s surgical treatment (Bṛh. ii. 1. 8) is probably a method of cure to be associated with the cases of transference cited above.

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A number of factors combine to prevent diseases and their treatment from figuring to a great extent in the Śrāvnta ritual. All connected with the sacrifice must be in good health: an animal viewed must not be infirm, and a thread ‘thread shall burst’ (Bṛh. iii. 7. 1, 9. 26; Chhānd. i. 8. 8); the statement (Bṛh. iv. 3. 15) that the evil caused by waking a man while his spirit is abroad in dreams is hard to cure; and the mention (Bṛh. iii. 8. 4) of ‘punishment for sickness.’ Sickness is incidentally mentioned (Bṛh. iv. 3. 36, v. 11. 1; Chhānd. iv. 10. 3, vi. 15. 1, vii. 26. 2, viii. 4. 2, 6. 4). The itch (prānam) is the only disease specifically mentioned; and Rākṣaṇa’s surgical treatment (Bṛh. ii. 1. 8) is probably a method of cure to be associated with the cases of transference cited above.
DISGUST

Disgust may be obtained from such lists as Kawatsuki Brahma
iv. containing twelve modifications of the New and Full Moon Sacrifice, of which none is intended for the cure of disease or the much
longer list of Tuscitii Satihiit ii. 1. 1. ii. 4. 14.
3. In this are included sacrifices for one long ill' (jyagama-sayvin) that will make him live even if his spirit is gone' (ii. 1. 1. 3. 2. 7. 9. 3) [release from
Varuna's fetter]; ii. 4. 2. 9. 2. 10. 3. ii. 1. cf. also
iii. 4. 3. 3. for being seized by Varuna' or for release
from Varuna's fetter (ii. 1. 2. 1. 2. 5. 1. 3. 12. 1. 13. 1; for one who wishes to live his
full term of life (ii. 2. 3. 2.); for one who fears death
(iii. 2. 3. 2.); for one wishing virility (iii. 2. 3. 2.);
or power of his senses (iii. 1. 6. 2. 5. 4. 3. 7. 2.); for one wishing sight (ii. 2. 4. 3. 0. 2. 3. 8. 1. even though blind he sees'); for one in fear of
impotence (ii. 3. 2. 2. 10. 2. 10. 2.); for one who womits
vometa (iii. 2. 6. 2.); for one whose mind is slain, who is an evil to himself' (ii. 2. 8. 3. for insanity,
cf. also iii. 4. 8. 4.); for one who has been suffering
long from an unknown disease [cf. ajahuta
yamata (ii. 6. 5. 5.); for one suffering from
Papagayatma (ii. 3. 5. containing the mythical
account of the origin of Papagayatma, rajayagyna
and rajyagyna; cf. ii. 5. 6. 4.]; the last statement that
for this purpose the sacrifice must be offered at the
new moon in order that the sacrificer may fall out
with it.

In the Ghyra-rites the phenomena of disease appear more frequently, though still treated in a general fashion, which contexts unfavourably with the details of the Atharva. Sickness is a
sufficient excuse for sleep at sunrise or sunset (Aghatapaya GS ii. 7. 1. 2.); and dispels hallucinations and
gyanama (ib. i. 23. 5. 2.); in case pain also stops the
recitation of the Veda. (Sukhayaatma GS iv. 7.
35. At the apyagya, Agni is invoked as the
physician and maker of remedies (Hryavyaklit GS i. 2. 18. cf. Atharv. v. 29. 1). At the Aghama
also prayers for long life are employed (cf. Caland,
p. 20 and 49), and, according to Hryavyaklit in
ii. 12. 9, the sacrificer, if over fifty, offers to the
pitr some of his hair, with the request that they
take nothing more. The reason is that he feels
now is on the down grade and desires to prolong
his life as much as possible (other interpretations in
Caland, p. 179). The prevention of disease and
sorcery may also be attained, according to Gobhita
GS iv. 6. 2. by the daily repetition of any formula.
The Agrayana also, especially in its presentation
in Sukhayaatma GS iii. 8., seems to be a rite to
render the new food fit for use by driving away
any demons that may be lurking in it (cf. the Agrayana
Kanyastei for an annadvakama in Kasyakki
Brahma v. 12). As yamata Sukhayaatma GS
v. 6. 1. 2 prescribes an oblation of rice-grains and
gourds grass (Coix borbea) with Rig. i. 114; similarly
Aghat GS iii. 6. 3-4 six oblations of boiled rice with Rig. x. 161 (cf. the directions for
protection of the embryo in Sukh. GS i. 21).
Another way of securing health (Aghat GS iv. 1. 1)
is for an aghati to leave the village when he is sick;
the sacred fires will desire to return, and will consequently grant him health. This
is clearly an adaptation of a psychosis practice.

Of special veneration is Pavesaka GS iii. 6 contains
an elaborate cure for headache by rubbing, while
reciting a verse parallel with Rig. x. 163. 1 =
Atharv. ii. 33. 1. This verse is also employed as
Aputambhi GS iii. 9. 10 for the rubbing of a sick
woman with lotus leaves and roots. When the pain
is confined to one side of the head, a different formula
is used, the wording of which suggests the ascrip-
tion of the pain to worms. An elaborate cure for
epilepsy, conceived as due to the attack of a
dog demon upon a child, is described (Hryavyaklit GS
ii. 2. 7. 1 = Pata GS vii. 18. 1; Pata GS i. 16. 24).

With it may be compared the exorcism of the
Vishayaka in Manavay GS ii. 14, giving mention of the
symptoms (including epilepsy) and the cure of
an attempt to secure a child from all diseases (khetutjagita, particularly mentioned) is found at the
Sukhayaatma (Hry. GS ii. 3. 10; Ap. GS vi. 15. 4).
The Gobhita GS iv. 9. 10, while the following sritor provide for their
treatment in cows; cf. Tuscitii Agraya
iv. 36. 1; Ap. SS xxv. 10. 3. (for cattle) are
Agraya, GS iv. 8. 40 (the cows are led through
the smoke of a fire in which an abomination has been
made; cf. Hry. GS ii. 3. 8. 10, and Ksy. GS v. 3. 13).

The Brahma deals frequently in cures for
diseases, but not in a way to call for special comment
(cf. i. 1. 2. 5. 17. 8; i. 17. 9. 13: 19; 18. 10; 19. 19;
20. 3. 23. 7. 24. 3. 25. 5; 27. 1. 28. 4. 29. 2;
30. 4. 31. 2. 30. 2. 23. 10. 11. 26. 3. 38.
30. 4. 31. 2. 30. 2. 23. 10. 11. 26. 3. 38.
30. 3. 34. 5; ii. 2. 3. 2. 7. 6. 11. 3. 1. 5. iv. 1. 1-3.
9. 4. 7. 16. 1. 19. 3. 5. 1)

The Sukhayaatma Brakhma has among its
Jnayoni a series of ceremonies of interest; when
the children of one's wife die young (ii. 2. 1)
the ceremony is described in art. CHA. and AMULETS (Vedici); when one is seized by a demon
(ii. 2. 2.); for any disease (ii. 2. 3); in case of pain of
the limbs (ii. 3. 1); for protection from snakes
(cf. i. 3. 3.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works cited, cf. P. Cordier,
Etude sur la medicine hindoue, Paris, 1904 (additional passages
from Upnishads); V. Henry, La Medicine dans l'Inde ancienne,
Paris, 1904, pp. 176-236; W. Caland, Altindisches Zauberv
Praxis: Ein Beitrag zur Ueberwachung der wichtigen Thesen des
J. J. Schmoller, Kasyakki Sutter, Amsterdam, 1905, pp. 1-175; M. Wunschopjer,
Sukhayaatma Sutter, Amsterdam, 1905, pp. 46-87; S. V. Shinwari,
Sukhayaatma, in Gifr ii. 1. 9, 11; M. Wunschopjer,
Y. Wunschopjer, in Gifr iii. 1. 9, 11; M. Wunschopjer,
Eind, Lud., 1895.

DISGUST is primarily a feeling in regard to
the physically reproducible, and is therefore
grounded on actual or reproduced organic sensations.
In 'moral' disgust, these sensations are suggested
by analogy. The emotion of repugnance for ugliness
appears in disgust, abhorrence, contamination, and
horror, as a particular feeling-attitude, or disporposition
of the self, towards an object which stands in a
special relation to the nature of the individual.
The object which arouses the emotion is not the
hostile as such, or the merely harmful; it is the
unnatural - that which involves a perversion of
nature. In other words, it is at variance with that
primary fitness of things which is based on the
essential nature of things. This is evident in the
case of the morally repugnant. The abnormal
prominence of the animal nature, desires which lead
to misuse of functions, desires of any kind raised to
an unnatural pitch, all arouse the emotion of
repugnance. The same principle is valid in regard to
merely physical objects are concerned. Objects of this
kind are 'natural' in their proper place, but they
may be misplaced. This is the rationale of
all physical repugnance. The characteristic
expression of this emotion in combats is to the
removal of all relations with the unpleasant object. It thus
serves to protect, not so much the life of the indi-
vidual, as his distinctive nature.

LITERATURE.—C. Darwin, Expression of the Emotions, Lon.
1872, ch. xi.; the Psychology of the Emotions, Eng.
tr. of 1872, ch. i. 1. D. IRONS.

1 D. IRONs, The Psychology of Ethics, Edin. and Lond., 1895, ch. I.
**DISTRIBUTION of wealth.**

**773.**

**DISTRIBUTION (of income).**—By the economic theory of distribution is meant the doctrine of the manner in which the products of industry are distributed among the factors producing them, viz. land, capital, labour, and enterprise.

2. The shares.—In dealing with the relative amounts that go to the four factors in production, one course is to treat rent, interest, and wages as prices, and to determine the consideration that, like all prices, they are determined by the demand for the supply available. But he expects that each has a marginal quantity and quality which it just pays the employer to buy. The margins are not independent of one another, since the employer may substitute machinery for labor, or buy land for a cheaper site requiring much capital for a dear one requiring less. And he expects a certain margin of profit for his own enterprise, short of which he would prefer to join the ranks of the employed. But, as data for an ethical judgment of the system, it is better to regard the shares more directly.

(a) The share to land or nature.—Economic rent comes out of the price of a commodity in respect of the surplus of the soil and sine cursum in its production. The growing demand for food and raw material, houses and factories, requires the use of inferior natural conditions; resort is had to inferior lands and sites, and more capital and labour are put into those already occupied, though the return per unit is less. Since it must pay to use the inferior conditions, it more than pays now to use the better. The surplus is rent.

(b) The share to the entrepreneur.—But it does not need a system of landlord and tenant to infer that the margin of profit is necessary to the enterprise. When a farm is cultivated by its owner, it earns the same economic rent as if he had let it, for its produce brings the same price.

In respect of the amount that goes as rent, it is best, and it is the practice, to begin by regarding a farm or a town-block as having a value estimated from its selling price, or from its earnings capitalized. Thus the earnings are all profit and interest on the selling price; rent is not something additional, it is contained in the profit and interest. To separate it out is to make a fresh analysis, tracing now the stock to its origin, and distinguishing the part that is not due to the owner's capital and labour. Besides the natural and indestructible powers of the soil' and the work of the world, and the national income is taken as produced, distributed, exchanged, and consumed every day. Into this the value stream comes the employer to direct its course and speed. His action is determined by the price that he expects, and it is distributed throughout time. It guarantees the other agents their shares, and takes the rest; he buys them out. If he is a contractor, he knows the price he will get, and what he can afford to pay the other agents. He may undertake the further risk of not knowing the price he

1 For Distribution of wealth, see art. Wealth.
thought that from about 25 to 40 per cent of their annual value is rent, the higher figure being the estimate for London. Of the annual value of agricultural land in England, probably 23 per cent is pure rent (R. J. Thompson, *Journ. Roy. Stat. Soc.*, 1907, p. 610).

(b) The share to capital.—This must not only make good the capital that is consumed in producing the commodity, but pay interest on it as well. And it is the same with interest as with rent; capital need not be lent in order to earn interest. If the owners of real capital use it themselves it earns quite enough all by itself. It is equally well, it earns much the same interest as when the capital is borrowed, for the price of its products get much the same price. A machine or other piece of real capital pays its costs out of its products; and, if it could produce them all at once, there would be no interest, for the price got for them in respect of the machine would just cover the cost of the machine. But to do its work the machine needs time. This involves other costs, e.g., repairs, insurance, and the risk of becoming obsolete; and these must be covered by the price of the products. But also the more time must be paid for, and, the more time that is needed, the more the product must pay. Interest, therefore, is a rate on the capital per unit of time; and it is paid because the credit is necessary to the power that works the machine, or the like need for repairs. One machine or process would be able to displace another equally economical in all other respects, if it made an economy merely in time. From this cause a machine and its working would no longer be regarded regarding the interest on all capital, commercial as well as industrial, that claims a share in the national dividend; for the bulk of loanable capital is employed in the purchase and working of real capital. Interest, then, is the share of the price of commodities that goes to capital on account of the time that the capital needs to get its products and have them sold. The interest on capital that is borrowed, not for production but for consumption (e.g., a dwelling-house or a war-loan), does not concern us; it is not an additional claim to a share in the distribution of the dividend, but merely the exchange of one person's present claim for another's in the future that suits him better. It may be managed and its working presupposed without saying that it follows the rate on productive capital, so far as it is pure interest, and not also a premium on the risk of loss, or an extortion from folly or distress.

It was a mistake to suppose that there must be a separate rate of interest on capital and from rent, and losses that are due to a rise or fall in the value of the capital itself. The distinction from the employer's share is already obvious, but to separate it from the other two we have to regard interest as a rate on what the capital may have cost originally, but on its selling value. Then we can say that all capital, so far as it is used as capital, earns interest, and that competition keeps interest at a normal rate for different kinds of stock. This rate is a measure of the margin which capital remains in the industry; rates are above and below the normal, and indicate the employer's profit and loss, when they tend to increase or diminish the supply of that kind of capital. When an owner or a validator finds the average interest in a stock to be over or under the normal, he writes the capital value up or down to a figure at which the capital earns the normal rate for that kind of stock. Similarly with government and other stocks; it is the interest that is regarded as constant, and the owner's capital that is written up or down. The more a stock is an investment stock, the more this is apparent, and it is really the same with stocks that are more speculative. The interest on first-class securities is taken as the minimum of the normal rate. The minimum varies with the demand for such securities and their supply, and for different lengths of credit. But the loans for three months on these securities is conveniently regarded as the rate of pure interest, because all factors are eliminated but time. From 1844 to 1900 the average rate of the Bank of England was 23, 12a, per cent, and the market rate about 10a. less (Palgrave, *Bank Rate and the Money Market*, London, 1903).

(c) The share to labour.—The rest of the product goes to the living factors. The relative amount of it cannot be estimated without an adequate census of production, and, in particular, because the estimation of interest has to be made on the earnings capacity of capital, and not on its cost. But the earnings capacity of the living factors may be taken to be above the average power that works the machine together (Nicholson, *Strikes and Social Problems*, Lond. 1896, v. and vi.). The struggle between labour and capital does not lie here, however; a less figure need not imply any loss to labour, for the substitution of labour by capital is an advantage to the employer, and the shares to the labour of all kinds that he hires.

The hired labour may be manual or mental, industrial or commercial, the labour of workmen, clerk, or manager. And it is not of theoretical importance whether the wages are paid weekly or as salaries; for whether the employer pays before selling the product is immaterial, the essential thing being that the share is made a fixed cost, independent of the demand and of such interest as follows the rate on productive capital, so far as it is pure interest, and not also a premium on the risk of loss, or an extortion from folly or distress. As in all buying and selling we see competition in the haggling between buyer and seller, but behind, and entirely off the stage of competition, is the more vital struggle of buyer with buyer and seller with seller, so it is in the labour market. This was wrongly expressed in the 'wages-fund' theory, which required a rise in the wages of one class of labour to be met by a fall in wages elsewhere. The theory was right in holding that the action both of the buyer and of the seller of labour is limited; but the limit is not capital but the price of the product. And it was also right in saying that the power of collective bargaining is strong in one class and weak in another, and it is to be hoped and expected that the lower grades will advance more rapidly than those requiring skill, intelligence, and managing ability; but progress and competition will continue to make the great difference. They will continue to determine the supply of labour at the price that is met by the margin which remains in the industry; rates are above and below the normal, and indicate the employer's profit and loss, when they tend to increase or diminish the supply of that kind of capital. When an owner or a validator finds the average interest in a stock to be over or
DIVINATION (Introductory and Primitive),

By ‘divination’ is meant the endeavour to obtain information about things future or otherwise removed from ordinary perception, by consulting informants other than human. While mostly directed to foretelling coming events, it is not confined to this, but may seek to find out, e.g., what is going on at home while the inquirer is abroad. Ancient as well as modern thinkers have repeatedly denounced it and exposed its fallacy; nevertheless it is still practised all over the world by the more backward races of mankind and by uneducated members of the civilized peoples. Even under the highest religions—Buddhism, Islam, Judaism, Christianity itself—diviners, like other magicians, have continued to flourish, although their arts form no part of the prevailing religions, and has been both by the leaders of religion. Like other pseudo-sciences, divination rests on very ancient and wide-spread convictions, inherited from lower levels of culture; and its great strength is in the utter inability of the undeveloped human mind to understand and appreciate a negative argument. No doubt wilful deceit on the part of diviners has done much to retain their hold on popular belief; but for the most part they have been dupes of their own fallacy. Many of them, and like their consultants, have remembered successful predictions and forgotten unsuccessful ones. Divination is a pseudo-science, and has a certain order and logicality in its structure, once its erroneous premises are granted; although it must be remembered that the logic of uncivilized and semi-civilized men—or, for that matter, of our own children—is much less stringent than ours, and less quick to detect fallacies. Indeed, the whole argument for divination may be said to be based on a glaring fallacy of ‘ambiguous middle.’ To explain this, it is necessary to consider what train of thought may be supposed to have given rise to the beliefs under discussion.

Perhaps the first idea which suggests itself is that divination grew out of false induction. A savage, we may imagine, noticed a bird, for instance, behaving in a peculiar way, and soon afterwards met with some mishap. He put the two happenings together, did the same in several other cases, and came to the conclusion that for such a movement on the part of a hawk or parrot meant that the observer was in danger of a bad fall, or would have no luck if he went fishing. That such a train of reasoning may often have taken place we do not deny; but we do object to such a process not being likely to lead to anything more than a miscellaneous series of omens, not a system such as divination is among quite uncivilized races. Also it would result in the most arbitrary relations between omen and subsequent event; whereas between the sign and the thing signified there very often exists, allowing for uncivilized ways of thought, a perfectly

Indian (J. Jacob), p. 799.
Jewish (M. Gaster), p. 806.
Muslim (D. S. Margoliouth), p. 816.
Persian (L. H. Gray), p. 818.
Roman (G. Wissowa), p. 820.
Teutonic (C. J. Gaskell), p. 827.
Vedic (G. M. Bolling), p. 827.

The constant tendency away from agriculture and the textiles, where the average earnings of all employed, either through the low relative wages of the male (as in agriculture), or the large relative employment of lower-paid women and children, are low, towards the more highly-paid engineering, mining, and building trades, for example, among the average earnings of all employed in industrial occupations more rapidly than the earnings of occupations taken separately. The Standard of Comfort of the British wage-earner is now, on the average, not less than 50 per cent, and probably nearer 55 per cent, higher than that of his predecessor in 1850, and of this advance more than one-half has been obtained during the past quarter of a century.’ (O. H. Wood, Journ. Roy. Stat. Soc., 1900, pp. 95, 102.)

The share of enterprise.—Profit is what remains of the price of the product after the employer has paid the other shares. There are all grades of enterprise, from those requiring little capital and ability to those requiring much, and ordinarily there is competition at all grades with other employing individuals or companies. The individual profit is frequently little more than the salary of a hired manager at the same grade, and, considering the number of failures, the average is possibly less.

There is good reason to believe that the community gets its employing done for it more cheaply than it gets any other service, just because the speculation and the free life are very large elements in the real reformation.’ (Smart, The Distribution of Income, p. 163.)

The existence of the employer and his profit, which distinguishes the present system from its predecessors, has often been regarded as its defect; and Socialism (q. v.) is the view that this function should be undertaken by the State, and not by individuals or companies. The question is beyond the scope of this article; but it may be repeated, on behalf of the present system, that many of the current economic evils are wrongly charged against it. The system of distribution would not be an economic one, however, by any measures of taxation and expenditure that aimed at a better distribution of wealth; and the regulation of monopolies is an essential office of Government, which has given freedom from competition only because it has found a more effectual substitute in competition. The most serious defects lie in competition itself; but the defects are not all inevitable, and they prevent the very efficiency which the system is meant to bring out. Cf. art. COMPETITION.

LITERATURE.—All the textbooks in economics give a prominent place to distribution; several books are confined to the subject, the most distinctive being J. B. Clark, The Distribution of Wealth, London, 1900, and W. Stuart, The Distribution of Income, Glasgow, 1889. Wages, interest, and rent have each a large literature. The most recent works on monopolies and trusts may be regarded as the special authorities on profits. In comparative statistics regarding wages, special reference may be made to the work done by Rowley and Wood, and for current comparisons there are the Reports of the Board of Trade mentioned in the art. Conscientious treatment, to which has now to be added the corresponding Report on Wages and the Cost of Living in U.S.A. (1911).

W. MITCHELL.
DIVINATION (Introductory and Primitive)

rational connexion, sometimes amounting to causality. It seems, then, more likely that divination should be treated as a branch of sympathetic magic, and regarded as a deduction or series of deductions from a vaguely conceived principle of something like the uniformity of Nature. The reasoning may be thus paraphrased in our definite phraseology: like causes produce like effects; therefore this occurrence, which is like that other one, will produce a like result. The fallacy lies in the ambiguity of 'like,' and the reasoner's inability to differentiate between those things whose likeness to one another is real and essential and those which bear only an accidental or fanciful resemblance to one another. Thus, 'whistling for a wind' rests on the likeness between whistling and the rush of an actual breeze; while in the realm of omens, the Melanesian belief, that, if a non-domestic fowl, entering the house, makes any outcry, a death will ensue, seems to rest on the resemblance of the strange creature's cry to the wailing of mourners. How real the causal connexion of which to be clear from the innumerable cases in all grades of civilization of avoidance or neutralization of bad omens—taking away the cause, that is, to prevent the effect. Thus the Manipuris, if they meet with a mole on a journey—a bad omen—try to kill it (Hodson, p. 202).

But this simple process is not in itself sufficient to account for all the ramifications of the diviner's art. At least two main developments must be noted. The first is the connexion of the supernatural cause or causes of the event into a system, often very complex and intricate, of symbolism—a system in which, as Taylor notes, are apt to be filled by the inventories of new omens, curiously, or on the analogy of those already existing. The second comes with the advance of religious belief and the growing importance of deities of one sort or another. Men come to think of omens as sent by them. A good example of this is the Dayak idea that the hawk, their chief omen bird, while it sometimes comes of its own accord to foretell the future, is regularly the messenger of Balli Penuyalong, the Supreme Being. Finally, it must be noted that, although the chief source of divination is probably sympathetic magic, other ideas have contributed to the long list of omens.

Divination may be roughly divided into two kinds: (a) 'automatie' divination, in which an omen is sought for and interpreted, so to speak, in its own right, with no thought of appeal to any supernormal power, god, or spirit; and (b) divination proper, in the strict etymological sense of the word, which inquires of some sort of a deity, generally by means of signs conceived of as being sent by him. But of many cases it is hard to say which category they fall under. Take the well-known method of divining by the Bible and key; we doubt if the people who use this method could say definitely whether they suppose the answer to be sent by God or to come from some quasi-magical power inherent in the book itself. The same applies to many such survivals; one is in doubt whether to consider them purely magical or affected by the current religion. For the purposes of this article, we shall classify divination according to the means employed, noting roughly the distribution of each.

1. Dreams.—That a dream may be in some way prophetic is a view held by all races at all times, and still popular, to judge the modern dream-books. The simplest form is that the dreamer sees, as actually as if he were awake, what is being done or at least contemplated. A recent book gives an excellent account of the way the Lenguas of the Paraguay Chaco regard dreams. We quote a typical case:

A spirit appeared in the form of a horned beetle, and, flying round the sleeper several times, drew near to his head, then vanished in the vicinity of the sleeper's knee. The pain of his entrance was distinctly felt. The sleeper, awakening, noticed no mark or other sign of injury. The pain, however, was still distinctly felt. What explanation could there be, according to the Indian's way of thinking, except that an actual beetle had entered, possessed by a spirit?

The explanation usually given by savages is that the dreamer's soul, or one of his souls, goes away from his body and sees the things he dreams of. Hence the reluctance among many uncivilized peoples to awaken a sleeper—his soul may be shut out, or an evil spirit get in, etc.

Another idea is that the temporarily liberated spirit visits the spirit world and there secures information. This, we gather, is the Ewe belief, and it is frequently met with elsewhere. Or the revelation may be given by spirits visiting the dreamer. An excellent example of this is found in the skull-divination of the Torres Straits natives. A skull, preferably that of a missionary, is placed after sunrise on a benight ceremonial, beside the pillow of the consultant. In his sleep he hears it speaking to him, with a sound like teeth chattering. The modern method of putting bridescask under one's pillow would seem to base its survival on an even cruder kind of magic. Finally, a god, not a mere ancestral spirit, may choose this method of sending an oracle, and in that case the dream is generally sought for by sleeping in a holy place—the Greek ἔρωμα (see DIVINATION [Greek]). An example, sometimes gives omens to men awake. With the increasing complication of dream-interpreting, the services of a professional diviner become necessary. He may either dream himself, like the Melanesian tuhan gorenge, or interpret other people's dreams, like the Bengi aumenter.

Distribution: world-wide. Typical cases are: literal interpretation (Sea Dayaks); symbolic dreams (Malays).

2. Premonitions may perhaps be noticed here, although they hardly amount to actual divination. The Zulus, for instance, believe that a man looks

1. See Aristotle, De div. surn., for an eminently clear-headed discussion of this belief.
3. Hodson, p. 129.
4. See exp. 1, on 'Divination from animals.'
5. Some of the主管 signs, in JAI xxx. 179.
6. See exp. 1, on 'Divination from animals.'
7. For the ominous nature of such an occurrence in general, see below.
8. It should be noted that, although no people apparently is witness of divine dreams, Australian blacks have only very rudimentary ideas of it, and seem to use it but little.
9. See exp. 1, on 'Divination from animals.'
10. See Arist., De div. surn., for an eminently clear-headed discussion of this belief.
11. Hodson, p. 129.
12. Hodson, p. 129.
13. Hodson, p. 129.
15. Hodson, p. 129.
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for a thing sometimes 'feels internally a pointing' which will guide him aright; but if it is 'dramatic' by suggestion... it generally misses the mark,' to quote a Zulu cited by Callaway.

Distribution: not specifically mentioned by most of our authorities, but may be presumed to be universal.

From these cases, in which a man may almost be said to prophesy to himself, we turn to the large class of—

3. Divination from bodily actions. Of the various involuntary movements and noises of which the human body is capable, perhaps sneezing is the one most universally regarded as ominous, and, in nearly all cases, as a bad omen. The reason is apparently that it is feared that the internal convulsions may disturb or drain out the soul. Hence the common custom of blessing the sneezer, prevalent alike in civilized Germany (Gesundheit!) and among the Nandi (Ko'-weit-in Asia, 'God be good to you!') We cannot recall any non-classical examples of the idea that a sneeze is a sign sent to denote Divine approval of words or actions (see DIVINATION [Greek]).

A curious form of divination is the Melanesian so do. In this, the hands are rubbed above the heart and a given (hupale) is asked by a magic song. A cracking of the joints, variously significant according to the particular joint which cracks, is taken to be the spirit's answer (Codrington, 211). Other ominous signs are hiccuping, the twitching of an eyelid, and so on; but these are mostly trivial and not much regarded either by savages or by civilized races. The sneeze, stumbling, 2 and so do are the only really important ones we know of. Some voluntary actions are considered unlucky, and therefore forbidden; 3 but this is hardly divination, nor is the idea that 'praise to the face is open disgrace'—very common among many peoples from Europeans downwards—properly germane to our subject.

Distribution: important cases given above; minor omens from bodily actions are world-wide. All the above forms of divination depend upon a more or less normal condition; we now proceed to consider those which depend upon an abnormal state, induced, or natural.

4. Divination by ordeal may be thus classed. Ordeals are of two kinds: either a suspected person (or the suspect and his accuser) is subjected to some process which would normally injure or endanger the person; or the process is a natural one with the power to hurt the guilty, but not the innocent. Examples of the first class are the ancient Egyptian 'Judgment of God' or 'wager by battle,' and the Gold Coast method of making, e.g., a wife suspected of infidelity plunge her hand into boiling oil. The innocent and wrongfully accused person is Divinely aided to win the combat, or protected against what would normally harm him or her. The punisher believes that this is the root-idea of judicial torture, at least among peoples; 4 it passes into general as the ancient Athenians. The idea probably was that an innocent man or a truthful witness would feel no pain. Of the second class the Nandi and the Fijians furnish very instructive examples. Among the former, 5 the accused lays a skull at the accuser's door, saying: 'If I have done this thing, may I not do it, may it eat thee, and one or the other dies accordingly. Among the latter, 6 the accused drinks blood, saying: 'If I have done this deed, may God kill me!' (Ten atua efeo efeo, na efeo eyu). And in the latter case, it is a genuine deity—a 'high god'; but in the corresponding ordeal of the neighbouring tribe, it is the inherent magical power of the skull (or the ghost), apparently, which 'eats' the false swearer. It is noteworthy that the Nandi diviners, who in other respects are exactly like their Massai confères, are said to worship, not Asista, their 'high god,' but the ancestral spirits. 8 But the root-idea is the same in any case: guilt weakens the wrong-doer, robs him of his mana or of Divine favour, and so renders him an easy prey to any injury, natural or magical. This weakness extends to his agents, as in the Malay ordeal by diving, described by Skeat (p. 542 f.). In this, boys, hired by the parties to a suit, plunge simultaneously, with the understanding that the representative of the party in the wrong has to come up again at once, while the other is not insufficient. Such a belief as this indicates a people not without some advancement in moral ideas. 9

Distribution: Africa, passim; in Asia, e.g., among the Nagas; also in Melanesia and among Malays; formerly in Europe; not in Australia; traces in North America.

5. Divination by possession ('shamanizing').—Not only do spirits visit sleepers, but they often possess a diviner or priest, robbing him to a prophetic frenzy. This belief, while adopted by some higher cults, as that of Apollo (see DIVINATION [Greek]), is most characteristic of those races in whose religion the spirits of the dead are prominent. Thus, the shamans of the Tunguses in Siberia are possessed, not by Tengri Kaira Khan, or Erlik (the leading good and bad deities respectively), or by that of their race, by the ancestral spirits—the objects, one may conjecture, of an older cult. We translate a part of Radloff's vivid account:

'The individual marked out by the might of the ancestors for shamanhood feels a sudden faintness and expansion, as if a heavy weight presses on his breast and suddenly wrings from his violent, inarticulate screams.' (After wild passions he sinks to the ground.) 'His limbs are wholly insensitive; he snatches whatever he can lay his hands on, and swallows simultaneously everything he gets hold of—not iron, knives, needles, ... afterwards casting up dry and unjudged what he has swallowed.' 10

Apparently this eccentric diet does him no harm. His only relief is to seize the shaman's drum and begin to 'shamanize': his chief danger is that he may resist the frenzy and die or go mad. Not till after this experience does he receive any instruction in his art from other shamans. He is able, by the help of the spirits, to foretell the future, besides exercising various priestly functions. There seems to be no doubt of the sincerity of some, at least of these men, who continue to ply their art despite Governmental prohibition. 'I must shamanize,' said one of them to a traveller, 'both for my own sake and that of my people.' 11 What their actual state in divining possession we leave to physiologists to determine. The shamans of...
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Northern Asia use a drum in divining; but in some other cases the possessing spirits speak by the means of the wizard, among the Tartars, speaking peoples, whose priests are possessed, not by spirits, but by gods. Some similar cases will be considered in the next paragraph.

Distribution: Urals-Altaic races of N. Asia and Europe; N. America (see DIVINATION [America]); more or less modified forms common in Africa and elsewhere (e.g. Todas).

6. Necromancy.—Death increases rather than diminishes a man's magical powers, including his prophetic faculties. Hence we find the wide-spread practice (of which, indeed, shamming ought to be considered a variant) of consulting either the souls of the dead in general or the soul of a particular dead man, or his corpse. A very crude instance of the last comes from Central Australia. Tree burial is largely practised among these tribes, and it is the custom to observe the direction taken by the liquid matter exuding from the corpse and flowing along the ground. If the stream flows, say, north, the slayer lives to the northward. If it is short, he is close at hand; if long, he is far away. Skull-divination has already been noticed, and might be classed under necromancy. But we are chiefly concerned with necromancy proper, or the evoking and communing of ghosts. This, as distinct from seeing a ghost casually in a dream, or meeting or hearing one unsought, which might happen to any one, is the task of a professional diviner or a priest. Thus the Zulu witch-doctor is visited by the mane (mane or manes), the souls of the departed. These voices are heard giving answers. 'The voice,' says a native witness, quoted by Callaway, 'was like that of a very little child... it speaks above, among the wattles of the hut—a clear case of ventriloquism. Among the Melanesians it is called by the name kina. Its presence is detected by a mane kina, or diviner, and gives affirmative or negative signs in answer to the question, 'Shall we go to such-a-place?' The Fue diviners summon a tra in case of sickness, and from its answers—inamblible to profane ears—foretell the course of the disease, and so on. In most, if not all cases, the spirits thus consulted are given offerings of various kinds to win their favour and induce them not only to foretell, but to do good to those turning out to the inquirer wishes (see Spieth, l.c.).

One curious case might be called either necromancy or ordeal. It comes from the Gold Coast, and is used when a creditor makes a claim on a dead man, upon whom the debt is levied. The claimant drinks water in which the corpse has been washed, swearing to the accuracy of his statement; if he is lying, the power (sise) of the deceased will punish him. This is an illustration of the difficulty of applying any rigid classification to a large and miscellaneous body of savage beliefs.

Distribution: In one form or another, world-wide. Typical examples are given above.

From the living or dead, we pass to their surroundings, animate and inanimate. Beginning with the former, we find a large and interesting class.

7. Divination from animals.—(a) Augury.—The movements of birds or beasts are considered omens in some degree by nearly, if not quite, all races. In some cases the reason is quite obvious. Thus the Melanesians have a bird which they call wisi, from one of its movements: a bird sitting in the local dialect, and the creature is thus able to answer questions—its other cries being taken to mean 'Yes.' But this is 'not seriously thought of' (Coddington, p. 221), and in the vast majority of cases the omen is symbolical, frequently needing a professional diviner to interpret it. Thus the Kenyahs of Sarawak have a method of divination worthy of Etruria, by which high-born augurs, after due ceremonies, sit in a leaf-shelter and watch a particular part of the sky for hawks, until the favour of Bali Penyalong is shown by one bird flying right, another left, and a third circling. Why this should be a good omen is by no means clear; the symbolism of augury is a product of many generations, probably, even to the initiated. A more profitable question is, Why should animals give omens at all?—for, no doubt, the original idea is that the animals themselves gave answers, not that any god sent them. Leaving the Kenyahs for a minute, a good reason we find a case which throws great light on the origin of the belief. A certain young member of the Yinn tribe had the kangaroo for his personal totem, by inheritance. Whenever this man saw an 'old-man' kangaroo, a kangaroo-shaped case in a distinct form, he knew that he was being warned of danger. The Kenyahs are not totemic; but the Ibas (Sei Dayaks), who are of the same family, have a sort of personal totem, the ngurung, or 'spirit-helper,' who generally takes animal form, though in the case of the initiation he might be a human spirit-animal as well. It is not until not long ago, that the omen-animal or bird was originally some sort of a personal totem, or—since 'totem' is a word apt to be abused—a mantis, which gave warnings and advice, as friendly animals do in folk-tales of all countries. It is not until fairly recently that the spirit-animal would give omens: this would then be extended to all its species; and, finally, with the coming of more advanced religious views, they would be considered the messengers of the god, perhaps originally a theriomorphic one. We put forward this theory tentatively, however, recognizing its difficulties, such as the existence of augury among the Kenyahs, who apparently have not even the ngurung, and its non-existence in Torres Straits, where totemism is rare.

It should be mentioned that men may be counted among omen-animals. We have already dealt with the omens a man may draw from his own actions; but he may also do things significant for others, though not thus perceived by them. If twins are born, this, like almost all events a little out of the common, is held to be a good or a bad omen by various peoples; thus the Naga* hold that the birth of twins of opposite sex is unlucky. Again, the Masai* believe that if, on a journey, one meets a solitary wayfarer, the journey will be fruitless.

Finally, in augury, one cannot divide the ominous creatures simply into lucky and unlucky. The same bird or beast may give opposite omens according to the place where it is heard or seen. To take one example out of many, and again from the Masai,* the bird they call tile (Mesopicus spodiophaus), if heard on the right, is good; if on the left, bad. If heard both ways, on a journey, it means, 'You go on, you will be hospitably received.'

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1 Ellis, p. 191. Note that in a few cases (as the Masai [Hollis, p. 234 f.]) a frenzy is induced by an intoxicant or other drug.  
2 Death from natural causes is a notion quite foreign to Australian blacks; all deaths are caused either by violence or by magic. Compare Marcell, Threshold of Religion, 1909, p. 50.  
3 Spieth, p. 506.  
4 Ellis, p. 191. Note the primitiveness of this rite among a people, who according to Ellis, 'implicitly believe in the super-human power of their gods,' and do not attempt to coerce them by any magic (1914 f.).

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*Hose-McPougall, p. 175 f.  
*Both kinds are associated in late beliefs and superstitions: see, e.g., Stat. Thcb. iii. 436-8 (se paritur axomatanumine nefus et cur ram insistit in urea decem [aliter] for the former).  
*Howitt, p. 400 f.  
*Ngurung, in Hose-McPougall, p. 173; but this is said to be a misprint; cf. in Athenaeum, 30th October 1914.  
*The Beds say that not all omen-birds, but only 33 of each kind, are the messengers of Singahag Faring, the hawk-god; the others do not give true omens, and are not, like the 33, immortal.  
*Johnson, p. 134.  
*Hollis, Masai, p. 324.  
*Fb. p. 3221.
b) Haruspicy.—Not only living, but dead, animals can give omens, though the latter are for the most part intelligible only to professional diviners. Before passing to a consideration of these cases, it is well to notice that a dying animal is sometimes consulted. The Nágas, for instance, sometimes kill a fowl and watch its death-strokes for omens. The method is essentially religious, though less reliable, method, in which the fowl is laid upon the wings. Should the animal cross its right foot over the left, the omen is good; the opposite, bad.

Perhaps the simplest case of what might loosely be called haruspicy is that given by Gones. The Sea Dayaks, he tells us, consider it a very bad omen if they find a dead animal in their fields; the crops will poison the owner if he ventures to eat them, unless some one with strong name removes the tabu by ceremonially eating a little, and thus absorbing the evil influence into his own powerful person.

But in haruspicy proper we have to deal with a not very primitive type of religion. The slaughtered animal is regularly a sacrificial victim; the harus-pec is generally not merely a diviner, but a priest, where such a distinction exists; and the entrails therefore contain the cryptic message, to be read by an appointed eye right; a method of reading is a more or less complex symbolism; thus to find the internal organs in an unusual position—heart on the wrong side, or the like—means generally some disastrous upheaval.

Many races, in fact, use haruspicy both in Sarawak; augury alone in Malay Peninsula and Melanesia; haruspicy alone among Masai and Nandi; both found, singly or together, in more or less complicated forms, in nearly all parts of the world.

8. Divination by mechanical means.—Of mechanical means of divination there is no end. We may divide them, very roughly, into: (a) cosmic-mancy, or devices akin to the modern planchette, and probably worked by means of the unconscious action; (b) sortilegium, or devices involving some kind of a game of chance, generally of simple form.

(a) Skeat (p. 538 ff.) reports a simple case of cos-irmancy among the Malays, which he himself saw, in which X through a prayer and appropriate rites—charms and sacrifice—by thrusting a fish-shape through a lemon, and suspending it on a cord of seven different coloured strands. Questions are then put to it; it says 'Yes' by swinging, 'No' by being still. The same people use a divining rod, which vibrates in the presence of a thief; the Melanesians use a similar rod in cases of illness, to discover which of the recently dead is eating the patient. The stick vibrates at the right name.

To take another illustration from Skeat (p. 538 ff.)—a thief may be discovered, after appropriate rites, by two people holding a bowl of water between their fingers. The names of suspected persons are presented to it in writing, and at that of the guilty man it twists around and falls. In all these cases, as in planchette writing, if we exclude deliberate cheating, we are left with the supposition that the diviner unconsciously moves his divining-machine in a way corresponding to his unconscious expectation and even his conscious volition. But the usual, so far as we know, the universal, explanation given by the lower races is that the movements are caused by some spirit, which, to borrow the jargon of modern spiritualism, 'controls' the instrument. It may well be thought, however, considering the obvious antiquity of this

1 Dr. Brown, op. cit., p. 132.
2 Opp. cit., p. 166.
3 See Codington. p. 216 ff.
4 The writer has had personal experience of quite genuine performances of this sort on the part of a plancheett.
5 And kindred modes of divination, that, before any definitely animistic belief came to prevail, the implement, being by virtue of proper ceremonies made 'big medicine,' had in itself the power to answer.

(b) Whether or not Tylor is right in seeing in sortilegium the origin of all games of luck, it is so wide-spread and miscellaneous that we can do no more than mention the fact of which, provisionally accepting Tylor's hypothesis, we class under the main forms of games of chance. (1) Odd and even.—This is used among the Masai and Nandi, whose diviners shake pebbles out of a buffalo-horn, and observe whether an odd or an even number results. On the Gold Coast a similar method is used, with nuts for pebbles and without the horn. (2) The lecctom.—The coconut, being a natural lecctom, is much used in the Pacific, both in games of chance, pure and simple, and for divination. Tylor (loc. cit.) gives examples of both. (3) Dice and similar implements.—Dice, as we understand them, are but little used among savages; but the underlying principle—something which, if thrown, may fall in any one of several different ways—is common enough. The most rudimentary form is perhaps the mangrove-embryo used by women in the Torres Straits to determine the sex of an infant. The most usual method is to shake the legs, backwards, and no notice is taken of which side it falls on, but merely of whether it flies straight or crooked—the first presaging a boy, and the second a girl. The same people have a folk-rite, in which the heroine holds up a throwing-stick, and it falls in the direction of Dundal. "I will go there by-and-by; I think I will kill them all," he said. (4) A number of methods of mechanical divination have not, so far as we know, resulted in any actual games. The most interesting is the magic drum of the shaman, the surface of which, in Lapland, was painted with various figures. A ring or bunch of rings was placed on the skin of the drum, which was then beaten with a leather thong. The noisy result is that among the Nágas. At Mao and Maráman the issue of a hunting party is prognosticated by their success in kicking small pebbles on to the top of a monot fierceness. More curious, because harder to explain, is the following. A simple conjuring trick, is the Zain divination by sticks or bones. The sticks, after proper ceremonies, rise up and jump about by way of saying 'Yes,' he tells for 'No,' and, if asked 'Where is so-and-so's something?' the questioner on the corresponding part of his body. And so on. The list might be extended indefinitely, but the principle is always the same: chance is the working of some non-human power, which makes a die fall a particular way, or an odd and not an even number of pebbles jump out, or a particular man draw a particular lot, just as Athene makes the arrow of Pandaro miss its mark (II. iv. 127 ff.).

Distribution of divination is mostly local or another, universal.

9. Divination from Nature.—(a) Astrology.—With the elaborate pseudo-science which grew out of the belief that the position and influence of the heavenly bodies more or less mould human affairs, we have nothing to do here; it is a product of

1 Hollis, Mass., p. 291, Arndt, p. 49.
2 Opp. cit., p. 166.
3 Opp. cit., p. 166.
4 Opp. cit., p. 166.
5 Opp. cit., p. 166.
DIVINATION (American)

comparatively advanced civilization, and involves real knowledge of pure and applied mathematics, far beyond the capacity of most savage races. The rudiments, however, of astrology, together with studies in the history of those sciences, are not unknown. Thus the Malays, along with quite a complicated foreign astrology, with calendars and lucky and unlucky days, etc., have preserved such simple bits of symbolism as that a star near the moon means an approaching marriage. Among the Maoris the moon represents a besiegèd pah, and the stars the attacking force—their relative position indicating the result of the campaign. 

(b) Other natural phenomena, such as earthquakes, lightning, etc., likewise held to portend something—usually misfortune. But it seldom goes beyond 'something.' Homer's remark on lightning, which indicates Zeus to be 'fashioning either great rain unspikeable or hail or snow, ... or, somewhere, the great mouth of bitter battle' (II. x. 5 fl.), is a good summing up of the vagueness of the beliefs usually connected with these phenomena. They are too rare, comparatively speaking, and also too noteworthy in themselves, for a system of divination to be built upon them. They frighten rather than forewarn. 

Distribution: traces everywhere; so far as we know, except for civilized peoples, nowhere very important or noteworthy.

Malayan divination. Finally, we may note one or two methods which cannot be classed under any of the above heads, but are interesting in themselves. (a) Chairrecognition. This is not the place to ask whether any such power really exists. It is enough for our purposes to note that, the Malays think it does, and some of them, according to Skene, practise it. (b) In the Torres Straits we get a good example of a not uncommon idea, that a small mishap of any kind is the forerunner of a greater one. Thus one of the natives, who was a skilled dugong fisher, returned empty-handed one day with his harpoon broken. Shortly after, three deaths occurred, to his great comfort, as it showed that his bad luck had been sent as an omen and was not fault of his own. (c) Blood is 'uncanny' and ominous. Thus a Sea Dayak, finding a drop of blood on the floor-mats, will consider that a spirit has shed it, and that it is a very bad omen. (d) In general, any occurrence at all unusual is considered divinatory, or, some skilled person, is usually consulted.

II. Survivals. The methods of which we have given examples belong to the lower stages of civilization. With political and religious advance one of two things happens: either some kinds of divination are taken into the State religion (Greece, Rome; see special articles) and the others become insignificant and even disregarded, like all magic; or, as in the case especially of Christianity, the dominant faith declares against all as either false or the work of evil spirits. The first beginnings of this we have already seen in a few instances. But the counter process, by which the higher religions degenerate into magic, must not be forgotten. Thus, the Hebrews are a great example of the Jewish and Christian forms of divination: 

In the name of ... has been found in magical papyri (see Kenyon, Brit. Mus. Pap., i. [1893] 651; Helmblücher, 'Im Namen Jesu,' 1903); a chapter of the Qur'an is read as a charm during the Malay ritual of divination; a bowl of water described above; Orphic and Mithraic rituals have been used for purely magical purposes; the Buddhist Ōm mani padme hum is often used as a charm and not a prayer. But, apart from this, popular belief dies hard; and, for example, in modern Europe we find all kinds of beliefs which are most probably relics of pre-Christian divination, little, if at all, affected by the official religion, except that they are often not used in quite so religious a manner. We give a few examples of both classes.

To the class of divination by mechanical means we must add, among peoples who possess sacred writings, or books for any reason esteemed to contain great wisdom (as was attributed to the works of Vergil in the Middle Ages), a form of sortilegium which consists in opening such a book at random and taking an omen from the first passage met with. The prestige of the system is added by the establishment of Christianity in Europe has resulted in the sortes Biblici, still used, we believe, among uncultivated people. Church festivals also have affected the popular beliefs in lucky and unlucky days, for how else can the bad reputation of Friday be explained? Astrollogically it should be lucky, being the day of Venus, especially for marriages and the like; yet comparatively few people even to-day would care to be married on a Friday.

As to survivals pure and simple of ancient ideas about omens, wholly uncultivated with Christian beliefs, their name is legion. The author gives a few personally known to him. A patient in a gunshop showed not infrequently a sympathetic magic and divination by refusing to fasten on her wedding-ring when her enumeration made that desirable, because, if you bind up a ring you bind up poverty with it; and the idea is common in the Old World. Even a faded, discoloured furniture heralds a death in many places in Yorkshire; a bird flying into the house brings ill-luck with it, in most parts of England; a stumble in going upstairs—this we cannot explain—presages a wedding. Among the Bushmen and Australian Aborigines divination is still flourished; Tylor mentions an instance of haruspicy in Brandenburg; palmistry, known among the Malays, is common at every fair. Augury has perhaps a survival in the habit of bowing to magpies. Shakespeare's mention of them has: 

'Augurs and understood relations have:
By magpie's feet
The secret's man of blood' (Macbeth, III. iv. 124-125). Compare the custom of turning over the money in one's pocket on hearing the first magpie. So hardly does the ancient belief yield to either science or common sense.


11. J. ROSE.

DIVINATION (American).—Throughout the two continents of America divination and prophetic utterance were and are generally practised by the priestly class (shamans) and the medicine-men, the various nations and tribes which have inhabited them. The methods of divination in use did not vary much so far as the different divisions of

1. Twenty; see (b) for details.
3. Oomes, op. cit. p. 158.
4. Buddhism is also hostile; among the Buddhist section of the Tagung people there is no standards according to Radnitz. The corrupt Buddhism of Tibet cannot be taken as typical.

Tennyson's Enoch Arden gives a well-known example.

2. Amongst the Malays, in two forms: (1) borrowed from the mediaval systems (Zosikle, etc.); (2) popular, as in the belief, held by nearly every one except those who know any knowledge of meteorology, that the weather depends on the moon.

3. Compare divining from a sheep's shoulder-blade, well known from the references in Drayton and other writers. See Tylor, passim.
American nationality were concerned, no did they display much dissimilarity from those in vogue among their more ignorant neighbors. The Colúmbian Mexican and Peru there was a college of augurs, corresponding in purpose to the augures of ancient Rome, the alumni of which occupied themselves with observing the flight and listening to the songs, from which they drew their conclusions, pretending to interpret the speech of all winged creatures. In Mexico the calumeces, or training-college of the priests, had a department where divination was taught in all its phases, and that the occupance to say that more sincere will appear later. Among the less advanced communities the services of the diviner or seer were much in request, and the forecasting of the future became, sooner or later, the chief concern of the higher classes of medicine-men.

The methods adopted by the priests or shamans in the practice of divination scarcely differed with locality, but many various expedients were made use of to attain the same end. In the Peru of the Incas, besides those augurs who were supposed to interpret the songs of the feathered race, there were other castes who specialized in the various kinds of divination. Thus, some practised oracular methods in much the same way as did the priesthood in ancient Egypt and Greece. The idols became the direct mediums by which Divine wishes were disclosed or the future made clear. Necromancy was also extensively practised, the priests pretending to raise the dead, whose in- stance was to say that they were sincere who had consulted them. In the Mexico of the Aztecs, also, necromancy was in vogue, and the raising of the spirit of the Princess Papatzint, sister of the ill-fated Montezuma, who foretold the downfall of her house, was a familiar theme to every reader of Prescott. To return to Peru still other classes predicted by means of leaves of tobacco, or the grains or juice of coca, the shapes of grains of maize, taken at random, the appearance of animal excrement, the forms assumed by the smoke rising from burning victims, the entrails and viscera of animals, the course taken by spiders, visions seen in dreams, the flight of birds, and the direction in which fruits might fall. These prophets were divided into three branches, that is, according to different ranks and titles, and their training was a long and arduous one, and undertaken in no mere spirit of flippance. If their clients were deceived, it was their duty to save them, for they were unconscious of deceit as is a modern physician who has wrongly diagnosed a case.

In considering the practice of divination and prophecy among the aboriginal peoples of America, it will be necessary to deal separately with each of the principal methods by means of which they are performed. These are (1) by observing the flight of birds; (2) by oracular and necromantic practices; (3) by means of hypnomeno; (4) through the interpretation of dreams and visions, and by conditions of ecstasy produced by drugs; (5) by means of astrological practice; and (6) by the appearance of various objects.

1. By observing the flight of birds. —It has always been the custom in Mexico and Peru, in the priesthoods, or that class of them devoted to augury, made a practice of observing the flight of various birds and of listening to their songs. This observation of birds for the purpose of augury was common to other American tribes. The bird, with its rapid motion and incomprehensible power of flight, appeared to the savage as a being of a higher order than himself, and its song—the only hint of music with which he was familiar—as something bordering upon the supernatural, the ability to understand which he had once possessed, but had lost through the potency of some evil and unknown spell. Some great sorcerer or medicine-man alone might break through this efficient art. Each of the tribe sought assiduously to achieve, by means of close attention to the habits of birds, their motions and flights, and especially to their song. The natives of Brazil regarded one bird in especial as a presage of bad fortune. Corell (Voyages aux Indes occidentales, p. 203). He does not state to what bird he alludes, but proceeds to say that its mournful chant is heard by night rather than by day. The savages say it is sent by their deceased friends to bring them news from the other world, and to encourage them against their enemies. Here, it would seem, we have an example of bird-augury combined with divination by necromancy. Corell probably alluded to the goat-sucker bird, which, with the screaming vulture, some South American tribes— the Guaycurus of Paraguay, for example—suppose to act as messengers from the dead to their priests, between whom and the deceased persons of the tribe there is thought to be frequent communication.

A typical example of augury by bird-habit has come down to us in the account of the manner in which the Nahua of Mexico fixed upon the spot for their capital. Halting after years of travel at the Lake of Texoco, they observed perched on the stem of a cactus a great eagle with wings outspread, and regarding its state as a sign of augury. Their augurs interpreted this as a good omen, as it had been previously announced by an oracle; the first piles upon which was afterwards built the city of Mexico-Tenochtitlán. The legend of its foundation is still commemorated in the arms of the Federal Republic of Mexico, and on its coins and postal stamps.

2. Oracular and necromantic methods. —We have already seen that the priesthood of Peru practised oracular methods of divination by "making" the idols speak. They did this by means of ventriloquial arts or by the more primitive means of concealing one of their number, we do not know. But we know that the piagis, or priests of the Uapes tribe of Brazil, practise oracular divination by means of a contrivance known to them as the pozinho. This is one of their most sacred symbols, and consists of a portion of a palm-tree about the height of a man, and some 10 cm. in diameter. By a device consisting of holes bored in the stem the leaves are made to tremble by the breath of the priestly ministrant, and the sound so caused is interpreted as a message from Juruparo, their principal deity. This is also practised extensively by the Uapes Indians, a class of piagis, being set apart for this purpose solely. Indeed, in most Indian tribes the shamans or medicine-men, or a portion of them, specialize in the art. A great similarity marks the methods of procedure of most American tribes, from the Eskimos to the Nahua. A circular lodge consisting of poles planted firmly in the ground is covered with skins or mats, a small hole only being left for the seer to make his entrance. After entering, he carefully closes the aperture, and proceeds to make his incantations. In a little while the entire lodge trembles and sways, the poles bend to breaking point, as if ten strong men were straining at them, and sounds, strange and unearthly, are heard from the depths of the earth, now from the air above, cause those who listen outside to tremble. At last the medicine-man cries out that the spirit he has invoked is present, and will reply to questions. Presents to the supernatural visitor are inserted beneath the skins, as a preliminary to consultation; and the spectators commence to interrogate the dread presence in fear and trembling. The replies received are, for sheer ambiguity, equal to the oracular answers of the pythianesses of ancient Greece. Converted Indians have repeatedly
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averted that in performing this feat they were merely passive agents. But, as many of these barbarous seeds excite themselves into a condition of nervous excitement when under the influence of them, there is very little doubt that they are as much the victims of hallucination as are their hearers, although the taking of gifts and the occasional shrewd nature of their replies would seem to point to the possession of considerable powers of calculation.

3. Hypnotic divination.—Divination by hypnosis is no new art in America. Jonathan Carver, a British sea-captain who travelled among the Sioux in the latter end of the 18th century, gives a clear description of the manner in which they were supposed to have been indicated to certain persons in dreams, and their contents presented to those persons by supernatural beings whilst they were in the visionary state. The periods for the performance of their acts connected with them as well as other devotional observances, often depended on an intimation received in a dream. 'Visions' were also induced by winding the skin of a freshly-killed animal round the neck until the pressure on the veins and arteries resulted, possibly from an overflow of blood to the head. Some tribes believed that the vision came to the prophet or seer as a picture, or that acts were performed before him as in a play, whilst others held that the soul travelled through space, and was able to see from afar those places and events of which it desired to have knowledge.

Numerous instances of the truly marvellous manner in which events have been foretold by American medicine-men are so hard to believe that one cannot help to believe that they do not possess the gift of clairvoyance in some degree.

In his autobiography, Black Hawk, a celebrated Sau chief, relates that his grandfather had a supernatural belief in 'Dreams and Visions'. He was told by his father that in the 'Black Hawk Years' there 'he should see a white man, who would be to him as a father.' Supernaturally directed, as the Cheyennes were, towards the westward to a sacred spot, and there, he had been informed in dreams, met with a Frenchman, who concluded an alliance on behalf of his country with the Sau chief. The latter had certainly possible here, but it can hardly exist in the circumstances of the narrative of Jonathan Carver. While he was descending the shores of Lake Huron, the head wind was met by a famine, and on the arrival of certain traders, who brought them food in exchange for skins and other goods, their very existence depended. The diviners of the tribe were consequently consulted by the chief, and announced that the next day, at high noon exactly, there would be a canoe visible on the river and news of the anxiously looked-for expedition. The entire population came down to the beach in order to witness the arrival, accompanied by the incensed trader, and, to his intense surprise, at the very moment forecast by the shamans, a canoe rounded a distant headland, and, paddling speedily shorewards, brought the patient 'kilkiceees' news of the expedition they expected.

John Mason Brown has put on record an equaly singular instance of the prophetic gift in the part of an American medicine-man (see Atlantic Monthly, July 1860). He engaged several years previously in searching for a band of Indians in the neighbourhood of the Mackenzie and Coppermine rivers; but the difficulties of the season compelled him to return to the west, after having encountered the savages of the tribe of which he was in search. These men had been discovered by their manner of dressing in white, of whose horses, accoutrements, and general appearance the shaman had given them an exhaustive account ere they set out, and this his late departure would not have baffled. News of the approach of the rising, and the speed of the canoe, the shaman's companions. Brown very naturally inquired closely of the medicine-man how he had been able to forsnell their coming. But the latter, who appeared to be 'a frank and simple-minded man,' could only explain that 'he saw them coming, and heard them talk on the journey.'

Under the heading of 'dreams and visions' may also be noticed the practice, common in some parts of the American continent, of attempting to pry into the future through gazing fixedly at some polished object, until semi-insensibility is attained by self-hypnosis. The Indians of Central America employed for this purpose and still make use of small shining stones made of hard polished sand-stone, which they at times consult when ambitious to the future.

A case is on record where a Cherokee kept a divining crystal wrapped up in buckskin in a cave, occasionally 'feeding' it by rubbing over the blood of a deceased animal, which might be multiplied. At the village of Tepean, Guatemala, Stephens and Catherwood saw a remarkable stone which had been placed near the entrance of the cave; it had previously been used as a divining stone by the Indians of the country. Fearing to disturb the divination-ground, they say it: 'To the westward of the city there is a little mound that commands it, on which stands a round building about six feet in diameter, built outwards with stone, the middle part being a pedestal formed of a shining substance resembling glass, but the precise quality of which has not been ascertained. Seste
DIVINATION (Assyro-Babylonian). — The practice of divination entered very largely into the religious life of the Babylonians and Assyrians. Not only was it carried on by unofficial augurs and seers, whose skill was sought for a comparatively small fee by any one desirous of reading the future or of learning the interpretation of some portent which had been vouchsafed to him, but it also formed one of the most important departments of the national religion; and its rites were jealously guarded by a large and organized body of the priesthood. In fact, during the later periods of Assy. and Bab. history it had become a highly complicated science, the temple had in the course of time accumulated a store of recorded portents, with notes as to the events which had been observed to follow them. As a result of their classification and study by the priesthood, there had been evolved some literature comprising long series of tablets dealing with every class of augural phenomena. Thanks to the literary zeal of Ashurbanipal (668-626 B.C.), we possess a wealth of material for the detailed study of Bab. divination, and a considerable portion of the literary and religious texts of which he had copies made for his library at Nineveh were works on divination in its various forms. It is true that many of these have been reconstructed, and the inherited or preserved texts are very much smaller than the original tablets. But it is possible to trace some of the principal forms of Bab. divination back into the earlier period of Sumerian history. That the Semitic Babylonians expanded and developed the science was but natural; but there can be little doubt that they inherited many of their augural beliefs and practices from the earlier Sumerian inhabitants of Babylonia, whom they eventually conquered and absorbed. Thus already in the reign of Urakagina, king of Lagash (c. 2300 B.C.), we have evidence of the widespread practice of divination by oil. From augural texts of a later period (c. 2000 B.C.), we know that in this particular form of divination the procedure consisted in pouring out oil upon augural texts of a later period (c. 2000 B.C.), we know that in this particular form of divination the procedure consisted in pouring out oil upon the oil on striking the water indicating the course which events would take. 


was naturally required to carry out the accompanying ritual and to interpret correctly the message of the oil, and Urukagina records that among the reforms he inaugurated was the abolition of certain exactions and fees which had been demanded in connexion with the practice, not only by the diviner and his assistant, the gurud, but also by the patesi.\footnote{3} In the later Sumerian period we find that Gudea, when purifying Lagash before the erection of his temple, drove out the wizards and sorcerers, in addition to kindling a fire of aromatic woods. From this record it might perhaps be inferred that at this period divination was not officially recognized, were it not that Gudea himself expressly states that before starting upon his temple-building he consulted the omens and found them favourable.\footnote{2} Moreover, the elaborate version in which the gods revealed their wishes to him with regard to Ningirsu's temple, and the far earlier vision of Eannatum (c. 3000 B.C.), in which Ningirsu encouraged him for battle,\footnote{4} prove that the study of dreams and their interpretation had been elaborated by the Sumerians. It is, therefore, possible to regard the later augural texts as incorporating earlier practices; and deductions drawn from their study may legitimately be regarded as general application, and not as confined to a single late period.

In attempting to classify the great range of phenomena which formed the subject of Bab, divination, a convenient distinction may perhaps be made which has been drawn between voluntary and involuntary divination.\footnote{4} Under the former the diviner deliberately sought out some means of foretelling the future; under the latter he merely interpreted the meaning of portents, such as omens, phenomena which, without being sought out, forced themselves on his notice or on that of his clients.

The principal method of voluntary divination was _hepatoscopy_, or divination by the liver of a sacrificial sheep. The liver was exposed to the breeze, and the god of the oracle, in his capacity as "seer,"\footnote{5} after the due performance of the accompanying rites and the slaughter of the victim, exposed the animal's liver, and by an examination of its principal parts was enabled to predict the future. Chief parts of the liver which were examined in this way were the right and left lower lobes, the upper lobe and its two appendices (the _processus pyramidalis_ and the _processus papillaris_), the gall-bladder, the cystic duct, the hepatic duct, the hepatic vein, and the liver gall (porta heptae).\footnote{6} The system of interpretation was based mainly on an association of ideas. Thus a swollen gall-bladder was regarded as pointing to an increase of power; on the other hand, a depression in the liver gate pointed to a decrease in power; signs noted on the right side were favourable, on the left side unfavourable, etc. Moreover, the markings on the livers, due to the subsidiary veins and ducts, were carefully studied and interpreted in accordance with their resemblance to the weapons or symbols of the gods. In the tablets of liver-omens, the predictions, as is usual throughout the omen-literature, are vague enough, but these vague indications were sufficiently supplied to very definite circumstances by means of questions addressed to the god before the sacrifice. This we gather from an elaborate series of prayers, addressed to Shamash, the Sun-god, during the reigns of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, which throw an interesting light on the method of procedure.\footnote{1} The prayers and vizier demand the answers to specific political matters. Definite questions were asked as to the course of future events within a specified time, and the priests answered the questions according to the omens presented by the sacrificial victim. The questions were framed with great ingenuity, so that all contingencies might be covered. The prayers also prove that scrupulous care was taken in the preparation of the victim and the recital of the accompanying formula, while it was also essential that no less than the victim, should be free from any ceremonial impurity. It is interesting to note that, in these prayers to the Sun-oracle, the signs found in the victim are noted but are not interpreted. The requests as false addressed to the Sun-god, written were actually used in the course of the ritual: they contain the appeal to the oracle and the oracle's answer as seen in the victim's liver. The question was first written out, and the tablet was placed before the god (cf. the god's answer at Delphi) ; the god's answer was afterwards added, in terms of the liver. For the diviner's interpretation of this answer to the king no doubt another tablet was employed.

Many of the oracle-tablets, especially those of Esarhaddon's time, contain appeals to Shamash to reveal the outcome of the military campaigns in which he was engaged. They also furnish evidence that the Assyrkn king, doubtless following Babylonian precedent, employed the oracle in other occasions of importance, such as the dispatch of an envoy, the giving of a daughter in marriage, the sickness of a royal relative, the appointment of a high official, etc. In the case of the oracle, the answers received by the king have disappeared, but it is probable that they resembled certain oracles of Ishtar of Arbela, where the goddess vouchsafed to Esarhaddon,\footnote{2} obviously in answer to such questions as those addressed to the Sun-god. Here the oracles are composed in the first person, the speaker representing the goddess; but in each case the name of the priest or priestess who pronounced the oracle on the goddess's behalf is given.\footnote{2} The answers themselves were collected and preserved and invariably encouraging, and promise success to the king in somewhat vague and general phraseology. They are clearly happy omens that have been fulfilled.

The reason why the god of the oracle should reveal the future through the liver of the victim is not at first sight obvious. But it is certain that the liver, not the heart, was regarded by peoples in a primitive state of culture as the seat of life; and there is much to be said for the theory that the sacrificial animal on being accepted by the deity, was regarded as assimilated to him.\footnote{4} The soul of the animal was thus put in accord with the soul of the god, and, by reading the one, the diviner reads the other. This theory also upholds the practice of hepatoscopy among the Etruscans, Greeks, and Romans (see _Grek_ and _Romon_).

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sections), who doubtless derived much of their augural lore from Babylonia.

No such theory underlay other forms of voluntary divination, such as obdivination, or divination by arrows, or the flight of birds, etc. In all such cases (including possibly the flight of birds) the oracle was deliberately invoked, but there was no question of the instrument being assimilated to the deity. Reality was merely a passive witness to the Divine will, which was made plain according to a traditional code having the sanction of the oracle.

The most important form of involuntary divination, as seen in the portents exhibited by the heavens. Ellipses, storms, and unusual atmospheric conditions would naturally be regarded from the earliest periods as manifestations of Divine anger, and their correct interpretation would be of the utmost importance to a race, however primitive. To go still farther, and trace a connexion between earthly occurrences and the movements of the heavenly bodies was a much later development, and we have here followed the identification of the planets and principal fixed stars with the chief gods of the pantheon. Winckler's assumption that there was thought to be a perfect correspondence between heaven and earth, and that the divinatory branch of divination was merely a reflection of heavenly phenomena (see Stairs [Assyr.-Bab.]), is quite untrue for the earlier historical epochs, and is true only in a restricted sense for the latest periods of Neo-Babylonian speculation. The earliest Assyrian astrological reports indicate what a careful watch was kept at that period by the royal astrologers for any indication of the Divine will, and the calendars of favourable and unfavourable days were but one result of the study which had been devoted to the astrological branch of divination. In most of the omens connected with both hepatoscopy and astrology the predictions refer to the general rather than to the individual welfare, in which we may see an indication of their official character, as opposed to the oracle.

Private and unofficial divination, to the continued existence of which the private letters of the later Assyrian period bear witness, bulk far more largely in the collections of augural tablets discovered among the ruins, as in the case of dreams, and of incidents in daily life. Monstrosities, human and animal, were naturally treated as significant, and future events were also predicted from minute variations in human life, the movements of animals, and the changes of general portents which were thought to foretell public disasters is well illustrated by an Assyrian copy of a list of forty-seven portents which preceded a conquest of Babylonia. The phenomena from which the portents were derived may be classified under two headings: (a) rare natural occurrences, and (b) events which appeared to break some law of Nature. Under the first heading we have the fall of beans in houses, the outbreak of fire in sacred places, the appearance of wild beasts and birds in Babylon, a great flood at Borsippa, when the waters of the Euphrates rose within the precincts of Nabih's temple Esida, and a flight of birds and falling stars. Under events which appeared to be contrary to some law of Nature may be set the story of a decapitated head crying out, the occurrence of human and animal monstrosities, cases of incest and unnatural mating of animals, fruitfulness of the male in the case of a dog and of a male date-palm, unnatural growths and appearances of date-palms, and the appearance of evil spirits in sacred places. Under the last heading may also be set the appearance of honey on the ground at Nippur and of salt at Babylon, though these were doubtless natural secretions of the soil. The importance attached to such portents, affecting general and not individual welfare, is attested by the fact that in the Neo-Babylonian period chronicles of such events were included on the same lines as the historical chronicles and were regarded as of equal value and significance.

The tablets of unofficial portents prove that almost every event of common life was capable of being interpreted as a favourable or unfortunate sign. But it should be noted that many of the events referred to on the tablets are to be taken as occurrences in dreams, though this may not be explicitly stated in the portion of the text reserved. It is also possible that there was one of the most important duties of the professional seer or diviner both in unofficial and in official life. Reference has already been made to the existence of this branch of divination in the earlier periods of the Assyrian civilization, and there are also inscriptions prove that the gods continued to adopt this method of sending encouragement to the king or of making known to him their wishes. The visible appearance of Ashurbanipal's army in Elam was explained as a vision in sleep, and she probably did not appear to the king himself, but to a professional seer, as is definitely stated on another occasion when she sent the king a message. Such phenomena, accompanied by direct messages, were naturally of very clear and certain interpretation; but the meaning of most dreams was quite uncertain to the dreamer, for significance attached to the most minute points in the vision, and in every case it was necessary to have recourse to a highly trained diviner.

One of the most interesting classes of unofficial omens was drawn from the appearance of the various parts of the body during sickness, for the events predicted generally concerned the chances of the sick man's recovery, and they may thus be regarded as having something in common with the scientific study of disease. Not only were the sick man's colour, pulse, and general air of health considered, but such physiological phenomena as convulsions, epileptic movements, shivering from fever, and palpitations were carefully studied and made the subject of prognostication. It may be noted that many of these phenomena were formerly regarded as connected with births are rather to be connected with this class of divination.

There is evidence that the practice of various forms of divination, like that of Bab. astrology, was adopted by the Greeks after Alexander's conquest, and so survived under modified forms into the medieval period. The mere fact that 'Chaldean' was used by the Greeks as a synonymous term for 'astrologer' indicates the spread of the Babylonian astrological system. Though there is evidence that other forms of divination were practised by native diviners who had wandered to the coasts of Asia Minor and the West, it is thus possible that more than one form of divination which has survived to the present day may be traced to a Babylonian origin.

Literature.—La Divination et la science des prêtres (Paris, 1875) F. Leenhardt published a very able summary of the annual festivals of the gods and the Divine image.
of the subject, considering the period at which he wrote. Much medical has been published and classified by A. Boissier in his Documents assyro-babylonienne A. Much nosological and scientific advances have been made since the time of Boissier, and much new material has been published and classified by other scholars.

DIVINATION (Buddhist).—The art of divination was widely practised in India, as in Ancient Europe, at the time of the Buddha's birth. The early accounts of the latter event relate that eight Buddha's birth was foretold in the science of astrology, but to the astonishment of his disciples, he was born in the month of Magha. The science of astrology was widely practised in India, and in the time of the Buddha, it was used for various purposes, such as the fixing of the time for the various religious ceremonies. The science of astrology was also used for the prediction of the future, and the prediction of future events was considered an important part of divination.

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DIVINATION (Celtio).—According to Justin (XXIV. iv. 4), the Celts were skilled beyond other peoples in the sciences of augury, and Pausanias is mistaken when he asserts that X. xxi. 2 he has done away with the art of divination among them. The Celts practised all kinds of divination. It was by the flight of birds that the Gauls who invaded Illiria in 191 B.C. were guided (cf. Justin—Livy, v. xxxiv. 9). It was by a lot that the Herecynian forest was allocated to Sigovesus (Livy, v. xxxiv. 4). The coincidence of two names of countries was an omen that led the Gauls to found a town in Cisalpine Gaul (Livy, v. xxxiv. 9). The Gaulish Catuamudus made peace with the people of Marseilles because of a dream in which Minerva appeared to him (Justin, Xlil. v. 5). In 218 B.C. the Galatian allies, led by Attalus refused to go any further because they were frightened of the omens (Livv, v. xxxviii. 1). Before engaging in battle, the Gauls used to consult the entrails of victims; and once, when the entrails announced a great defeat for them, they massacred their women and children in order to gain the favour of the gods, (Livy, xxvi. ii. 2). According to Strabo (iv. iv. 5 [p. 193]), the sacrifices and augural practices of the Gauls were opposed to those of the Romans; the human victims, who were very often a criminal, was killed by a sword-stroke on the back, and the future was foretold from the way he fell, the nature of his convulsions, and the flow of blood, in accordance with an ancient and unbroken series of observations (cf. Dio, Sic. v. xxxv. 3). Artemidorus relates that in one harbour there were two rows of seagulls which had their right wings tinged with white; people who were in litigation used to lay cakes on a board, each arranging his own in such a way as to avoid all confusion. The birds swooped down on the cakes, ate the one person's and scattered the other's, and the disputant whose cakes were scattered won the case (see Strabo, iv. iv. 6 [p. 193]). Verrin was used by the Gauls for drawing lots and foretelling the future (Pliny, Xxv. iv. 78, 125, en 25). Philostratus (Philotemae of Cent. 1, etc. 198) mentions lots by pebbles and numbers among the Celts. The evil omens noticed by the Britons of the 1st cent. were of great variety: noises outside the curia; howlings in the theatre; the appearance of a buried city at
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DIVINATION (Christian).—1. Divination was regarded by early Christian writers as a branch of magic. It was a danger to religious life, it excited a morbid curiosity, it led to needless anxiety, it held the world in bondage by destroying the sense of responsibility. St. Augustine sums up its dangers:

'Quae tamen plena sunt omnia pestiferia curiositatis, cruci-antis sollicitudinis, mortiferis servitutibus' (De Doctr. Chr., ii. 24).

Christ is the door (Jn 10) 'neither knoweth any man the Father but the Son and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him' (Mt 11:25).

'The gates of the Divine Reason are rational, and they are opened by the key of faith' (Clement Alex. ad Gent. 1).

And St. Clement adds the warning: 'You are not conscious of Divine truths' (ib. 2). Divination is a practice which rests on occult methods, methods which had their place in primitive religion, but gave way to the higher methods of Jewish and Christian sacramentalism. This is the guiding principle of method we have already mentioned in the Christian view of divination. The diviner sees; he has an insight into Divine things. The Christian 'walks by faith, not by sight' (2 Co 5) he has touch with God, but this touch is 'through the veil, that is, his flesh,' in the widest sense of the economy of the Incarnation (He 10).

Divination is impatient to draw the veil aside.

Christianity, therefore, as the religion of the Incarnation, has discouraged rites and practices which set aside the limitations of the flesh, and are easily able to get beyond control. The subjective type of divination, whether in the form of psychic exaltation or prophetic ecstasy, necessitates a suspension of the intellectual and a pathetic passivity suitable for the transmission of the Divine thought: it produces a weakening or destruction of individuality, by means of ecstatic enthusiasm, deep sleep, sickness, or the approach of death (Augustine, De Civ. Dei, iv. 19). Christianity, in its responsibility to strengthen human nature as a whole by keeping control over the different faculties by means of Divine grace, has kept divination and ecstasy in the background; as a danger to the mind and the will. This control is emphasized by St. Paul: 'The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets' (1 Co 14).

The history of Christian divination is the history of the suppression of divination to the control of authority. This principle is summed up by Gratian in reference to divination by lot, one of the practices which claimed for itself Apostolic authority (Ac 15):

'Sic et sorte nulli nulli non sensa monstrator, prohibetur tanum fidibus, ne super hac specie divinationis ad antiquos yodolatrias cultus rediret.'

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For the same reason, it is related that L. Petillius publicly burnt certain Greek books as endangering the religion of Rome:

'Gentes, quos absque parte ad sollemnem religionem pertinere exstirpebatur, L. Petillius Practor Urbaneae ex autoritate senatus per victoriam igne facta, in conspectu populi creatae.' (De Rebus.[1])

And the reason assigned by Valerius Maximus applies equally to the history of Christian divination:

'Ille vero qui de paenis sacrificiis sortes legat, et si op- tandum est ut hoc faciat, quan ad daemonia consulenda concurrant; tamen jam isti mortuo displicet castitati' (ad quaestiones Januarii [Ep. iv. l. 20]).

In the words of Pliny (Iv. xxviii. 2), such spells were an insult to human wisdom: 'vir timet sapientissimi cujusque resipit fines.' The writings of the Fathers, the canons of the Church, and the experience of our times prove how great a hold such practices have gained even among those who profess Christianity. It is to them that St. Paul alludes in Gal 3: O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you? Liddell and Scott (s.v. faiakalvou), quoting Theocritus, write: 'The charm was broken by spitting three' (These, vi. 20). The tempestaer, storm-raisers or storm-callers, are constantly referred to in the canons, the capitularies, and pontifical letters of the Councils of the Bishops, (Ducange, Gloss, s. e. Tempestitarium). In Ireland such charms have been grafted into the religious customs of the people (Wood-Martin, Elder Faiths of Ireland, i. 104-108). A spell against whirlwinds in Macedonia is this: 'Alexander the Great liveth, aye he doth live and reign.' (Abbott ch. iv. 26) gives many examples of such spells and incantations.

The arioi were those who circled round the idol altars, uttering prayers, and making unwholesome offerings:

'ARIOLI vocati, propter quod circa aras idolorum nefariora procer emitunt, et funesta sacrificiala offerunt' (hid. viii. 9).

A law of 357 condemns the practice, and rebukes the pagans who, under the current with the cursing of the Devil, 'in summum omnium perpetuo divinandi curiosis' (Cod. Theol. lib. ix. tit. iv. 4). The object of the rites of the arioi was to receive some response. This practice of 'raising the devil' is referred to by Tertullian:

'qui arii habitantes sumpsit de sidore conquisitum, qui rectando carantur, qui animadventur profanae' (Apoc. 26).

There may be some survival of this rite in the devil's dance, or 'Holy round,' a circular dance round a rude stone monument or a well, and in the Tuaholl, or 'Unholy round,' which brings a curse. This cursing round was accompanied with incantations and the casting of a curse upon the object. (Wood-Martin, li. 51-57). The 'pecatum arionlant' is condemned with the 'sclau dulatra' in an Epistle of Stephen of Tournay (Ep. 120, ap. Ducange, Gloss).

The aruspices are referred to in the laws of Constantine in 319 (Cod. Theol. lib. ix. tit. xvi. 1-2). The aruspex divined by means of inspecting the entrails of a victim offered in sacrifice. The deencee does not destroy, but only regulates the sacrifice. The aruspex must not go into private houses. He must be consulted only in the temple: 'arac publicas adique delubra'; and in the open light: 'libera luce tractari.' Superstitionis enim nau seerave cupientes, potenter publice ritum possiderunt. (Cod. Theol. lib. x. cap. 30) Even as well as the Church recognized the importance of keeping the practice of divination under control.

This practice still survives. The use of the shoulder-blade in divination is an art in itself, known as ostraca. This divination, the spots of the 'wishing-bone,' which many of us remember as a solemn division of our childhood, as enjoyable almost as the feastings on the fowl, is also to be traced to the same source. This use of the 'merry-thought' is derived from the ancient use of the
DIVINATION (Christian)


I divination was of two kinds: 'ad oculos' and 'ad aures.' The divination was from the flight or from the song of birds. It was regulated by decrees of 357 and 358 (Cod. Theod. lib. iv. tit. xvi. 4, 6). There are many survivals of this kind of divination:

'If a whispering maid and a chattering hen are hateful alike to God and men.'

The crowing of a cock out of hours, the hooting of an owl, the cawing of a crow on the house-top, are all regarded as ominous. The pigeons which frequent the mosaics of Basileius in Constantinople and the Piazza of St. Mark's at Venice are looked on as birds of good omen. The geese in the cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona may be a survival of the geese kept in old time in the Roman temple on the same site. The series of Dove-Bishops at Ravenna and the letting loose of pigeons at certain festivals, though now associated with the gift of the Holy Ghost, have doubtless a more ancient root in the rites of divination. A certain Hildissius delivered the people of Villejeu-Brione from a Bur-
gundian raid by the leading of a dove: 'ut sint.

The magpie in England is still greeted with the rhyme:

'One for sorrow, two for mirth,
Three for a wedding, and four for a birth.'

And the flight to right or left is a survival of the angry 'ad oculos.' The swan was sacred to the children of Lyra. The word divum, 'wren,' is in German explained as Dreh-ken, a Druid bird, a bird that makes a prediction. He was the 'magnus avum' in Irish hagiology. The stork, the starling, and the swallow also have their place in the folklore of divination. A dove from heavenvelated St. Moling at his birth.

A madman and a fox (lived with him), also a wren and a little fly that used to buzz to him when he came from matins, till the wren peeped at it and killed it; and this killing by the wren was displeasing to him, so he cursed the wren, and said:

'My fly... Howbeit, says Moling,' but that he marvelled for the wren's beak, good to be making music for me, let it dwell for ever in empty houses, with a wet drip therein continuing, and any children and young pernici be doing them.' Howbeit then, but the wren killed the fly. Then the fox killed the wren. The dog of the steading killed the fox. A monk, at the same time, the madman, named Beneke, son of Cohan (Whitley-Stokes, The Birth and Life of St. Moling, Paris, 1900; Wood-Martin, ib. 140-159; Abbott, pp. 106-115).

The story of a bird's learning associated with the sunken palace of Baile Lake (Celtic Folklore, Oxford, 1901, p. 409). The common saying, 'A little bird has whispered it in my ear,' shows the continuity of tradition as to the magpie. Wood-

martin (ii. 145) gives a picture of a bronze instru-
m ent with bird ornaments, found in a bog near Ballymone, Co. Antrim, which has been thought by some to be a divining-rod. It is not earlier than the 6th century.

'The astrologia, gnomotheci, and mathematici were all adepts in divination by means of the study of the stars. The term mathematici was a common one in the 4th cent.: 'quos vulgaris mathematicos vocat' (Jerome, Com. in Dom. c. ii. 2). So also in the 1st cent. (Didache, c. 5; St. Augustine has frequent references to them: 'Jam etiam mathematicorum fallacies divinationis, et impia delirantia rejecerant' (Conf. vii. 6). The title of the Theodosian Code, under which the practices of divination are regulated, is 'de Mathematicis et Mathematicis.' They are specially mentioned in edicts of 357, 358, 370, or 373. A decree of Honorius and Theodosius in 409 reads:

'Mathematicos, nisi parati sit, colebimos erroris proprii sub oculus Episcoporum incendo concernens, Catholicae Religionis"
DIVINATION (Christian)

Charles Simeon sought comfort in this way:

'It was not for direction I was looking, for I am no friend to such counsel, but only for suggestions of the Spirit.'

In Sortes, Definimus a iis.

After H. ere (ib. Quod xiii.).

... (Chambers's 'Quaerit'...)

Then he developed a theory of evidence that had been neglected by the church. He frowned on the use of omen and augury, which he believed to be a snare for the Christian.

The soror de pane refers to purgation by bread.

'It is a script of the Life of St. Moking:

'The cleric said to the Spectre: 'Then let me have a nose. .

The tomb found on the Specr's hand. Thereafter he kept his three steps of pilgrimage and his three leaps of folly. The first leap he kept; he kept to them, the other two.

'Then he kept the three-stone wall, and the second leap that he kept, they saw him not at all. .

... After that he looked at the church, and sat in his place at prayer. .

... Thus he was, with the blow of the anger and the fire on him, and the radiance of the Goodheath in his countenance' (Whiteleys, p. 82).

3. Primitive Christianity would seem to have been more tolerant of divination than the more developed Catholic Christianity of the West. The evidence of the books of the NT. points to this difference. It is in St. Matthew's Gospel alone that the Star is recorded, and that dreams are referred to as a means of revelation. The dreams of Joseph (12.21) are an echo of the early belief in the form of divination among the Jews.

Then, after the vision of the Divine lot is in the cradle of Christianity at Jerusalem, in the choice of St. Matthias (Ac 1). In the extension of Christianity the Gospel triumphs over divination. Simon the Sorcerer of Samaria (Acts 8) and the Sorcerer of Cyprus (13), the woman with the spirit of divination at Philippi (16), the sorcerers of Ephesus (19), stand condemned in the records of the early mission outside Judaea. Oecumenical gives way before Sacramentalism, although faint traces of the primitive faith are recognizable in the stories of the 'shadow of Peter' (Ac 5), the handkerchiefs from the body of Paul (19), and the traces of Peter (109) and Paul (227, 2 Co 12). Witchcraft under the form of phalaxia is condemned in Gal 3.5, Rev 20:12.

In the sub-Apostolic age there are a few references to the practice of divination. The Epitasis of Barnabas links together pax, unction, and ovium in one.

1. St. Ignatius in his Epistle to the Ephesians (xx. 1.) refers to ovium, and speaks of the one Bread of the Blessed Sacrament as the φαρμακον ἀθρασίας (xix. 2; xx. 2). Hermaus calls a mania a heathen practice (Mand. xii. 8). The Delphities forbid it: 23. αἱ καλαγολοί, οἱ φαρμακολογοί (c. 2); and again: οἱ μέν με, οἱ γιονοι οὐκοφορούσιν καὶ οἱ εὐθανασίοι μεθεψεμενοι (c. 3). If the 'Two Ways' is an early Jewish-Christian document, this straight teaching against augury, incanta-
DIVINATION (Egyptian).—From more than one point of view it seems impossible to bring Egyptian divination under the classifications in general use in the study of mantics; we cannot make either the ordinary definitions, or the purpose, or even—to a certain extent—the means employed fit exactly. In fact, in this study, as in so many others, the Egyptians made no attempt to formulate a theory, or even to lay down general principles. In Egypt we find nothing corresponding to the didactic teaching on mantics composed by the Chaldaeans and by the Hellenic world, nothing like the prodigious variety of means of divination of the Assyrians and Greeks, including the observation of almost every phenomenon of Nature, being, and things. The observation of the ordinary aspects of the sky is confined to the realm of astrology; its unusual aspects (meteors, shooting stars, comets, zodiacal light, eclipses) are explained in advance by mythology, and do not require an interpretation derived from actual divination. There is no mention of the mantics of rain, winds, clouds, or smoke, etc., in the Egyptian treatises, although there may have been as many kinds of divination by ‘palmyrism.’ In connexion with living creatures there is no ritual study of the movements or appearances of animals (ornithology, ichthyology, etc.); nor do we meet with harnsiery, divination by the production of phenomena for interpretation.

When we apply to Egypt the classifications in general use for the mantics of other peoples, we find a certain number of divinatory processes mentioned by the ancient Greek and Roman authors, about which, however, it is very important to observe: (1) that they are of rare occurrence, or are employed only in popular superstitions and not by official divination; and (2) that they were performed by the Egytian priests at a late date, under the influence of Asia or of the Hellenic world.

To the first class we may assign the indications drawn from the flight of birds and encounters with serpents, etc. The story of Alexander’s expedition to the Eastern Desert and Oasis. This form of divination possibly belongs to Egypt, and the inscription of Hamanamet (Emery, Z. E. xxi. 1891) describes the defence, in which a cobra shows the spot in the desert where the stone of the royal sarcophagus is to be set up. But the incident was not regarded rather as a matter of divination, for considering it a regular method of divination. The use of the divinatory vases seems equally unknown to the priestly and popular minds; the so-called magic consultation of Nectanebo is a legend of Greek origin. The divinatory vases certainly existed in Egypt in the last centuries of its history, and the democratic texts agree on this point with the Graeco-Roman evidences; but it is very probable that the popular use was imported from Persia, and in any case it was never employed by the court-priests, but only by magicians.

Apart from the reference in G. G. Chambers, A Sketch of Egypt (Egypt, which may be a non-Egyptian adaptation, we know from the classics (Pline. xxvi. 46; Plut. De Is. L. iv.; Hor. Sat. ii. 33, etc.) that the use of the divinatory names was performed through the medium of a child, on whom they were impressed by occultations and the laying on of hands. And thus, says Diodorus (vii.), ‘the soul foresees future events in the phantoms she herself creates’ (cf. Virey, Religion Egypt., Paris, 1899, p. 227, and Emont, Religion Egypt., do. 1911, p. 236). The use of the child, because of its innocence, is a common practice in all magic, and is connected with the universal belief in the inferiority of the child, who has committed no sexual conceptions, in the struggle against the spirits. Letters connects these methods of divination of the infant period with the divinatory practice of the Egyptians. The phantoms of Africa (Reune Africaine, 1895, p. 251, 221), and conjectures with great probability (Spalini, in [1651] 64) that the material processes correspond generally in the phantoms and images of Amulis and others, by means of hypnotism and looking at a shining object. W. W. F. Leadbeater,透视the Elder Posida of Egyptian Life, London, 1902.

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played a very limited part. Consultations of the bull Apis are known in the classics. Pliny (xviii. 71) and Anna Marcellinus (xxxi. 5) relate that Osiris had observed that Apis accepted or refused the food offered by the worshipers, and that the sacred animal refused the offering of Germanicus. They also tell of prosperity or adversity being foretold for the country. Arguments fall to choose into one or the other of two stalls.

There is little doubt that these superstitions are completely Egyptian, and it is very doubtful whether, at the classical period, such manifestations were employed by the priests as means of divination; it is far more probable that they were only used for superstitious purposes, being throughout all Egypt wherever sacred animals were kept in the temples, and that the custom of leaving the choice of the Apis happened only when the choice was made by the case of the crocodiles of Oebos, and the reins of Elephantois or of Mendes. It may have been due to the influence of the Greeks, who were received in this in the same way, to this very type of mantic, that these customs became embodied in the priestly cult, or at least were given a greater importance as methods of divination. In fact, dreams, astrologist's, and, in particular, the direct consultation, in definite language, of living images of the gods, began. They supplied the official religion of Egypt with methods of consultation far more convenient, more explicit, and more acceptable than the various signs of good and evil; and it is in these classes that nearly all the known examples of Egyptian divination are found.

(6) Among the most characteristic processes in the consultation of statues is the designation of the Egyptian sovereigns by the statue of Amon-Ra at Napata. The ancient authors had been struck by this result of an account of Diodorus, III. 29, and a corrupted version in the satirical writings of Synesius [Works, French tr. by Druon, Paris, 1878, p. 241]. The famous stele of Jebel Barkal, on which the election of Apis is recorded, is, as the result of this practice accessible in the language of the English language. After a number of ceremonies, too long to describe here (see Maspero, Boulog, pp. 69, 336, and Guide Cairo Museum, ed. Dec. 1910, p. 215, Room 8, West Side, no. 692), the candidates for the throne were brought before the statue of the god, which had been adjoined to make its choice known. They fled past the idol, which remained motionless until it "seized" the candidate it chose. The statue thereupon declared in formal terms that this was the king. The newly-elected monarch then entered the sanctuary, and was crowned by the god himself.

Recent Egyptianological discoveries show that all the traits of this curious procedure were borrowed from the divinatory ritual of Egypt. On the tomb of Nefi省mf at Gourna, there is an account of the election of the high priest of Amon-Ra. The candidates were led before the statue of the god. They were all shown to it in turn, one after another. It made the choice as the inscription [see below for the actual gesture] except, said the king, when I pronounced your name. Then, Nefi省mf being chose, the statue conferred the power upon him by four magic passes. A second text, discovered later, proves that the custom was in existence even in the time of Amenophis I, and it is quite logical to suppose that it goes back to a much earlier period; it may perhaps be even as ancient as the worship of the god himself.

The right of consulting the god is reserved, of course, to his people, i.e. to the king or the chief prophet (a poor modern tr. of the word houm, which is, more exactly, a man belonging to something one). The consultation does not take place at any time, but only, according to traditional etiquette, on one of the days of the holy image being "going out" (khnum = assemblies, processions) in the loco thebes, in the temple Amun, etc., or his great festival of Apis. There is a recognized place where it is allowable to present the divinatory request to the god, and even to interrupt the "going out" of the god to question him. At Thebes it is the great silver pavilion. The priests then approach the shrine containing the statue and begins by an invocation (ebh) in court language. He then asks the statue if it is convenient for it to listen to such and such an affair. The terms used here also are traditional: "O Goodness, my Lord," is the beginning of the question. Then the case is stated: a theft has been committed; will the property be recovered, or will it be kept? A famous monument has been robbed; does the god desire the punishment of the spoilers? Sometimes even more complicated is used; Lord, may we lay before thee the serious case of the Great Oasis; see below). If the statue remains motionless, the request is refused, and the matter is dropped. If it consents to listen, it acquires (banu) "twice with decision.

The actual gesture of consent is difficult to determine. Nearly all authorities admit that the statue "shook its head." The word banu, always employed, without exception, in all the texts, for this method of divination, may be a very forceful shake of the head, according to the usual significance of the word in ordinary language. Amon-Ra of the Great Oasis, in the long series of examples known to us, Amon, "Pasholini of Memphis (cf. Pleyte. P.SB.x, [1892] 41, 55), Amon 'Tashonel (65). Khonsu 'Numhefem, etc., was refused in a similar manner. The sign of the Great Oasis; see below). If the statue remains motionless, the request is refused, and the matter is dropped. If it consents to listen, it acquires (banu) "twice with decision.

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they are entirely concerned with the people and things ruled over or possessed by the god; in short, that they are cases not of interpretative divination or divination of the future, but of the divination, for the immediate present, of the god's formal decision. This remark helps us to understand how the process of the Divine response by *hau* tended to become a settled gesture, almost a piece of ritual phrasology, the terminological element of which in the end quite evaporated (see below).

The process of questioning is controlled by rigorous fixed rules. A series of definite questions are asked, each involving a different element in the *libri, the solution of the difficulty. To each question the statue has to reply by 'yes' (i.e. by performing *hau* 'twice with decision') or 'no' (i.e. by remaining unspoken). In certain cases, the final decision depends entirely upon the statue's gesture. Two pieces of writing are placed before it, the one saying that an accused person is guilty, the other that he is not guilty; and the statue is required to choose. To make quite sure, this test is repeated twice. The case of the steward Thothmes is an example of this kind, in which, twice over, 'the god refused to take the writing that declared him guilty, and took that declaring him innocent' (cf. a good tr. of this typical example, *Boulaq, iv. 325*).

This curious passage would lead one to suppose that, even although *hau* means a shaking of the head, the statue certainly moved or stretched out its arm to take the writing. This evidence should be laid alongside of the various texts that seem to show that at the coronation of the king the statue of Ammon 'put the crown on the new sovereign's head, as in Ethiopia (see below).

Taken in connexion with the indication of the Ethiopian kings and the Theban chief priests by the statue, these examples of judicial decisions throw light upon the philosophy of such proceeding; and prove—what that originally the gesture of the statue was actually divinatory, inasmuch as, though an indication was looked for from it that was the result, it is true, of solicitation, its exact answer or choice could not be foretold. In the earliest times the *hau* of the statue was as impossible to anticipate with certainty as were the miraculous movements recorded in other inscriptions — the statue making a gesture of welcome or salutation, during a procession, as if paying a court official (cf. Petrie, *Koptos, pl. xix. line 11 f.), or, more frequently, before the prince who was destined one day to mount 'the throne of Horus,' and of whose future position as king of Egypt no indication had ever been made by lot. The origin of the *hau* had a tendency gradually to become an operation in which the process of investigation, procedure, and inquiry was carried through more and more by human means, and the only uncertain element—i.e. the opinion, or the will, of the god—was reduced to the very restricted alternative of saying 'yes' or remaining motionless. Divination proper, thus reduced to the minimum of interpretative freedom, and confined to cases equally definite and real, became, by force of circumstances, rather a registration of the god's consent taken for granted in practice, and soon even simply a formality with practically no divinatory significance in it. This was almost certainly the nature of the Divine *hau* in the cases of the election of the Egyptian king and the nomination of the Theban chief priest; and similarly in the ratification of judicial sentences. This all serves to explain how, in the course of history, the Divine *hau* or election by a movement of the statue came to be the regular and necessary accessory of registration for all kinds of contracts, deeds of gift, marriages, wills, and even rescripts relating to funerary lots passed before the temple authorities, in which there was no kind of 'divination' to be seen—unless, indeed, we give that name to the desire (or would-be desire) to be quite certain, for the sake of propriety, that the spirit of the god was not opposed to them (cf. (1) the process in the Turin Papyrus 126; (2) Erman, Z.A xxxv. [1897] 12, for the registration of a will; (3) Maspero, *Boulaq,* p. 236, for the registration of a divine rescript). Breasted says in *Anc. Records, iv. 325,* about a special work on this series of legal documents. 1

(c) From the known examples, it appears that the consultation of statues usually consisted in obtaining a series of acquiescences saying *hau*.

We have seen, however, that movements of 'seizing' sometimes accompanied this manifestation of the god's will. There were also other movements of a more general kind; e.g., when the image of Khonsa consented to grant its magic power to one of the statues of Khonsu in order to drive off a demon, it is said that it 'made four passes of the magic fluid'—from which we may assume actual movement as an element, or a part of, the declaration of divinatory, of the arms or of an entire body. In some of the cases cited above, it is formally stated that the *hau* was accompanied by spoken words, sentences more or less brief, but practically forming a short declaration. The usual example is the election of the kings of Napatia. It is, indeed, certain, from a number of other texts, that the gods spoke—not, of course, to the common herd of mortals, but to their sons and their ministers (i.e. to the members of the 'library of the high priest'). The gist of the wishes they manifested thus was afterwards reduced to the form of a decree (mutH), and engraved on the walls of the temple as 'the words of the god himself'; or their wishes were embodied in one of the oracles or the prose accounts, lyrical in character, which have been rapidly enriching the *corpus* of Egyptian historical inscriptions in recent times.

These oracles, as of many varieties as the consultations of the statues examined above. Sometimes the god himself, of his own accord and unsolicited, suddenly manifested his will, making his voice heard, in the silence of the sanctuary, to the king or priest coming into his majestic presence; and he would order a mission to Lebanon for wood for his house, for stones for his temple, for perfumes and rare trees for his altars and sanctuaries (cf. Erman, Z.A xxxiv. [1894] 1; and Golenischeff, *Boulaq,* xxi. 121). Sometimes the manifestation was seen; it might be the complement of a previous warning in a dream, a formal explanation of which the god was graciously granting by *hau* (or, it might be the *hau* itself); or it might be the form of a question to the god, the reply being the god's acceptance of the request of the king. To the last category belongs the discourse received by Hatusu in the temple of Deir el-Bahari, when she was 'made motionless, after sitting and fasting, to ask the god for the sign of the Divine will, and was ordered to send an expedition to the country of Khonsu' (see Naville, *Deir el-Behari, London, 1889-1901,* ii. 84). This famous example is a good specimen of the manner of proceeding. The other examples of the same type show that in no single case was the divination accompanied by ecstasy, religious frenzy, or hypnosis of the subject, and that the god never used mysterious language, or broken mangled words that were afterwards submitted to the interpretation of professional scribes. The statements made by the god were in clear and coherent terms. They were practical replies as to a fact, a decision to be taken, or the issue of a concrete imminent event. All the Egyptian precision and love of clearness are seen in every one of these oracle statements. The words of the god may demand the god, and is shown a place where he must make a well in the desert, while the god demurred a sanctuary in exchange (cf. Breasted, *Anc. Records,* iii. 82); or orders, solicited or unsolicited, relating to the construction and repair of buildings (e.g. Mattei, *Karnak, ii.* Breasted, *Anc. Records, ii. no. 603*) appear to have held the chief place in these cases;—certainly, in each instance, the responses made by others were engraved on the walls of the buildings with which they were thus connected. Another kind of prediction, as we find of more ancient date, is the foretelling of a prince's coming to the throne. Thothmes III., was informed by the god long in advance that he would one day be king of Egypt (inscription at Wady-Halfa); and this prediction was confirmed later by the statue suddenly stopping in front of Thothmes, proclaiming

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1 On the question of illusion or fraud in the above processes, see Pean, *La Vocation et le Devoir dans l'Egypte Ancienne* vol. i. ch. i. p. 37 ff.; Maspero, *Les Statues parlantes,* in *J.D.* 25th Dec. 1908.
DIVINATION (Egyptian)

One of the major activities of the Pharaohs was to ensure the well-being of the kingdom through the practice of divination. The main purpose of these practices was to divine the will of the gods and to ensure the prosperity and stability of the kingdom.

The earliest form of divination in Egypt was through the interpretation of dreams, as seen in the Book of the Dead. The Pharaohs believed that dreams were a way to communicate with the gods and to receive guidance on important matters.

Another common method of divination was through the use of oracles, which were sought by priests or other individuals who were believed to have divine knowledge. The Oracle of Heliopolis was one of the most famous and influential oracles in ancient Egypt, and it was believed to have answered questions related to the future of the kingdom.

The most significant form of divination in ancient Egypt was through the practice of Horus, who was considered the god of divination. The Horus Oracle was located in the city of Edfu, and it was believed to have the power to answer questions related to the future of the kingdom.

The practice of divination was a central part of Egyptian religion and was deeply ingrained in the daily lives of the people. It was believed that the gods were always present and could be communicated with through various forms of divination.

The importance of divination in ancient Egypt is evident in the many inscriptions and literary works that have survived to this day. These works provide insights into the practices and beliefs of the ancient Egyptians, and they continue to be studied and interpreted by scholars today.

In conclusion, the practice of divination was a crucial aspect of ancient Egyptian religion, and it played a significant role in shaping the history and culture of the kingdom. The various forms of divination, including dreams, oracles, and the Horus Oracle, were all important tools for the Pharaohs and other leaders, and they continue to be studied and appreciated by people of all ages.
intelligence, by an answer obtained from a book of magic, or by explanations sought from some other supposed, divined, and celebrated source of sagacity—this last word being understood in its narrowest sense of a high degree of skill in magical studies. This practice of private divination (which must be carefully kept distinct from official divination) seems to have been of wide occurrence in Egypt in all periods. It presents cases of an infinite variety of application, but these will be more appropriately discussed under MAGIC (Egyp.).

DIVINATION (Greek).—Of the beliefs with regard to divination held by the Hellenes at the time of their arrival in Greece we have no know-
dedge; what they practised was highly likely, and it is inconceivable that the inhabitants of Knossos, Tiryx, Mycenae, and the other centres of pre-historic culture had no belief in it; but definite information is entirely wanting. The most wealth that can be gathered oracles were of a possibly date from pre-Hellenic times. We begin therefore with the feudal period of Greek history (c. 1200 B.C.), of whose culture we know something from Homer.

Homer.—Here we find for the most part 'independent diviners' (divina libera, to adopt Bouche-Leclercq's convenient terminology). The oracular shrines, so famous in later ages, are scarcely mentioned at all. One instance occurs of a private consultation at Dodona,1 and Achille mentions the wealth of the shrine at Delphi;2 but no important oracles are mentioned as emanating from either. Agamemnon, for example, does not appear to have consulted any one but the seer Hektor, in regard to the famous portent of the serpent and the nest of swallows is interpreted by him, and Odysseus bids the discouraged army 'wait awhile and see whether Kalkhas prophesies right or not.'3 So far in historical times, in official and professional the individual seer (μάντις, οἰωνιστής) and not any sort of priestly corporation, that we have to deal with. The μάντις is not, as a rule, an inspired prophet, but rather a craftsman (δημοφιλής), charged with leeches and carpenters in a famous verse of pp. 69, 330; Études de Myth. et de Archéol. iii. (1901) 165, 239; Annaire de l'Ecole des Hautes Études, 1907). A short account is given in A. Erman, Θρημ. Religion, Berlin, 1905, p. 180. The rest of the important documents and articles on the subject have been mentioned in the article.

GOULFAC.

1 Od. xiv. 327; cf. xiv. 230. 2 H. 110. 598. 3 H. l. 72. Plato, following the recognized classification, divides divination into μάντικη εἰκών and υἱώδεις ψευτοργία, and ζητητική ψευτοργία, which are parallel in this respect, 241 B-D. In the Odyssey and Homer, practically, and has been sacrificed (wrongly, we think) to the influence of Dionysos, by Bouche-Leclercq and others.

of omen-birds (σταύρως),1 or sometimes of other animals, or by portents (τέρσας).

The former of these (δράκωναι, οἰωνιστής) was always more or less a commonplace in Greece, although it never attained the imposing dimensions of Etruscan augury. In Homer, the omen-bird is generally an eagle, and always sent by Zeus, Apollo, or Athena.2 Its actions are symbolical, and used in complicated augury for their interpretation. A characteristically transparent allegory is that given by the eagle in II. xii. 200 ff.:

For a bird appeared unto them as they strove to cross, even an eagle of high flights, upon the left, carying the folk; he bore a monstrous red serpent in his talons, alive still and breathing, that was not without portent of strife, for it struck at the string that held it upon the breast, by the neck, writhing back. And the eagle dropped it from him to the earth, galled by the pain, and flung it down into the midst of the throng, and himself flew with a scream on the breath of the wind. And the Trojans shudder to think of the portent a thing like this among the domain of Zeus, the eagle-bearer.

Here the eagle represents the Trojans, the snake the Greeks, and the discomfiture of the eagle indicates the result of the contest. That it is meant as an omen is shown by the species of bird—not all birds are omens3—and by the unusual nature of the occurrence—it is called a portent (τέρσας). It is seen on the left, i.e. the west, the quarter of the sun4 and more unlucky. A much simpler omen encourages Odysseus and Diomedes:5

Unto them Pallass Athene sent a heron, on the right, near their path; that it did not with the holy stone of the night, but they heard its cry. And Odysseus rejoiced at that sign (σταύρως), and made prayer to Athene.

In neither of these omens are oracles it is the diviner strictly a professional. Polydamas, who interprets the first omen, is renowned as an augur, but he is present at the battle simply as a warrior, and only incidentally is he concerned omens and advises Hector. Odysseus is a favourite of Athena,5 who has been the priest or wizard about him. The method of interpretation is of the simplest in these and all other cases in Homer; and Hector, who is by no means impious, is frankly contemptuous about the adverse sign.

Portents, strictly speaking,—i.e. ominous events of a miraculous nature—are not very common in Homer. One has already been mentioned in passing: the omen of the serpent, interpreted by Kalkhas,看出 the coming war.® The omen is of the serpent, but not of any of the stones; but no one seems to deduce anything from this. The word τέρσας, indeed, is used to mean any sign® from a god, whether miraculous or not, or any wonderful thing, like the agis, which apparently Eris begets.® The divination is necessarily is definitely from a god that the sign always comes; and this applies to the other forms of divination mentioned below. Of familiar spirits, animals when they gives the warning snake lying in the midst of them, a portent of Zeus, the eagle-bearer.

Besides augury and portents, the most important omens are dreams. These are almost always definitely sent by a god, and usually speak in plain language. Generally also they are true, an exception being the ‘bad dream’ sent by Zeus to deceive Agamemnon.® Usually the vision takes the form of a man or woman known to the sleeper

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See Amel's note on Od. x. 274. For the association of these three deities, cf. the repeated line αὐτὴ τοῦ πάρθενου Ἀθηνᾶ, etc. of the Odyssey (III. v. 60, xiv. 319; vii. 256 ff.) for which nature of the golden apple is ‘most precious of all other and of these (Euripides, tragedy). In any case, the voice, etc. (see, e.g., Plato, Cratylus, 338 D), does not occur in Homer.

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DIVINATION (Greek)

(in this case, Nestor). However, the eulog, non-
allegorical language is not invariable, and there exists a class of dream-interpreters (δεικνυόμενοι), but, we may safely assume, no masters of any complicated and wide-reaching science like that taught in later days by such men as Artemidorus. For their craft was not, if possible; it involved telling true dreams from false ones; so we gather from the apologle of the gates of horn and of Ivory, in the speech of Penelope to Odysseus (Od. xi. 569 sqq.). According to the geography of Od. xxvii. 647+ there is an omens and, to rumour Achilles introduce remains (see noticed as the simplest form of allegorical dream — a vision of an ominous happening. Incubation (see below) is unknown in Homer. One unusual example of a dream, or vision, not divinely sent, remains to be noted. As Achilles sleeps, the spirit of his dead and unburied friend appears to him (II. xxiii. 62 ff.) to beg for speedy release from his homeless condition. But everything about this scene seems including the whole, unoriginal, and even inconsistent with normal Homeric beliefs.

The occasional appearances of deities, who speak face to face with favoured heroes (Athene with Achilles and Odysseus, Hermes with Priam, etc.), and of their craft or any other omens in passing, the peculiar occurrence which later Greece called φημή, Homer ἄλκη or ἄνω — the rumour which, coming from no one knows where, spreads through a crowd. This the Greeks always recognized, and would have noticed it. We introduce a similar idea, found both in Homer and in later writers, namely, that the Divine will may be made known by means of the usual words of a mortal (κριτήρια). Of this we have a note-worthy example (Od. xx. 98 ff.). Odysseus, about to take vengeance on the wooers, prays for Divine encouragement; a thunder-clap answers him, and is followed by a few words from a tired maid-servant, who curses the wooers for keeping her up all night to grind corn for their feasts. Later ritual developed and systematized this method at the oracular shrine of Hermes Agoraioi in Pharai. The consultant whispered his question into the god's ear, then stopped his own ears, went out, and interpreted the Divine answer, that was to say, chance words from passers-by. These were construed into an answer. This form of divination (δεικνυόμενοι) remained popular at all periods.

It appears in various forms, such as the pens on names (Εὔβοια — Ὅμηρος, Παστορις, Ναυκλατος, in the Agenanmon, 686 f.), and seems to have had this great advantage, that one could either accept (δεικνυόμενοι) or disregard an omen of this kind.

Allied to divination is the omen from sneezing (Od. xvII. 541 ff.) — one of the large classes of omens from involuntary human actions (καλυμβον), elaborated in later times into a complicated system. In the Homeric instance, Telemachos' violent sneeze fulfills the form of a Penelope's words. This idea lingers on to-day in Greece. If a sneeze is heard after any one has spoken, the sneezer is not only given the customary "good health to you!", but the words καὶ δεικνυόμενα λέγε, and the presence of omens are added.

 Necromancy proper — the evoking of a ghost or ghosts — is not found in Homer. The nearest approach, besides the appearance of Patroklos' spirit, is in the visit of Odysseus to Hades (Od. i. 11). Here the ghosts are certainly approached with regular necromantic rites, blood-offerings and the like, and the whole passage suggests something other than the normal Homeric idea of the dead as 'strengthless.' It may well be that, while the Achian lords were not ghost-worshipers, their dead of their affairs were divined by means of the unbroken line percolated up from lower levels of society. But even here the ghosts are not raised from their graves or called into the upper world; nor have they any prophetic powers, except Teiresias, who, by special grace, received the same kind of ... thing like it. The only approach to the usual idea of a dead man's powers of divination is the foresight shown by some dying men, e.g. Hector. Such are the main forms of Homeric divination, to which Hesiod makes no addition, for his weather signs are simply crude meteorology, with nothing of magic about them.

2. Historic period. — We now pass to the historic period, which we may roughly divide into (1) the time of Greek development and political importance (8th to 4th cent. B.C.—First Olympiad to the death of Alexander); and (2) the decadence (from the 4th cent. onwards).

The period of Homeric importance. — In this period, besides the Homeric methods, several new forms of divination were introduced, which will be briefly discussed in their proper place; but the chief feature of it was the immense importance of the oracular system. We may notice the most important, that of Zeus at Dodona, of Apollo at Delphi, and, later, of Zeus Ammon. The first of these is undoubtedly of great antiquity. Homer mentions its priestly tribe or caste, the ζύλαι of unwatched feet, sleepers, who practised it. We may put it in the way in which the oracles were given — by the sounds made by the sacred oak — suggests an ancient tree-worship, older than the cult of Zeus as we know it, and very possibly practised before the god was heard of. It remained respectable, though overshadowed by Delphi, until quite late times.

But the greatest of all oracles was the Delphic or Pythian. From very early times an oracle of some sort appears to have existed in this lonely and exquisitely beautiful place, and, if we may trust the legends, it was held by Ge-Themis, possibly in conjunction with Poseidon. Inspiration was given by some sort of vapour rising from a cleft in the ground; this is so well established by ancient research, that we cannot doubt that although modern researches have shown that no large chasm existed — in fact, thanks to the French excavators, any one can now see that for himself. But, whatever it was, it was enough to serve as evidence of the presence of a chthonian power, and it was held to inspire prophecies — possibly by means of dream-visions, the characteristic form of earth oracles. To this old and well-established shrine there came, at some period of which we have no definite knowledge, a Northern tribe, who worshipped Apollo. Despite the non-chthonian character of this god, Delphi became Apollo's hencorward. Under the management of the "Holy Ones" (Cypriots) it became an important oracular shrine in Greece, and to some extent the official head-centre of Hellenic religion.

1 For a discussion of the whole question, see Rohde, Psyche, Tübingen, 1907, vol. i. ch. 1.
2 See Introduction (Introductory), § 6, 'Necromancy.'
4 II. xxv. 233 ff.
5 See Farrell, iv. 180 ff., for an excellent discussion; but in our opinion he underestimates the part played by the natural advantages of the spot. The Greeks were extraordinarily sensitive to beautiful scenery, though not given to sentimentalizing about it.
6 Cf. Plutarch, de Defect. Orae, 43.
7 Crete also had a traditional connexion with Delphi; see Hom. Hymn. Amph. 1; Paus. v. 7; Pind. Nem. ii. 22. A lion's head in Ktesias style has been found at Delphi.
DIVINATION (Greek)

Several methods of divination were employed at one time or another, such as the most ancient ψηφική, which appear to have resided the Zoth Divining-sticks; but the usual procedure was by possession (μαντικὴ ἔνθεως). The Pythia or prophetess, after a draught of water from the underground spring Kassotis, ascended herself upon the tripod in the inner cell, probably over the altar, became inspired, and prophesied. The official interpreters (προφητήτα) then reported her utterances, normally in hexameters. The opportunity this gave for very liberal freehand of the inspired and probably quite unintelligible words of the Pythia is obvious; still, all oracles were supposed to come through her direct, as is shown by the common phrase ἡ Πειθείς χάρ. The theory was briefly this: Zeus was omniscient, and Apollo was his favourite son and his confidant. Apollo, therefore, from time to time made known his father's will or fore-knowledge to such mortals as chose to consult him after due purification and sacrifice, employing as his medium the Pythia, who, possessed much as a shaman is possessed (πλημα δεο, in Vergil's phrase), spoke not her own words but those of the god. How much of all this the 'Holy Ones' believed, we cannot say; certainly the oracle had immense influence. The Pythia, even in matters wherein it was, on the whole, conservative, except for its advocacy of Dionysiac worship and of hero- cults. In political matters it usually avoided any decided position, though it was philo-Spartan in the Peloponnesian war, and, in other matters, vagueness and ambiguity in all fore-tellings of the future saved the god from the disagreeable position of a false prophet. In one respect, however, Apollo seems really to have acted as a useful Information Bureau of the oracle, regularly came to him for advice, and that advice was generally good. It may be, however, that here, as in the case of codes of laws supposed to emanate from Delphi (σέμα Πειθείστα), the god did not more than give his approval to a course already decided upon.

The influence of Delphi, and the lesser influence of other oracles of Apollo (Klaros, Branchidai, etc.), had its effect on legend, as is shown by the peripatetic tradition of taking of the Pythia was into making the latter sons or pupils of Apollo, and inspired prophets rather than augurs. The great bulk of the oracles, and their proverbial obscurity, called into existence a class of interpreters (μαντικοί) whose business it was to revealing the god's meaning to the less sharp-witted public. It was recognized that to be a good exegete one must be something of a diviner; and, later on, in the mongrel of Greek culture, the collection and interpretation of oracles in the light of a degenerate philosophy occupied such men as Porphyry. But even Apollo did not extinguish the race of divina libros. The craze for knowledge of the future which was very noticeable during the Peloponnesian war produced a demand for oracles which was literally met by the circulation of the prophecies (χρηστοὶ) of various ancient sages, such as Musas—in among them those of Bakis, of whom Aristophanes makes such delightful sport in the Knights and elsewhere. At Athens, especially, prophecies sprang up like mushrooms, and such ominous lines as the famous

1 See Farnell, ii. 188. The prophetic virtues of water from sacred springs were widely recognized.

2 The oracle could be consulted only at certain seasons (σεζόναρια). In a few cases even prose, were used later; see Plut. de Pythiae Oraculis.

3 The oracle was consulted only at certain seasons (σεζόναρια). In a few cases even prose, were used later; see Plut. de Pythiae Oraculis.

4 This was a regular Apolline method, e.g. at his ancient shrine at Epidauros.

5 The more so as some gods had either no oracles or none of any importance. Hence we find Apollo consulted, for example, on a question affecting the worship of Demeter at Eleusis.

6 Διωροτάκην πλήμα καὶ λόγων ἐν ἀνόητον, with its no less terrifying variant θάνατον were in every one’s mouth. Soothsayers of all kinds plied a lively trade. Nikias was especially dependent upon them, but no general crossed a river or entered the enemy’s country without consulting the μαντῶν attached to the army.

7 These are the divines criticized an art unknown to Homer, namely, harmospiey. Whereas the Homeric heroes simply sacrificed and had done with it, in later Greek rites the victim was required to stretch his hand when the libation was poured upon it) that the god accepted it, and the entrails were inspected for signs of Divine approval or disapproval, especially before a battle. Indeed, there is more than one instance (notably at Platea) of a general delaying action for a considerable time until at last a victim’s entrails gave a favourable omen. Empromancy was also practised, i.e. the observation of the fire consuming the sacrificia flesh. If it burned low or went out, it was a bad sign, and so on. This was not restricted to altar-blames. It was hardly too much to say that everything capable of being affected by a moderate-sized fire was scrutinized at signs at a period or another. Among most important was the divination, which was part of the countless other forms of divination, of which we have no room even to give a list, were relatively insignificant, formed no part of any State religion, and were only here and there adopted by oracles. Harmospiey was an official method, and in important matters an oracle was consulted. Dreams, however, deserve separate mention. The recognized medium of chthonian oracles; they were opposed by the Apolline cult, but found a footing in the myth of the genuine Apollo was called Asklepios. The cult of heroes, indeed, grew very important at this period, and Asklepios was particularly popular. His shrine at, or rather near, Epidaurus—today one of the most interesting remains in Greece—and many lesser shrines at Athens and elsewhere, healed the sick by means of incuba (ἐγγελματική, ἐγκλάσεις). The patient, after preliminary rites, slept in the temple, and in a dream was tended or advised—generally the latter—by Asklepios and the latter—by Asklepios and the priestesses. The priestesses of the priests (Ἀσκληπιάδαι) came into play. That it was considerable is clear, both from a number of votive offerings describing treatments which, even by modern standards, are quite scientific, and also in that it was to reveal the god's meaning to the less sharp-witted public.

8 The prophetic tradition of Delphi, several heroes, notably Triphonios of Lelandia, gave oracles by dreams or visions. Finally, as illustrating the extent to which divination at this time became a regular profession, despite the theoretical importance of individual inspiration, mention should be made of the great prophetesses—the laukhiph or Elis and the Melanipodidai of Akarnania being the most famous. Alongside of these families (or gilds) of professional diviners, we begin to hear of that very curious figure of later mythologv, the Sibyl.

9 The divination of the Korn.

10 Thuc. ii. 54.

11 Especially the liver (λεπισκοπία). See, for one example of many, Plut. Vita Arist. ch. viii. Cf. Divination (Assy.-Bab.), ii. 316.

12 Bouche-Leclercq, ii. 62 ff.

13 Bouche-Leclercq, ii. 62 ff.
and the consequent influence of foreign cults; secondly, the part played by philosophy in regard to the belief in divination; and, finally, the degeneration of the great national cults, and the consequent downfall of the official divination—oracular and other—which flourished among them.

Of the foreign ideas which came in with the backwash from Alexander's conquests, the most noteworthy was the Chaldeo-Egyptian belief in astrology.1 Somewhat modified by Greek ideas, it pervaded the whole of Western thought, and became the principal form of divination. This is not the place to go into details as to the methods employed, but a few salient points may be noted. Firstly, it was almost wholly novel. The idea of taking omens from the heavenly bodies or from such phenomena as lightning and shooting stars is old enough in Greece, but no elaborate system, and no idea of anything like planetary influences, had ever existed. This was the product of the sidereal cults of the East; it is a remarkable fact that the Greeks hardly worshipped the heavenly bodies at all.2 Astrology—this is another noticeable fact—aided the late tendency to syncretism. Thus, while joined with the popularity of the Eastern sun-gods it identified Apollo with Helios, Artemis was confounded with Selene; the rammed (and doubtfully Hellenic) Zeus Ammon with the sign Aries, and so on. Thirdly, astrology invaded all branches of divination to such an extent that diviners must have been using terms borrowed from it, and tracing the influence of the stars in the formation of beasts' entrails and the like.

Philosophers of the decadence and of the period immediately following it (that in which Plato and Aristotle lived and wrote) were, on the whole, favourable to divination. Plato, at heart a mystic, while outspokenly contemptuous of the disreputable vendors of indulgences and oracles, was by no means adverse to beliefs in the supernatural, and, in fact, seems to have held that divination was not only possible, but a reality;3 and his later followers, the Neo-Platonists, who constructed an elaborate system of theurgy on the lines of the Timaeus, found therein a full and satisfactory explanation of oracles. Epigenes, indeed, whose system denied Providence and Divine interest or interference in human affairs, was hostile to the pretensions of diviners; but the Stoics passionately charged them with prostituting as divination the study of Fate.4 The degenerate and mongrel system, which goes by the name of Neo-Pythagoreanism, was freely credulous of all marvels, divination included, and produced its own inspired prophet, Apollonius of Tyana (q.v.).

Under pressure of foreign cults, including finally Mithraism and Christianity, the ancient State religions of Greece became gradually weaker; and this inevitably entailed a decline in the importance of the oracles, and of official diviners. Individualism also was rampant, as is shown by the popularity of the post-Aristotelian philosophies; and this meant that divination became more and more private. Indeed, it was only in this way that the oracles ceased at the coming of Christ,5 it is a fact that by about 100 A.D. they were no longer of great importance;6 indeed, quite apart from other causes, the political insignificance of Greece meant, sooner or later, the insignificance of her great religious institutions. Finally, Christian opposition for the most part stampéd out pagan divination.

Fierce were, however, survivals. Astrology lingered on despite theological denunciation; political opposition it had already endured for centuries—and still survives. Oniromancy, which had grown into a most complicated science, still retained a considerable hold on popular belief. Finally, the prophecies of the Seer or Silvie, the number and names vary—one being in later times of Judeo-Christian origin, were hospitably received and ranked almost equal with the Hebrew prophets.

The old man is Silly-rod,' says Aristophanes, 'slave of his master Demos; and in the Middle Ages her name was still held in reverence; 'Teste Daudis sibi Sibylla.'


H. J. ROSE.

DIVINATION (Indian).—In India, divination has gone through two phases of development. Originally it seems to have been practised chiefly with the intention of obviating the evil consequences of omens and portents; in the later period, rather to ascertain the exact nature of the good or evil which the oracles denoted. Both phases presuppose the firm belief in omens and portents, which appears to be a common feature of primitive culture. In India this belief can be traced back to the Vedic Sanihitas; birds are invoked to be appeased, and certain birds, especially pigeons and owls, are said to be messengers of death (Nirrti, Yama).1 A great many details are furnished by later Vedic books, especially the Adbhuta Brahman, which forms the last chapter of the Saudhins Brahman of the Samaveda, and the 15th chapter of the Kausika Sutra of the Atharvaveda.2 The subjects treated in the 12 paragraphs of the Adbhuta Brahman are, according to Weber's enumeration: common incidents, diseases of men and cattle, agricultural calamities, loss of ornaments, earthquakes, phenomena in the air and the sky, miraculous happenings to altars and idols, electrical phenomena, monsters; in each case the god is named to whose province the particular incident belongs, and the mantra, or the incantation which they used in the case of an evil sign, is prescribed. The second treatise is similar to the first; but it differs from it in this, that in it the omens and portents are more specialized and more varied, and so the Brahman who is to prescribe the remedy for them must belong to the Atharvaveda. The last point need not surprise us, for that Veda was largely engaged with occasional and practical practices, with charms and spells; hence the house-priest (purokht) of the king, who had to ward off the evil influences which menaced king and country, was required to be deeply versed in the secret lore of the Atharvaveda. Therefore all that refers to magic and magic was naturally better fitted to be within the province of that Veda. The last contribution to it is the 72 Parishitas (appendices or paraparana),3 treaties on different subjects connected with the Atharvaveda. Some of them are of comparatively late age, since they are better and more Greek astronomy. About a third part of this

1 See Bouchez-Leclercq, ii. ch. iii.
2 Hilg. ii. 42, 45, x. 16; Athar. vi. 27-29; cf. Adbhuta Brahman, i. 16.14.
3 Both treaties have been edited, translated, and commented upon by A. Weber (Zwei sockeleiche Texte über Omen und Portente, Berlin, 1859, p. 318 f.).
4 Ind. Literaturgesch., Berlin, 1878, p. 76.
5 Die Parishita des Atharvaveda, Leipzig, 1889, Melville Bolling and Julius von Neugeböl.
work deals with prognostics, especially from phenomena in the atmosphere and the heavens. Here we find divination in its later development, i.e., with the object of predicting future events. But the expositionary ceremonials and monstros, so characteristic of the preceding period, continued to be looked upon as sacred, and their importance neither diminished, nor, indeed, was thus fully eschewed. The Parishita, called Adbhutasangi, is, on the whole, a metrical paraphrase of part of the Adbhuta Brahmana mentioned above.

The art of divination with which we have dealt as yet was part of the religion, especially of the Atharva priest, who was the orthodox soothsayer. There were probably already in early times soothsayers and fortune-tellers of no religious character (parvatikas, maunharikas, samsraddhis) who made single appearances and, as a matter of fact, the whole art of divination became independent of religion when Greek astronomy and astrology were introduced into India in the early centuries of our era. The astrologer possessed what was believed to be a really divine gift of predicting the future, the accuracy of which was uncontestably proved in one branch of his science—the astronomical—and was, therefore, readily believed in in the other—the astrological one. For Indian and astrology were in India, as indeed also in Europe till the recently, two branches of one science. And the Indian astrologer added to these two branches a third—the art of divination, hitherto practised by the Atharva priest. We shall call the latter natural astrology, in contradistinction to judicial astrology adopted from the Greeks. An accomplished astrologer or astronomer (jyotisa) had to know astronomy, judicial astrology (hord), and natural astrology. Natural astrology is subdivided into (1) nativity (jataka); (2) prognostics for journeys, especially marches of princes in war (yatra); and (3) horoscope for weddings (eivaka). Natural astrology is treated in works which are called Satsangas. The Kingston's Satsanga is the Bhayat Satsanga of Vara Mihira, written about the middle of the 6th cent. A.D., on which an extensive and very valuable commentary was composed by Bhattacharjala in the 9th century. The contents of the Bhayat Satsanga may serve as a summary of the original Indian art of divination—of course, in its last stage of development. We therefore transcribe Varaha Mihira's enumeration of them (ii. 5, tr. H. Kern, JRAS, 1869):

"... and the other eight planets, and, during it, their natural and unnatural symptoms, their size, colour, and brightness of the rays, their shape, risings and settings, their speed, their antigressions, retrogressions, the conjunctions of planets with asteroids, etc., as well as the respective consequences for the different parts of the globe; the course of Sun, the course of the seven Sery (Great Bear), the division of things as belonging to the domain of each planet, the same as appertaining to the domain of each asterism, the conjunction of the five planets in the figure of a triangle, etc., the planetary war, the conjunction of the five planets with the moon, the effects produced by the planets on the years passed over by them, the symptoms of pregnancy of the clouds, the conjunction of the moon with Rohini, with Swati, with Asvini; the foretelling of instant rains, the conclusions to be drawn from the growth of flowers and plants as to the produce of trees and crops, the moon's eye, the beautiful, the cloudy, the piercing the sun's disk at rising or setting, the wind, the meteor, the glory of the earth, the gloaming, the glorying of midnight, the sun's disk, the cloud, the clearness of piercing the sun's disk at rising or setting, the wind of the woman—sky, the cloud, the clearness of piercing the sun's disk at rising or setting, the wind, the meteor, the glory of the earth, the gloaming, the glorying of midnight, the sun's disk, the clearness of piercing the sun's disk at rising or setting, the wind, the meteor, the glory of the earth, the gloaming, the glorying of midnight, the sun's disk, the cloud, the piercing the sun's disk at rising or setting, the wind, the meteor, the glory of the earth, the gloaming, the glorying of midnight, the sun's disk, the cloud, the piercing the sun's disk at rising or setting, the wind, the meteor, the glory of the earth, the gloaming, the glorying of midnight, the sun's disk, the cloud, the piercing the sun's disk at rising or setting, the wind, the meteor, the glory of the earth, the gloaming, the glorying of midnight, the sun's disk, the cloud, the piercing the sun's disk at rising or setting, the wind, the meteor, the glory of the earth, the gloaming, the glorying of midnight, the sun's disk, the cloud, the piercing the sun's disk at rising or setting, the wind, the meteor, the glory of the earth, the gloaming, the glorying of midnight, the sun's disk, the cloud.

The Jains also practised the art of divination. According to a passage in the Kalpasutra, it had eight branches (asthasangha, maunharika, etc.) which are specified in the commentary to the passage in question: diceya, utpal, antarika, bhavna, aiga, svarna, laksana, and vaqyana; in another enumeration the same branches are given, only that vaqyana is added, and diceya is omitted. As far as can be judged from this division, the Jain system of prognostics must, on the whole, have been similar to that of the Hindus in general."

1 The maunharika is the predecessor of the astrologer proper. Ch'ang-yun, who wrote about 300 B.C., makes the maunharikas (Rutulgran, Myare, 1899, p. 38), while Kamadhatu, a late authority, speaks of the matranga-tattvavattva (The Nitisara, by Kamadhatu, Calcutta, 1884, iv. 33). 2 H. Kern, Bhayat Satsanga, Calcutta, 1865, Preface, p. 20 ff. Edited, together with the text, in the Vaisraman series, 1835-47.
DIVINATION (Japanese).—T. Ayres, "The Japanese for 'divination' is *ura* or *ura-maki*.

If we find the word *ura* signifying 'the back or hind part of anything, inside, the reverse; hence the heart, the mind, divination; things unseen, soothsaying.' The primitive meaning is clearly seen in present-day phrases: *e. g. te no *ura means the palm of the hand; *nionno no *ura, the inside of a pot; *ura no iri, a back-house.

From this we see that the first of things unseen, soothsaying, the divination does not necessarily involve a prediction, but only the discovery of something hidden—present, past, or future. It may be employed not only to find out whether such and such an event will occur, to foretell the future, the various objects of divination, we have only to look through the ancient Shinto documents, beginning with the *Kojiki*. Even in the very first pages of the sacred story we find divination playing a part in the life of the people of the period, and the产物, the former part of the child is regrettably difficult to disentangle.

One of the earliest attempts in this lies in the marriage ceremony which the bride is supposed to have discovered the identity of the god who produced badly-formed children; the cause is discovered by divination, viz. that in the marriage ceremony the woman had spoken first (see *Kojiki*, tr. B. H. Chamberlain, p. 225). An eclipse of the sun in 1905, which of the gods on such and such a point, and even to discover why a certain event—generally an untoward one—has occurred in the past.

We find divination practised in innumerable other cases, especially in the *Nihongi*. It is employed to forecast the result of a military expedition (see *Nihongi*, tr. W. G. Aston, vol. i, pp. 121, 227, 267); to reveal the cause of plague, rebellion, and other public calamities (i. 152) or private misfortunes (i. 102); to discover what person is to be entrusted with the sacred vessels (i. 120), or whom should be made to the god (i. 175); whether the Emperor should make sacrifices in person or send a representative (i. 189, 190); why the Emperor's soup almost froze into ice one day (this was due to a case of incest in the court, i. 127); what place should be selected for building a tomb (i. 551) or a palace (ii. 95); what was signified by a mysterious omen (ii. 59, 396).

In addition, to these cases officially reported in the ancient chronicles, we find divination to some extent hinted in the life of individuals in more humble circumstances—from the maiden seeking to know when she will have a husband and what will be his name, to the person who is anxious to recover a lost possession or to find the track of a thief. In the poems of the *Mogoshimin*, which give us a very true and vivid picture of ancient Japanese civilization, divination is employed fairly often in the relations between lovers and married people (see these poems in Satow, *Ancient Japanese Rituals*, T.A.S.J., vol. vii. pt. 4, p. 496, *et al.*). In F. V. Tyrrell, *Primitive and Medieval Japanese Texts*, Oxf. 1906, Romanized texts, pp. 125, 142, *et al.* and Translations, pp. 204, 227, *et al.*

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neither the wisdom nor the power of their gods. Was it not strange, for example, that, on being consulted by the first couple, the greatest gods should show themselves unable to reply until they in their turn appealed to some sort of supernatural intelligence? Hirata, who is always ingenious, tries to solve the question by comparing them to a prince who has entrusted a particular function to each of his servants, and who, on being asked for information on any point whatsoever, begs the questioner to apply to the person who is best informed on the subject; but this ulterior excuse of an apologist cannot efface the impression left on us by the texts. In a word, since gods as well as men must have recourse to divination, it is very probable that, in ancient Shintō, divination was an affair of magic far more than of religion.

4. Various forms. — (a) Official divination. — Having made this important point clear, we shall now take up the various forms of divination. We must distinguish between the official procedure, i.e. the ‘Greater Divination,’ and other minor proceedings. The ‘Greater Divination’ consisted in omantiscopesco, a process which is met with once or twice among the Chinese and the Japanese of the North-East of Asia, but also among certain Western peoples, like the ancient Germans, the Greeks ancient and modern, and even, down to the latest recorded date, the Highlanders of Scotland (the custom of ‘reading the spleal’). In primitive Japan, omantiscopesco was practised by laying the shoulder-blade of a deer over a bright fire and watching the cracks produced upon it by the heat. This was the form of divination resorted to by the gods in the circumstances already mentioned, and we find that it was under the special care of the god Koyane, the legendary ancestor of the Nakatomi, or hereditary corporation of priests ruling the Emperor in his sacred functions (see esp. Kojiki, 64, and cf. a variant in Nihon g, i. 92 1), which claims to give the mythical origin of the custom by telling how the god Koyane, at the command of the great god Taka-
mōfu, was made to divine the future by means of the Greater Divination, and thus to do his service. Similarly, when we find the Emperor commanding a divination, which is then carried out by the Palace college of diviners, it is the ‘Greater Divination’ of the present day, though the text simply speaks of ‘divination’ without further epithet. This practice underwent modification very early by the substitution, in the place of the deer’s shoulder-blade, of the tortoise carapace employed by the Chinese. This innovation was undoubtedly fac-
tilated by the fact that the tortoise already held an important place in native Japanese mythology (Kojiki, i. 100; Nihon g, i. 113, 182, etc.).

The first reference to it is found in the Nihon g (L. 152); the Emperor Suinin, in the year 91 B.C., wishing to discover the cause of various calamities which had laid waste the country, decided ‘to commit the matter to the Sacred Tortoise;’ but this detail is certainly an anchormoth, as indeed in the whole context in which it appears, for we find the Emperor attributing national calamities to his personal faults, in accordance with Chinese theory. As a matter of fact, the substitution must have taken place about the year 555, when some Koreans, of high repute in the art of divination, were brought to the Japanese court. The Nihon g story shows us, at least, that the tortoise carapace was the usual means of divination at the time of its composition, i.e. in the 8th cent., and the Engishiki (10th cent.) mentions no other process in the circumstances of the occasion.

It was only in certain provinces that the deer’s shoulder-blade of the primitive mythology continued to be employed. Just as the tortoise carapace was always used, it is said, in the island of Tsushima, to examine the meaning of cracks in the bones or in large quadrupeds, but where the waters abounded in tortoises, the deer’s shoulder-blade remained in use, long after the introduction of the Chinese custom, in certain villages; this survival is men-
tioned in old writings even at the end of the 17th cent. (see Satow, loc. cit. 453). It can, moreover, be observed even to-day among the Ainu (see N. G. Munro, ‘Some Origins and Survivals,’ in TASF, vol. xix., pp. 455-458).

(b) Secondary forms. — Of secondary and non-
official forms of divination the principal was tsuji-
u, or ‘cross-roads divination.’ We find in the poems of the Manyoshū that it was employed chiefly by women and lovers. The persons having recourse to this form of divination went to the cross-roads at dusk (whence the other frequent name of yufu-ura, ‘evening divination’), planted a stick in the ground, and then took the results of the divination as a hint to whom they wanted to know. In this rite, the stick represents Funado, the staff which Izanagi drove into the sand when leaving Hades, in order to check the pursuit of the infernal deities (just as the American Indians use staffs to drive off the spirits of the dead), and which was afterwards transformed into a phallic god, a powerful preserver of life, granting protection from the diseases sent by the under-world deities, and at the same time filling the rôle of the signaller of the place where Shintōism (321). Still another method of tsuju-
ura was practised by women. They went to the nearest cross-roads, and there repeated the follow-
ing post, in three times:

Funadoshe, Of Funadoshe,
Yutake no kami ni Yutake no kami
Me no, the god of the evening oracle,
Michi yuku hito no When we meet any,
Ura masa ni se go Deliver the oracle truly!

(Else the first line is explained by the fact that the road gods, and especially Tsuji no kami, were regarded as Ishi no kami, ‘preventive gods,’ against disease and demons.)

While repeating these lines, the women drew a line of demarcation on the road and sprinkled rice; for rice, with the mysterious spirit it con-
tains (aga no mi-tama), was a powerful agent against evil spirits, as is also seen in the custom of sprinkling it in the hat of a pregnant woman (see Le Shintōisme, 134, 303). After this was done, each of the women, turning towards one of the roads, passed a finger along the teeth of a box-
wood comb that she held in her hand, and made it sound three times; this was a means of inviting the god to speak, the word tsuji meaning both ‘box-wood’ and ‘inform me.’ After this, they listened for the words of the wind, which came within the space marked off by the enchanted limits, and drew an answer therefrom. The tsuji-
ura, in these more or less complete forms, seems to have enjoyed popularity for a long time; and is mentioned in the Ohkagura, ‘the Great Mirror,’ a famous pseudo-historical work of the 12th cent. (see Satow, 448); and a passage in the dramatist Chikamatsu Monzaemon (Dickins, op. cit., Tr., p. 56) shows how much importance was attached, even so recently as 200 years ago, to the chance words spoken by people met on the street.

Connected with tsuji-ura we have hashi-ura, ‘bridge divination,’ in which the same processes were employed, but on a bridge instead of on an ordinary path. It is a common practice to exercise these talents at the Japanese court. The Nihon g story shows us, at least, that the tortoise carapace was the usual means of divination at the time of its composition, i.e. in the 8th cent., and the Englishki (10th cent.) mentions no other process in the circumstances of the occasion.

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which, if it is not a simple imaginary divination according to the inspiration of the moment, may well contain one of the most ancient applications of this process:

In the beginning, when the Emperor (Keiko, A.D. 71-99, according to traditional chronology) was about to attack the enemy (the Tsu-chi-gumo, 'earth-spiders,' i.e., earth-cave-dwellers), he made a station on the great moor of Kashiha-no.

On this moor there was a stone six feet in length, three feet in breadth, and one foot in thickness, on the top of which was a gridiron. The Emperor therefore prayed, saying: 'If we are to succeed in destroying the Tsu-chi-gumo, when we kick this stone, may we make it mount up like a kashiha leaf.' Accordingly he kicked it, upon which, like a kashiha leaf, it arose to the Great Void' (Nihongi, 1. 1. 10.)

Other secondary forms of divination presented a local character. In the temple of Kasuga, to which belongs one of the chief rituals of ancient Shinto (morto no 2), and in various other provincial temples, such as the others at the beginning, divination by gruel, was practised. The purpose of this divination was to find out what kinds of vegetables and cereals it would be best to sow for the year. It took place on the 15th of the 1st month, the festival of Setsubun no kuru (see above). A pot was placed before the gods, and in it were boiled some adzuki beans (Phascolus radiatus)—a little red bean whose colour served to suggest the idea of health, of victory over the demons of disease (people who visit Japanese shrines may see this used even to-day to colour sacred rice—the rice, c.g., offered on the domestic altar at the annual Feast of Ancestors). When this gruel was cooked, 54 tubes of reed or bamboo were plunged into it, each bearing the name of one of the vegetables it was proposed to cultivate; next, the priests withdrew the tubes with chopsticks, and derived prognostics as to the good or bad crops to be borne by each particular kind of grain from the manner in which the grains of offere were, mixed with the bean-gruel, went into the tubes. The peasants then sowed their seed according to these indications. An analogous, but less important, process consisted in arranging beans round the fire, and drawing omens from the manner in which they turned black or remained untouched (Satow, 418; Aston, 312). Koto-no-ura, or 'harp divination,' was another local form. It was employed at Ise to made an oracle of the purity of the fire, and to read the future. In the three great annual ceremonies, as also of the tables, vessels, and other objects employed to present offerings. The night before the ceremony, at midnight, a priest stood with a harp at one end of the purifying path, which was to lead to the temple. Approaching the temple, he prayed the Sun-goddess to give light on the point requiring elucidation. Then he struck the harp three times, each time uttering a loud 'Hush,' after which he asked all the gods to come down from the heavens to answer his question, pronouncing the following three-fold poetic formula:

Aharu ya!  
Asoh hiruto su to massasu;  
Akaru ni,  
Asa tasu koto bumi tasu kimi,  
Otsukinabi!  
(We do not merely amuse ourselves;  
On to your splendid seat,  
Divine !)

Aharu ya!  
Asoh hiruto su to massasu;  
Akaru ni,  
Nara Hadeboshi noo,  
Otsukinibi!  
(We do not merely amuse ourselves;  
On to your splendid seat,  
Descend!)

Aharu ya!  
Asoh hiruto su to massasu;  
Akaru ni,  
Uha tasu okeya shita tasu okeya,  
Macuriri tanaka!  
(We do not know who the two 'elder brothers' invoked in the second last line were.)

After this formula, the names of all the priests were called, and at each one the officiant asked: 'Is he clean or unclean?' He then struck the harp again, and a process which recalls certain rites of Polynesian sorcerers, tried to whistle by drawing in his breath; only if the whistle could be heard was the priest in question considered clean. The same rite was employed to decide the same question as to the priests who had prepared the offerings, the offerings themselves, and the material utensils. Finally, the priest sounded his harp again three times, with a solemn 'Hush!' and sent the gods back to their own abode by reciting a formula of opposite meaning from the preceding one.

This curious ceremony, in which magic plays the dominant part, is not described in detail except in one work of the 12th cent.; but an 8th cent. document makes allusion to it, and Satow is right in thinking (op. cit. 450) that it is a pure divination, and may be a survival of the Polynesian divination. The word for divination is kait-zone (see Le Shinritosiose, 166), the same may be the case with that of the kaituaka.

We have no precise information regarding this divination by divination by divination by divination. It is not clear in ancient Japan (Satow, 449)—we do not even know whether it resembled the Chinese system of bird-divination. On the other hand, there is no doubt as to the Chinese origin of such methods as astrolog or the like, see the Nihon (ii. 11. 26), 'a platform was for the first time erected from which to divine by means of the stars, and also geomancy (Nihon, ii. 76, 126), cheironomia, physiognomies, etc.

(c) Isolated Cases of Divination: After the regular processes of divination, it is advisable to mention the individual and accidental recourse to various means of divination invented on the spur of the moment. Occurrences of this nature are very often found in the most ancient annals. To show the process to the life, it will be of interest to quote a passage from the Nihon, relating to Jinnu Tenuo, the legendary founder of the Japanese Empire:

All the placenames supposed by the enemy (the indigeneous race who had to be conquered) were strong positions, and therefore the roads were cut off and obstructed, and the enemy, seeing that there was no room for passing and no place of concealment, at this, made prayer on that night in person, and then fell asleep. The Heavenly Deity appeared to him in a dream, and instructed him, saying: 'Take earth from within the shrine of the Heavenly Mount Raku (a mountain in Yamato), and of it make eighty Heavenly platters (for rice). Also make sacred jars (for
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The Emperor received with reverence the directions given in his dreams. Carried out, they led to the execution. He caused Shihatake-hiko (a fisherman whom he had with him as guide) to put on ragged garments and a grass raincoat and hail himself as an offering. He also caused Ukichi the Younger (a local chief who had joined his party) to cover himself with a winnowing tray, so as to assume the appearance of an old man, and then he addressed them, saying: "Do ye two proceed to the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and secretly take the name of this sacred council. By so doing, ye shall be the chosen of Heaven, and will be able to return the curse. By means of you I shall then divine whether or not I shall be successful in founding the Empire. Do ye unto, and be wise. Follow your own army by the road, and make all possible. Then Shihatake-hiko prayed, and said, "All is now possible for our Emperor to conquer the Nifu, let the road by which we must travel become open. But if not, let the brigands surely oppose our passage." Having thus spoken, they set forth, and went straight onwards. Over the housetop, the two men, laughed loudly, and said: "What an uncouth old man and old woman!" So with one accord they left the road, and allowed the two men to pass and proceed to the mountain, where they took the chunk and returned it. Henceforward the Emperor was greatly pleased, and with this clay he made eighty platters, eighty Heavenly small jars and sacred jars, with which he went up to the upper waters of the River Nifu and sacrificed to the gods of Heaven and Earth. Immediately, on the Assa plain by the river of the gods, were made the sacred jars and the eighty platters without using water. If the name of埕 is formed, then shall I assuredly without effort and without recourse to the might of arms resolve the difficulties of peace. I made the name, which for the first time came into existence. Again he made a vow, saying: "Let the precious jars and platters return in the River Nifu. If the fishes, whether great or small, become every one drunken and are carried down the stream, like as it were to flow along leaves, then shall I assuredly succeed in establishing this land. But if this be not so, there will I let the fishes carry the jars in the river. Their mouths turned downward, and after a while the fish all came to the surface, gasping and gasping as they floated down. Therefore, Shihatake-hiko, seeing this, reported it to the Emperor, who was greatly rejoiced, and, placing up a five-floored-branched natatsuki (Tavern) tree of the Nifu, he made a vow, and worshipped therein, and so came to all the gods. It was with this that the custom of setting up new guilds and constructing temples began." (Nihonshigi, ii. 119-113.)

In this one passage, and with a single point to elucidate, we have no fewer than four different processes of divination. The case of the famous Empress Jingō, the conqueror of Korea, is similar: Proceeding northwards, she arrived at the district of Matara in the province of Hizen, and partook of food on the banks of the River Wagaawa, in the village of Tanashima. Here the Empress read in a book formed of rice and made of rice. She took out a piece of rice used as bait. Pulling out the threads of her garment, she made of them a line. Then, mounting upon a stump of wood, she cast it into the River, raising the line, and prayed, saying: "We are proceeding westward, where we desire to gain possession of the Land of Treasure. If we are to succeed, let the winds of the river blow there." Accordingly the winds raised her fishing-rod, she caught a trout. And further on, at the town of Kasashi, and after returning to the town of Kamashima, and, looking at her hair, looked over the sea, saying: "If, having received the instructions of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and trusting in the spirits of the imperial ancestors, floating across the deep blue sea, intend in person to chastise the West. Therefore do I now have my head in the water of the sea. If I am to be successful, let my hair part spontaneously in two." Accordingly she entered the sea and bathed, and her hair parted of its own accord. The Empress bound it up parted into bunches (i.e. in mainy fashion) (Nihongo, i. 272, 273; cf. also 229, 237, 251.)

The writer concludes.

In addition to these important but picturesque secondary meanings of divination, it remains to notice a method of very general character, but whose lack of originality renders it somewhat less interesting; this is divination by lots. We find it already mentioned in the Awaiki (ii. 257) which, in telling of a conspiracy formed in A.D. 658, says that the various conspiring princes 'divined the future of their treasonous conspiracy by drawing slips of paper.' Reconnoissance was also had to sticks on which numbers were inscribed. The nature of this method sometimes this method by prayers to the gods (Aston, 343) sometimes it constituted a purely magical process, as in the case of the above-mentioned conspiracy; and sometimes it was nothing more than a handly secular means of deciding something by chance, such as is constantly used by people to-day as far removed from religion as from magic; in Tokyo, e.g., at Jurinji (the temple of the gods of shipping) and a bundle of cords of different lengths all tied in a knot, and use it to decide, when a passenger appears, which of them is to have the privilege of conducting him. But this form of divination, vulgar as it is, assumes a quite outstanding importance when we consider that the drawing of lots plays a dominant part in the divination founded upon the complicated Chinese diagrams of the Yi-kung, the 'Book of Changes' (Eki in Japanese) of our diviner's manual. It is just because of its divinatory character, that was one of the first Chinese works to be introduced into Japan (in A.D. 553, according to the Nihongi, ii. 68; cf. 72, 306), and it became the basis of the system of divination in use at present. Takashima Kaemon, who was the most celebrated diviner in modern Japan, took this work as the foundation for his art; when he was only a student, he was put in prison for some youthful misdemeanour, and, having nothing but this ancient classic beside him, he discovered the secret of the meditations which brought success to his brilliant career. The present writer frequently had occasion to meet with him, from his own mouth an account of his manner of making use of the number of the Yi-kung, and he was always able to receive his lessons, and he can say that, if the principles of the system are doubtful, its individual results are often wonderful: the value of divination is in proportion to the skill of the diviner, and the writer has found that a very able promoter of so many new schemes, was always a prudent man who could see far ahead. As Chamberlain says (Things Japanese, Lond. 1898, p. 112), Takashima, after studying the Yi-kung, 'realized the futility of our own method of consulting them, and was able to see at once that they had a chance, but there are many Japanese, even in the highest grades of society, who also profited by his wide experience of men and things; one has only to read the Takashima Ekiden of Shigetake Sugurana (Tokyo, 1893) to get a good estimate, from numerous examples, of the penetration of his mind and the wisdom of his counsel. The Japanese, moreover, even the educated classes, still hold divination in high esteem, although it is not officially recognized by modern Japan, and have it, consequently, in all sorts of circumstances, from a wedding to a removal to another quarter of the town. At the University of Tokyo, 15 or 20 years ago, the present writer had as colleague an old professor of the ancient school, who still adhered religiously to the tuft of hair of the feudal period; the last survivor of a perished race of servants, he was greatly esteemed by his colleagues as the only man capable of expounding the Yi-kung. Among the people divination is correspondingly widespread; every quarter has its modest diviner working with his divining-rods and consulting his diagrams, and telling more or less skilfully how lost possessions may be found, and will give personal experiences in this connexion, but prefers to quote a little anecdote of Chamberlain's (loc. cit.), which shows both the popularity and the weak points of divination:

'A favourite saying of the present writer's was lost in November 1895, and all search, advertisement, and application to the police proved unavailing. Meanwhile, the servants and their friends prudently had recourse to no less than three diviners, two of whom were priests. One of these foretold the dog's return in a month and another divined that an ancient ode containing the words, "If I hear that thou art away, I will forthwith return," should be written on slips of paper and tossed uponUPPER, and directed that an ancient ode containing the words of these slips that drew our attention to the matter. The best of it is that the dog was found, and, that, too, in a month of April, namely in 1896, after having been missing for three years and five months!'
forms of Japanese divination, ancient and modern, we have still a special process of its application to investigate, viz. ordeals. This judicial divination is represented in ancient mythology by a well-known story giving a case of ordeal by fire.

The young child of Ninigi, having been sent by the other gods to earth to govern Japan, married Katsuya-hana-makuyume (the princess blossoming brilliantly like the flowers of the Tsubaki tree) by thraldom after a certain night, and the young husband was astonished; she then shot herself up in an underground hali (a shrine, where fire does duty for the abode of Heaven, where the Japanese women used to retire for delivery), and set fire to the hall with her own hands, who had thrown the child to her husband in delivery, in order to prove her innocence by the fire-test. "If the child," she said, "with which I am pregnant be the child of an earthly deity (i.e., of a god of the country), it will not lose its beauty, but if he be the arch-rival child of the Heavenly deity (i.e., the child and the descendant of the sun-goddess), it will be fortunate." And the princess came out of the test victorious, after having brought forth a very pretty girl, whom they named Awa-ya, the family (or the God of Heaven and Earth) by ordeal by burning water. Hereupon Takeki no Sukune and Umashi-no-Sukune went out together to the banks of the Shiki-river, and underwent the ordeal of boiling water. Takeki no Sukune was victorious. Taking his cross-sword, he cut the end of his branch of a kusu-plant (black mulberry) in such a way that it was long enough to say him, when the Emperor ordered him to let it go (Niiso-i, i. 267 f.).

A more important case was occasioned, in the beginning of the 5th cent., by the pretensions of high families who were attempting to increase their prestige by false genealogies. In the year 415, two Imperial decreees of Ingoyo ensured those powerful families who "purposely lay claim to high family," those bold functionaries who "describe themselves, some as descendants of Emperors, others attributing to their race a miraculous origin, and saying that their ancestors came down from Heaven, they have dashed another brick in the wall in order to justify the Emperor to receive the order to remedy it."

"Single Houses," he said, "have multiplied and have formed another ten thousand lineages of doubtful legitimacy. Therefore let the people of the various Houses and surname themselves and practise abstinence, and let them, each one calling the gods to witness, plunge their hands in boiling water." The cauldrons of the ordeal by boiling water were therefore placed on the Evil Door of Words" spur of the Amagashi Hill. Everybody was called to test his or her truth or false, and all those who were false were burned. Therefore no one who had falsified their titles were afraid, and, slipping away before the ordeal, they continued to come forward. From that time forward the Houses and surnames were spontaneously ordered. There was no longer any one who falsified them (Niiso-i, i. 365 f., and Kojiki, i. 267 f.).

A gloss on this passage of the Nihongi, probably as ancient as the text itself, tells us that this ordeal, known to-day under the name of yasugari, was then called kyogushichi, and adds valuable evidence to the processes of usage of this period:

"Sometimes mud was put into a cauldron and made to boil up; then the arms were bored, and the boiling mud stirred with them. Sometimes an axe was heated red-hot and placed on the hand of the person to be tried; this was called the test of death by plunging into the hot water!" (Nihongi, i. 227).

Still other forms of ordeal are noticed by a Chinese traveller, who visited Japan in the year 600, and, in enquiring both the means of torture and the tests employed to force the confession of criminals and the tests for the purpose of distinguishing the guilty from the innocent, gives the following exposition:

"In the trial of cases where a great wrong has been suffered, those who will not confess have their knees squeezed with a piece of wood, or have their necksawn with the very narrow edge of a very large knife. Or such other hand, even in water, and the disputants are ordered to take them. It is supposed that he who is in the wrong gets his hand scalded. Or, again, a snake is put in a jar, and they are made to take it out; it being supposed that he who is in the wrong will get his hands bitten. ("Tu-Tuan-Lin's Account of Japan," by E. H. Parker, in TAMS, vol. xxii. pt. 2, p. 421.)

This serpent ordeal, which is also found among other peoples, e.g., the blacks of Africa, was certainly in existence in Japan in the primitive period. We are indebted to this curious passage of the Nihongi, to which Susa-no-wo subjects his future son-in-law, Oho-kuni-nushi, who is made to sleep in the hut of serpents, and then in the hut of centipedes and wasps; he would never have escaped if he had not had the help of the magic scarfs of princess Susurin, and Susa-no-wo ended by showing him highest esteem, because, seeing him spit red earth mixed with nukusa-berries (Amphanthes aspera), he thought he was eating the centipedes themselves (Kojiki, 58 f.).

Later on, and down to the present period, the tests of plunging the hands in boiling water and walking bare-footed over a bed of burning coals, with, however, special precautions, were employed as a means of rousing the piety of believers; but this is no longer practiced. On the 17th cent., Kaempfer observed a curious ordeal for forcing confession of a crime, which consisted in making the accused swallow, in a little water, a small piece of paper with drawings of ravens or other black birds upon it (Koanefer, Hist. des Japon, Fr. ed., Paris, 1732, bk. iii. ch. 5, p. 51). Perhaps we may see here a faint recollection of the god of scare-crows, who appears in primitive mythology and is thought to know everything under the sun (see Le Shinto-Jmobile, 156).

6. Omens and dreams.—All that now remains to be treated is omens and dreams. These come under divination, even though in them we are not dealing in principle, with processes involving the active initiative of man, but only with spontaneous facts, outside of man, for which he seeks an interpretation after they have occurred. Omens are often mentioned in mythology and ancient annals. Without speaking of omens that are looked for by those interested, and therefore belong to the class of divinations devised on the spot (e.g., in Kojiki, 292, while two chiefs, on the eve of an expedition, "hunted for an omen," and one of them climbed a bamboo, when the other, tree being uprooted the tree and devoured the man), we could give numerous examples of omens properly so-called, i.e., independent of the human will. As a general rule, white or red animals, which were then striking in one or both of their peculiarities of usage of this period: harmonized with the favourite colours of a solar religion like Shinto, were regarded as of good omen (see, for white animals, Nihongi, i. 292, ii. 124, 174, 280, 257, 259, 252, 506, 325, 325, 394, 410, 416; and for red animals, 347, 351, 352, 557, 407, 409). But the Japanese also regarded as good omens, perhaps just when it suited them to interpret them as such, any parti-
circular occurrence whatever (e.g. an owl or a wren going into a lying-in hut [Nihongi, i. 277]). Earthquakes, storms, and floods were considered ill omens, foretelling war: they were the scourges calling on each other. Similarly, other extraordinary occurrences, such as the appearance of a comet (Nihongi, ii. 166, 167, 169, 333, 353, 364, 367), or a prolonged eclipse of the sun's light (ib. i. 238); strange incidents like a migration of rats from the capital (ib. ii. 220, 245), or the mysterious movements of a swarm of bees (ib. ii. 209); bad meetings, as with a blind man or a cripple, when starting on a journey (Kojiki, 238); disturbing incidents like a dog coming into a temple and laying down a dead hand (Nihongi, ii. 263); or, finally, unaccountable accidents like a leg-rest breaking with no apparent cause (ib. ii. 256), were all evil omens. It would be useless to attempt to study in detail all these and analogous cases, which are very numerous (see Nihongi, i. 227, 228, 320, ii. 59, 257, 297, 299, 356, 360, 397, 777, 963, 231, 359, etc.). Let us simply point out that this belief in omens is current to this day among the Japanese. Thus, at certain grave crises in her contemporary history, Japan has been seen more than once to turn among the gods the double axe, seeking for light on the future. At a critical point in the Revolution of 1867, the white horse of the temple of Ise escaped, and only returned after three days: from this it was concluded that the Imperial House would thus lose the victory. During the Chino-Japanese war, the sacred horse disappeared for ten days: this foreign war, therefore, was to last three times as long as the previous civil war (rumour registered in the Japan Mail of 17th August). In the same way, dreams were always regarded as affording foresight, by a more or less skilful interpretation, of future events, or indications as to the future behaviour of the person interested. Take, e.g., one of the oldest documents of Shinto, the Tatata no Kaze no Kami no Matsuri (ritual no. 4), which gives its proper legendary origin. For several years, some unknown gods had spoiled all the harvests, and the diviners had not been able to discover the culprits. Then the sovereign himself 'deigned to conjure them,' and they revealed themselves to him in a dream. They were 'Heaven's—august—Pillar's—augustness—Country—august—Pillar's—augustness,' the Wind—god—of—Silk—knots, and received the first certain offerings from him—the foundation of a temple at Tatsata, and a liturgy—in return for which they promised 'to bless and riper the things produced by the great august people of the region under Heaven, firstly the five sorts of grain, down to the last leaf of the herbs' (TASJ, vol. vii. pt. 4, p. 442 f.). We shall now take one of the most dramatic stories of the ancient chronicles:

The Emperor Suinin is betrayed by his wife, who, at the instigation of her accomplices, the princes of Sulu, attempts to assassinate him during his sleep. "So the Heavenly Sovereign, not knowing of this conspiracy, was augurously sleeping, with the Emperor's august knees as his pillow. Just as the Empress tried to cut his august thread with a stiletto; but, though she lifted it, she could not extract the threat of the invisible, irreproachable feeling of sadness, and she wept tears, which fell overwrought on to the Heavenly Sovereign's august face. Straightway the Heavenly Sovereign started up, and asked the Empress, saying: "What is this? I have had a strange dream: a violent shower came from the direction of my wife. I hurriedly wiped my face again, a small dark-coloured snake called itself round my neck. Of what may such a dream be the omen?"

And the Empress, seeing that it would be well to get rid of the guilt upon the innocent, sent word to the Emperor that she had been warned by this dream (Kojiki, 231 f.; cf. Nihongi, i. 171)."

It would be easy to multiply examples of this kind, in which the ancient divinities abound (see Kojiki, 165, 215, 237, 295; Nihongi, i. 115, 153, 155, 161, 165, 281, ii. 56). These divinations given by dreams were considered so natural that they were even attributed to animals, as the following story will show:

"There is a popular story that a long time ago there was a man who went to Toqa, and slept the night on the moor. In the morning there were two deer which he saw, but it was on the point of cock-crow, the male deer addressed the female, saying: "This night I had a dream, in which I saw a white mist rising from the earth, and men were to be seen flying. What may this portend?" The female deer answered and said: "It is not a good augury you will certainly be killed; and, so thy body will be smeared with white salt to correspond with the whiteness of the mist." Now the man who was sleeping the night before discovered the white mist, and then the male deer, as if not yet awake, came a hunter, who shot the male deer, and killed it. And the proverbial saying was: "The divination of that day:"

"Even the belling male deer follows the interpretation of a dream" (Nihongi, i. 290).

There is still one more form of divination, which plays an important part in ancient Shinto, namely, Inspiration (i.e.).


DIVINATION (Jewish).—I. Introductory.—In the present article the writer follows the same system as in the Sun-godess, in not attempting to fix chronological dates for the various forms of divination mentioned in ancient and medieval writings. Without discussing here the wider meaning of magic in general, there is no doubt that this is much older than any literary record, and that it has survived through ages, with comparatively few variations and modifications. The study of folklore has revealed the fact that to a surprising degree exact parallels with some of the most ancient forms of divination have been preserved to this very day, and a careful examination of the latest survivals throws light upon ancient practices which have hitherto remained in many cases obscure. It follows naturally that allusions in the Bible are the oldest literary references to practices of magic and divination. The words denoting magical practices belong, no doubt, to the pre-Biblical period, when their original meaning may have already undergone some sort of change, although this is not very likely, as nothing is preserved with greater tenacity than magical terms and formula. It is thus futile to attempt, on the basis of Hebrew etymology, to fix in every case the precise meaning of these root-words and formula. They remained, although the practices in question are here classed as 'Jewish,' by no means implies that they are of Jewish origin, but only that the knowledge of them has come to us through the medium of the Bible, and that they were doubtless employed by the Jews—in direct contradiction to the spirit and teaching of Judaism—especially during the older period of Jewish history.

Nothing could be more emphatic than Dt 23:2 ("The sacred things belong unto the Lord our God; but the things that are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law"); but scarcely less emphatic is the condemnation of the heathen practices of divination found throughout the Bible. As late as the 2nd cent. B.C. we find Ben Sira protesting against this dabbling in mysteries (Sir 33:1; cf. Bab. Hagg. 139a, and J.Q.R. iii. [1891] 600-8). It is a noteworthy fact that Genesis and the books grouped under the name of Wisdom have the largest number of references in which reference is made to the Jewish—Samuel, and partly Kings) are replete with practices of divination scarcely veiled; they represent a primitive state of mind and cult in which the heathen and the Jewish elements are strangely blended; in some, they can follow up as a transition from one to the other, but the people do not yet clearly distinguish between them. The see
and the prophet rank no higher at the beginning than the diviner and the soothsayer, and, from the information we are able to cull from the pages of the Bible, both seem to act in the same manner, once appealing to Baal, Dagon, and other gods, the other—the prophet and the seer—appealing to the God of Israel, whilst performing almost identical ceremonies and using similar practices. Samuel, Saul, Jonathan, David, Elijah, Elisha, and others are found using divination of various forms and degrees, and by a right interpretation of their practices much is explained. No real condemnation of these practices is found in the historical books of the Old Testament, or in the four books of the Law, and in the fiery denunciations of the 'Later Prophets.' The prophets are always conscious of the heathen origin of these practices, and in the Apocryphal literature they are traced back to the fallen angel Shemhammazai (see the legend in Euth. En. S 3 [Charles]; and cf. Gaster, Chron. of Jerahmeel, 1899, p. 52, eh. xxv.). But no denunciation, however strong and severe, could prevail against the desire of peering into the future and of obtaining information from whatever source, by whatever means man might learn that which is hidden from him.

2. Biblical and post-Biblical references to divination.—The chief passages in the Pentateuch in the process of divination are mentioned are Dt 18:9, Lv 19:31, and 20:27.

(1) It will serve our purpose best to start with the נָהָשָׁ (RV ‘enchanter’), from the root נָהָשׁ, which is of frequent occurrence in the Biblical and Talmudic literature. The word was used by Laban (Gn 30:27); it occurs twice (Nu 23:24; 24:3) in the history of Balaam; and in 1 K 20:9 the Aramean servants of Benhadad watch for a good omen (RV ‘observed diligently’). The history of Gideon and that of Jonathan furnish us with two more examples of this mode of divination from the first word ‘spoken by the enemy’ (Jg 7:13, 11 1:52), and also that of Ezekei at the well (Gn 21:2), which they took as telling them of their future success. We shall meet with a similar kind of divination later on. In the following passages the word נָהָשׁ can also mean only prognosticator from omens, and not ‘enchanter’ as RV: Lv 19:31, Dt 18:9, and 2 K 21:2 (2 Ch 33). It is evidence of W. C. Mitchell. It cannot be connected with נָהָשׁ, ‘serpent’ or ‘snake.’ In the opinion of the present writer, there is no trace of serpent-worship among the Jews, or any of the nations with whom they came in contact. The transformation of Moses into a serpent in the books of the Old Testament is an instance of the category of magic and not to divination or worship; the brazen serpent in the wilderness was merely symbolical and a kind of protective charm, not an object of worship.

(2) A specific form of divination—by means of the קְפָר—ispictured in the history of Joseph (Gn 4 18). To judge from later parallels, the practice must have consisted in filling a cup with water or wine, and gazing intently on the surface of the liquid, till the beholder saw all kinds of images. The method of divining by cups has not been entirely lost. Allusions to it are made indirectly in the Talmud, where the princes (demons) of cups (סֵדָר הָא-כָּפְר) and the princes of the thumb-nails (סֵדָר הָא-בָעֵן) are mentioned. This system of divination is alluded to in manuscripts in the writer’s possession (Cod. 443, etc.), where, in addition to these two, the princes (demons) of the cup-like palm of the hand (סֵדָר הָא-כָּפְר) and the princes of the thumb-nails (סֵדָר הָא-בָעֵן) are mentioned. The method of divining from the palm of the hand is also described in an anonymous compilation (Mifloth Elohim, Lemberg, 1865, no. 69), where it is used for finding the thief and the stolen article. All the formulae given for the above-mentioned modes of divination from egg cups, etc., are identical in all essentials with the latter.

Traces of divination by the cup and by finger-nails have been preserved, though no longer, gods, the other—the prophet and the seer—appealing to the God of Israel, whilst performing almost identical ceremonies and using similar practices. Samuel, Saul, Jonathan, David, Elijah, Elisha, and others are found using divination of various forms and degrees, and by a right interpretation of their practices much is explained. No real condemnation of these practices is found in the historical books of the Old Testament, or in the four books of the Law, and in the fiery denunciations of the ‘Later Prophets.’ The prophets are always conscious of the heathen origin of these practices, and in the Apocryphal literature they are traced back to the fallen angel Shemhammazai (see the legend in Euth. En. S 3 [Charles]; and cf. Gaster, Chron. of Jerahmeel, 1899, p. 52, eh. xxv.). But no denunciation, however strong and severe, could prevail against the desire of peering into the future and of obtaining information from whatever source, by whatever means man might learn that which is hidden from him.

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of the ark on a kind of errand of divination (Gen 57) no doubt lent colour to the belief so widely spread in the significance of the mysterious movements of the raven. In Bab. Gitin 45a and the Pesikta 156b, Midr. Rabh, on Num. 19, 237b, and Midr. melakh, there is depicted from a given flight of birds the description of the way of Eastern sages. The raven by his croak warns Ish of the danger which awaits him; one who understands the language of birds explains it to him; he takes the warning to heart, and escapes. The references in Talmudic literature are, however, not numerous enough to give us full insight into divination from birds. In the Zohar and in the Tikkanon reference is often made to the twitting of birds as foreshadowing future events such as the death of man, etc. In Cod. Gaster 333 numerous medieaval texts have been collected, dealing with divination from the twitting of birds, and especially from the croaking of the raven. They belong mostly to the pseudo-epigraphical literature. Many of these may be translations from the Arabic, though the original source may lie far back in ancient times. In Hebrew legends King Solomon was credited with the knowledge of the language of birds. He overheard a conversation between a swallow and its female, in which it boasted of being able to destroy the Temple with a kick of its foot, and, questioned by Solomon, said: 'Should I not boast before my wife?' (Parables of Solomon, ed. Constaninides). In the Midr. on Gen. 15.6, the raven is rebuked and humbled by an ant (Moses Haim- molah). A Hebrew tale older than the 12th cent., tells of a boy who was taught the language of birds, and was thereby able to solve some riddles and to foretell events. In the 12th cent. these riddles, riddles from inedited Hebrew MSS., no. iv., 'Story of the Young Man and the Ravens,' in FL vii. (1896) 242 ff. The dove is also mentioned occasionally as a bird of good omen; it is identified with the nation. Through the peculiar movement of a dove Abishai learns of the danger of David, who has fallen into the hand of the giants of Nob, not to speak of the dove sent by Noah after the raven on a similar errand, of the dove as a symbol of the Holy Ghost in the baptism of Jesus (Gaster, ZDMG lxxi. [1908] 232 ff. and 528 ff.).

(2) Ezek 21:26 (26) 'he looked in the liver' refers to a kind of divination (hekpatoscopy) not otherwise known among the Jews. This is not the place to discuss what this looking into the liver or lungs means, and whether the future was prog nosticated from a special conformation of the liver or from the convulsions or spasmodic movements of the liver of the living being. The latter seems to be nearer the truth, for a peculiar kind of divination was still in existence which depended upon the twitching or convulsion of the separate portions of the human body. No doubt it is a direct outcome of the practice of looking into the liver or lungs of sacrificial victims for the purpose of divination, or a parallel to it. The convulsions or twitchings of the living took the place of those of the dying victim of old. A compilation similar to that of which the Book of Malachi is an example, of Hebrew literature under the title Sepher Eksjofeth. It is found already in a manuscript of the 12th century (Br. Mus. Or. 2053, fol. 62e); Judah Hasid, Eleazar of Worms, and others mention it, and Joseph de Vignolins, in his old MSS. (Mel, Tolpippit, Lemberg, 1875, fol. 66b; see also Chwolson, Schriften, St. Petersburg, 1856, ii. 266-272).

(3) Ancient tradition also identifies nāḥash with omens. In the Sifre to Lv 19.20 and in the Sifre to De. 18.10b it is stated that nāḥash means to see omens in such incidents as bread falling from one's mouth, or a staff from one's hand, or a snake crawling on the right side, or a fox on the left hand, or a fox's tail trailing across the road, or a raven crooking when a man starts on a journey. All these forebode evil to his enterprise; furthermore, those who listen to the twittering of birds or the squeaking of a weasel, and those who declare that the flight of birds is described as the wisdom of Eastern sages. The raven by his croak warns Ish of the danger which awaits him; one who understands the language of birds explains it to him; he takes the warning to heart, and escapes. The references in Talmudic literature are, however, not numerous enough to give us full insight into divination from birds. In the Zohar and in the Tikkanon reference is often made to the twitting of birds as foreshadowing future events such as the death of man, etc. In Cod. Gaster 333 numerous medieaval texts have been collected, dealing with divination from the twitting of birds, and especially from the croaking of the raven. They belong mostly to the pseudo-epigraphical literature. Many of these may be translations from the Arabic, though the original source may lie far back in ancient times. In Hebrew legends King Solomon was credited with the knowledge of the language of birds. He overheard a conversation between a swallow and its female, in which it boasted of being able to destroy the Temple with a kick of its foot, and, questioned by Solomon, said: 'Should I not boast before my wife?' (Parables of Solomon, ed. Constaninides). In the Midr. on Gen. 15.6, the raven is rebuked and humbled by an ant (Moses Haim-molah). A Hebrew tale older than the 12th cent., tells of a boy who was taught the language of birds, and was thereby able to solve some riddles and to foretell events. In the 12th cent. these riddles, riddles from inedited Hebrew MSS., no. iv., 'Story of the Young Man and the Ravens,' in FL vii. (1896) 242 ff. The dove is also mentioned occasionally as a bird of good omen; it is identified with the nation. Through the peculiar movement of a dove Abishai learns of the danger of David, who has fallen into the hand of the giants of Nob, not to speak of the dove sent by Noah after the raven on a similar errand, of the dove as a symbol of the Holy Ghost in the baptism of Jesus (Gaster, ZDMG lxxi. [1908] 232 ff. and 528 ff.).

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power of God in the sentence, 'I caused it to rain upon one city and not upon another' (Am 4). In the Talmud we find the story of Nahdim ben Geron and the twelve wells which are filled at his prayer by the appointed day, and the sun shining against Milcham 1971. It is mentioned expressly in the Talmud (Tosefta, fol. 196b-200b, Exempla nos. 85; Nissen, fol. 196b; Maurice Buber, no. 96), and the stories of Ḥoni ha-Me’agel, Raba, and others who force rain to come down (Gaster, Ḥattot, in Genetz, Zeitheh, Forshoheit und Wissenschaft, 1882 [and Bucharest, 1883, ch. xi. p. 79 ff]).

(b) Of more importance would be the man who could foretell the weather for the coming year. R. Abba b. R. Asher (171) explains Ḥeshen to be the man who can foretell from the weather on the eve of the Sabbath (seventh) Year [or rather on the eve of Shalmoth, Feast of Weeks] whether the year will be one of rain or drought, of plenty or scarcity. In the Talmud we find that from the form of the ascending cloud of smoke which rose from the altar in the Temple on the Day of New Year and subsequent few days the weather for the next year could be predicted, and that the weather of another few days before that day indicated the weather of the next year (see Gaster, 'Jew. Weather Lore,' in jubilee number of the Jewish Chronicle, 1919, where the whole literature is given). The cloud of smoke was called Aman as the cloud of mist and rain, and the 'man of the future events' (prophecy) in the same phrase (the next year). This prediction was attributed to Ezra (see Tschendorf, Apocryphes apoc., Leipzig, 1866, Prolomomena, pp. xiii-xiv).

The me’on is the master of thunders and rain. The annual name of Elijah. The latter, moreover, has experience of wind and earthquake before the appearance of God (1 K 19:11). Earthquake and lightning were further taken as premonitory signs of disaster. In Jewish literature, such brontologia and seismologia have been preserved under the title Siman ve-rakim ve-re’amim (Constantinople, n.d.). In Greek literature they were attributed to David (Fabricius, Cod. Pseudo, V, Hamburg, 1713-15, p. 1162, and NT, do. 1703-19, i. 311-353; Gaster, Lit. Pop.outh, 506).

(c) It is doubtful whether astrology and the observation of stars and planets come within the sphere of the me’on. It is well known that the knowledge of the man who is able to prophesy by constellations, and forecasting from the new moon is clear from 1s 47h, which exhibits a distinct difference between the me’on—the weather-prophet—and the real astrologer, whose observations were limited to the changes, conjunctions, and other motions assumed by the heavenly bodies. The phrase bôlêri šamayim, if it means 'dividers of heavens,' i.e. those who divide up the heavenly circle into a number of constellations and forecast the future from them, would correspond to the word man of the plague, and they advised a divination by means of cows walking in a definite direction.

(b) The oldest tradition in Sifre (i.e.) connects ḫesen also with rhodobante, i.e. divination by means of staff, rod, arrows, etc. In our opinion, the earliest example of this divination is Jacob's pecked rods (Gen 30:17), an incident which has remained very obscure in spite of all the commentary which has been written upon the vision of Jacob and the appearance of the angel. The peeling of the rods and putting them in the trough was an act of divination which was explained to him by the angel in his dream; for surely Jacob could not, even on the basis of physiological impressions, have had the result of producing so widely different marks as black sheep and goats, ring-straked, speckled, grisled, etc. —too complex a result to be expected from
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one and the same impression. R. Moses of Coney (1333) has preserved to us the description of an oracle or divination by means of peeled rods which were thrown into the air, and, according as the peeled or unpeeled side fell uppermost, success in marriage or the opposite was indicated (R. Joseph Karo, in his commentary to the Tefillah, l.c.).

With some hesitation, one might also mention here the rod-reading which appears to be perfectly natural (Ex 47), and which has been invested with miraculous powers by very numerous legends, and believed to have been a rod from Paradise (see Chron. Jorabmed). Another rod from Paradise, used as a beam in the temple, was an important role in the legend of the history of the Cross. The angel that appears to Gideon (Jg 623) also holds a staff in his hands, with which he touches the meat and the dried bread, and fire comes out from the rock. Elisha was to put it on the face of the dead child of Shunammite, so that it may revive (2 K 42) and he tells him: 'If thou meet any man, salute him not, and if any man salute thee, answer him not again.' The spell is not to be broken, until the act is to be completed by the staff or divining rod. Of course, it is here a miracle to be performed through the grace of God. It is not a form of divination.

A Rabbinical tradition demands that the keshet shall use, among other things, a staff or a rod (Tur, l.c.). Mention may be made also of divining rod of Aaron (Ex 42), the choice of which is to help him to be made manifest (Nu 172), to which numerous parallels exist. In most cases it is a withered rod or staff stuck in the earth, which unexpectedly buds and flourishes, and is thereby a sign to the pious that his sin is forgiven: e.g. the legions of the infernal waters were turned into the red, the mouthfuls of water brought from Jordan at the bidding of Abraham; and the flourishing rod proclaims forgiveness of sin (Fabricius, Cod. Pseuda. 174, 428-31; Gaster, Lit. Pop. Rom., 324-50). Medieval literature knows a similar legend about a sinner appealing to R. Judah Hai, with whom the rod flourished (Masseh Binyon, and Tendilation, Sagiyn, 1573, no. 62; cf. the legend of Tannahaim); and a similar selection of Joseph by the budding rod to take Mary as his ward is told in Protes. Jacob, ch. 5, Ed. Tischendorf, Evang. Apoc. Leipzig, 1853, pp. 15-19), and pseudo-Matth., (chs. iv.-viii., pp. 60-67), not to speak of the innumerable parables in the Legends of Simeon ben Yohai, and similar works.

Throwing sticks into the air and watching the way they fall is still one of the many forms of rhabdomancy. This kind of divination belongs the shooting of arrows, which is tantamount to shooting sticks by the air and watching the direction in which it falls. It is as such an act of divination that the shooting of arrows by Jonathan is best explained (1 S 2023.). The shooting of arrows for the purpose of keshet is found in the history of Jonah. The keshet or alighting of the ground seems to have been an accompanying ceremony. The use of the arrow in keshet appears also in Ezk 21111. The fall of arrows was to indicate the road the king of Babylon was to take, for the arrows must have been shot straight up into the air and allowed to fall by themselves. In the legends about the fall of the Temple (Bab. Gitten, 36a, Exempla no. 70), Nero is said to have shot arrows from the four corners, and, as they all fell to him, it indicated the impending fall of the town. It is still an element in Oriental, notably Gipsy, fairy-tales for the hero to shoot an arrow into the air and go in quest of it, and where the arrow falls things await him—good or evil.

(c) Akin to these forms of divination would be the tree oracle—the shaking of the boughs in one direction or another being taken as prognostication of some future event. This must have been the most primitive form of divination, the oak of Manna (2 S 57) the sound of marching. In Talmudic times we find a special art of divination mentioned under the name of shalsh d'galim, the language of trees. R. Yohanan ben Zakkai is mentioned as one who possessed this knowledge (see Bab. Sukkah, 28b). Abraham Gaon, who lived in the year 1140 of the Seleucid era (A.D. 829), could not understand the speech of palms (Aruch, s.v., Sh. ii.). Through Arabic influences, special books of divination by means of palm trees or palm leaves (ascribed to Abu Ithah of Saragossa) have been preserved in Hebrew literature, in which the origin of the palm is referred back to King Solomon (Cod. Gaster, 19, 3290, 532). Another species of divination mentioned in the Talmud and Midrash concerns the tree as a life token. At the birth of the child a tree is planted, and from its state the future of the child is indicated. The tree is the state of the man himself. By seeing the withering of Job's tree planted in their garden his three friends knew of his misfortune, and came to comfort him. Such trees were sometimes cut on the day of marriage, to give away the premature cutting of such a tree by a Roman general brought about, according to the Talmud, the war of Betar (Bab. Gitten, 574a).

(4) Haber (RV 'charmer')—much information is found in the Bible concerning the activity denoted by this name. The tradition in Sifre (l.c.) which explains the haber as one who could gather together (haber, 'companions') huge or small animals according to his skill—for what purpose is not stated—explains how this unexpected light was manifest from time to time in the Bible which have hitherto remained obscure, in which we recognize now the work of the haber, though not under that name. If a similar view is to be taken of him as of the mesech (weather-maker) he must have been a man who could bring or avert, foretell the coming or disappearance of obnoxious animals. His inclusion in the list in Deut. would thus be thoroughly justified; for he would bring evil animals into the land or to draw them away would be a curse or a blessing to the people. To this category would belong the priests who were asked for by the Cuthians from the king of Assyria, to be sent from Babylon to Samaria in order to drive away the besomesh of the infested land (2 K 1722). The priest sent was no doubt considered to be a powerful diviner or charmer, a haber. Similarly Elisha, upon whose curse two she-bears appeared and destroyed the children of the children of Ahab (2 K 234), the prophet (charmer) whose spell was broken through disobedience, although his power is still shown by the animal's standing quietly by the corpse next to the ass without hurting the latter. Going higher up the stream of biblical tradition, we find Samson (Jg 148) tearing to pieces a lion, in whose carcass bees afterwards swarm, contrary to the nature of bees, which never hive in dead bodies. Samson is able also single-handed to catch three hundred foxes and put firebrands between their tails (Jg 155). Here we have an exact portraiture of a haber (as interpreted by the present writer), one who is able to gather animals either for good or for evil purposes. According to later tradition, the presence of a pious man or reputed saint was sufficient to drive away obnoxious animals from a place. In the Temple area itself no fly was seen, nor did a wild animal ever hurt any visitor to Jerusalem (Virgil Aenoch). The samaria took the form of firebrands thrown among animals (see Gaster, 'Beitraege', ch. iv. p. 222f., in connexion with the legends of Virgil, St. Patrick, etc.).

How far Beelzebub would fall within this cate-
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It is a remarkable fact that all the acts of divination mentioned hitherto are found among the toto together with (a) invocations, charms, spells, etc. in Egypt at the bidding of the Lord, no doubt to bring home to the Egyptians, in the manner best understood by them, that all the acts of the enchanters, anings, charmers, weather-makers, could also be performed by the Hebrews, if they feared against whom their own diviners and charmers could not prevail. We have—with the addition of (a) the rods of Moses and Aaron turned into snakes—(1) blood, (2) frogs, (3) lice, (4) various animals, (5) plague, (6) boils, (7) hail storm, (8) locusts, (9) darkness, and (10) the death of the first-born. These correspond, with the exception of the last, to which reference will be made later on, to the arts of the menahesh (a), ne'mden (7, 9), kesem (1, 5, 6), and hiddim (8, 10, 11); these were strictly forbidden to be practised by the Hebrews, and were strongly denounced in Leviticus and Deuteronomy.

The process of elimination of drop-rooted practices and of transition to the worship of the spirit of Judah, runs on parallel lines with those of the spread of Christianity and modern methods. Ancient practices and heathen ceremonies were adapted with slight changes to the new order of things; heathen gods became local saints, heathen practices became Christian in the Church. Similarly, the forbidden practices of the menahesh, kesem, hiddim, etc., were adapted and adapted to the spirit of Judaism, and they are mentioned under leading names, priests, judges, etc.—in the name of the Lord God of Israel. And thus the people were slowly educated, until, with the establishment of the Temple in Jerusalem and the era of the great prophets, they broke finally with the past, and drove even the remnants of ancient superstition out of the Jewish worship and Jewish practice.

(5) 'Ob, yiddi'oni, dveesh el-hamunithim (RV 'familiar spirit,' 'wizard,' 'necromancer').—There still remains another kind of divination, which rests on the conception of Animism and the survival of the dead. No hint is given in the Bible whether it was a spirit of the dead or his material body which was sought after or inquired of. It is a fact that 'Ob and yiddi'oni always occur together except in the history of the prophet Samuel, who in the same chapter Saul is mentioned as having destroyed ['S 28'] familiar spirits and wizards) and 19, where the voice of the 'Ob is described as coming from the ground. We must, therefore, conclude that some class of office, with each other. 'Ob has the fem. pl., yiddo, whilst yiddi'oni has the masc. pl. yiddi'oni —probably an indication of differentiation of sexes, one the female and the other the male. In 19 they are described as they that chirp and that mutter (RV: better, 'conjurors who whistle and groan' [cf. Magical Papyri Paris, where the god or the conjurer whistles and groans]), and are by the prophet connected with the dead (v. 19). In 19 they are called the familiar spirits (to see), and in the alternative sheqoel ('to inquire') are used. We find then that the 'Ob and yiddi'oni were things made. In 2 21 and 2 2 Ch 33, the Heb. relating them (RV wrongly 'dealt with ') means 'the' and he made'; and 20 must not be taken at its face value, but should be understood as meaning that women have in their body a familiar spirit, but that they are the possessors of an 'Ob—evidently a material thing. The translation of 'Ob as 'familiar spirit' is contrary to indications in the Bible. The woman of En-dor was called a seer (see 1 24), 'the possession of an 'Ob, not one possessed by an 'Ob.' She must first perform a certain ceremony, she is to use enchantment (hesem) in order to get the 'Ob to work (1 S 28 'divine unto me'), and only after-wards she asks Saul whom he wishes to raise from the dead.

Now, it is a remarkable fact that the 'Ob does not occur in Genesis, in Joshua, in Judges, in 1 Sam., or in 1 Chronicles, and is only mentioned in the latter prophetic books except Isaiah. Another word, equally mysterious, is used, viz. t'raphtm [note that the word is plural, and 'Oboth and yiddi'oni occur also in the plural form]. The t'raphtm are mentioned in Gen 31:30, 31, but not in the other four books and the Pentateuch; they occur in Jg 17 15, 18, and in KJV 12, 2 K 23, 1 Ezk 21, 29, Hos 3, Zec 10; only in one case are they mentioned together with the 'Oboth and yiddi'oni—2 K 23, where they are said to have been put away by King Josiah. The t'raphtm also were 'made,' e.g., by Micaiah (Jg 17, where they are differentiated from 'a molten image and a graven image'), and they are also asked or inquired of ('sho't'), like 'Ob and yiddi'oni (Ezk 21, and stood it up in the walls, and Laban is the first to mention them, and calls them his gods (Gen 31); Rachel hides them (v. 30) in the saddle-bag (RV 'caneled furniture'). King Nebuchadnezzar consults them (Ezk 21, 29), etc. the Parthians woman named Shehi in Ezk 21, 19; and they were - very probably—we have here two different names for practically the same object of divination, connected more or less with the dead body, or, to put it more clearly, a mummified body worshipped and used for divination. The story of Michal in 1 S 19, leaves no room for doubt that the t'raphtm so closely resembled life-like human bodies (mummies, not wooden images) that the soldiers could believe that there was David was sleeping in the bed. A legend in Jer. Targ. to Gn 31 relates that the people to slay the first-born of a man and cut off his head, salted it, and embalmed it, and wrote inscriptions on a plate of gold, which they put under his tongue, and buried him, and when a necromancer inquired of him, he spoke with them; and unto such Laban bowed himself (see also Chapters of R. Elizer). Here we have the mummified head, which might be called t'raphtm among the Western Arameans, and 'Ob and yiddi'oni among the eastern, and the sex of the mummy used for necromancy. In Bab. Keritot, 3b, we find that the necromancer burnt incense to the demon, and then questioned him. Rabbinical tradition (Sifra, par. 3, ch. vil.) says of the mummy, that it is used for necromancy and it causes the dead to speak through some part of his body, sheh (see also Sanh. vii. 7), and, furthermore, that necromancy was performed by means of the skulls of dead men—no doubt because the process of mummification had died out, and mummies were not easily accessible. The same holds good for the necromancy as practised by other peoples, in which the skull of the dead plays a prominent part. In this connexion the death of the first-born of the Egyptians would appear in a new light.

The idea of a familiar spirit is of much later date; it was introduced at a time when belief in the existence of evil spirits became deeply rooted, and when it was supposed that it was in the power of man to conquer and subdue such spirits and force them to serve their master in any office to which he might choose to appoint them.

Solomon became a legendary master of the demons, or shedim. The Temple was built by shedim (660 b.c.) at his command; and through his temple on which the cedar was engraven, he could command the obedience of all the spirits. Here two sets of lights and beliefs appear mingled. Solomon's power was made to rest upon the knowledge and possession of the ineffable name of God with its tremendous
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efficiency. The Apocryphal Testament of Solomon and the Chaldean Solomon (Solomon's Key) touch how to obtain mastery over sh'dim. We find the history of a man having a sh'dim named Belshad, I Kings, 10, 22. Belshad could not be conjured up on Sabbath or holy days (Shedulat Shedulit, see Lev. 19, 3), but in conversation with the sh'dim, the man was considered a great sh'dim (Shukka, 29a, see Zanu, Gottesgabe 7, 1992, p. 170). In a manuscript copy of the Testament of Solomon, there is no other word for this than transliterated into the Bible—a fact of deep significance.

Apocryphal and apocalyptic literature is, however, full of such prophetic dreams. The dream of Jacob, Joseph's animal (Jg 20, 11-17) and his of Methuselah and Enoch (ch. xxviii. p. 48, intr. lxxvi); the dream of Pharaoh in foretelling the birth of a king (Ex 2, 24-25; Lk 1, 26-37); the dreams of Naphtali (xxviii. 3); the dream of Kenaz (vii. 39, 40); the dream of Moschei; Ahamasor's dream; and the dream of Ahasuerus (Est 4, 10, i.e. lxxviii.); the dreams of Naphtali (xxviii. 3); the dream of Kenaz (vii. 39, 40); the dream of Moses; and the dream of Alexander the Great (xxviii. 44 f.; found also in Samaritan literature (Abufasha). Mention may be made also of dreams in the Test. of the TTI Patriarchai (Chaldean) Testament. The visions of Enoch in the Book of Enoch (xxviii.-xx., pp. 220-239 (Charles)), and the visions of Ezra in 2 Esdras. Later Jewish literature abounds in prophetic dreams sent to the people to warn them of danger, such as that in the legend of Boznatam and the exarch (Seder Ohrn Zuta).

The interpretation of dreams became a recognized art. Many examples are found in the Talmud of men who received payment for this function. Twenty-four interpreters are said to have practised at the same time. Each was supposed to interpret the dreams of the dead or the living. Hadya is mentioned by name as one who shaped his interpretation according to the amount received.

Such interpretations are found in the Talmud (Ber. 50a f.; En Potokh, par. 110; Jer. Ma'aser themiv. iv. 6; the Exempla of Rabbin (nos. 215-216), and Maness Buch, Amst., no. 28, fol. 7b. These forms of interpretation are ascribed to Joseph, Daniel, Hai (ed. pr. Ferrara, 1550), Naza, etc., and published by Alami in his Pitron Halomoth (Hebräer Bibliothek, ed. pr. Litwin (i. 149); see Cod. Gaster, 93, 654, and 1067). Some of the sages assert that the answer should be given in the dream; others in their reply, like Rabba (Bab. Menahot, 65a) and R. Johanan (ib. 84b). He who sees an illomened dream must recite a special prayer whilst the kabbale pronounces the blessing, and wearing the service (Bab. Ber. 55b). The custom of ‘responses from Heaven’ exists in Jewish literature, dating probably from the 12th or 13th century.

(b) Urim and Thummim—another means of divining the future, explaining, the declaring guilt and innocence, deciding, and deciding the issues of war and peace. In accordance with the system pursued of concentrating every possible sacred or sacrificial action in the hands of very few, and thus of weaning the common people from such practices, the divination by means of the Urim and Thummim was reserved for the high priest. Only he, in his priestly robes and wearing the breast-plate called ‘the breastplate of judgment’ (decision) (Ex 28, 30), could use the Urim for the purpose of obtaining an answer from God to his question. We cannot here enter fully upon the discussion as to what the Urim and Thummim may have been. These words occur altogether seven times in the whole Bible; and in two of these, Ezra and Nehemiah, as a remembrance of old (Ezr 2, Neh 7). To the other five passages we must add two in which the practice is implicit in the prayer and the breastplate (Jg 17, 6, 9), and the children of Israel went up to Bethel to inquire of the Lord, i.e., through the priest, who only could obtain the answer by the Urim and Thummim).

The ephod consulted by David in Kᵉᵉˡᵃ’h (I S 23, 11-12) was worn by Saul (Nz 11, 27-29) and Saul was warned by God to consult the breastplate, or the tabernacle, of his son (Nz 12, 13). The breastplate of the Philistines is understood by Gideon as foretelling future success (Jg 7, 19). The Book of Daniel is full of dreams and prophetic visions of the future, which border on the higher sphere of prophecy, or the Urim and Thummim. The dream of the Philistine is understood by Gideon as foretelling future success (Jg 7,19). The Book of Daniel is full of dreams and prophetic visions of the future, which border on the higher sphere of prophecy, or the Urim and Thummim. The dream of the Philistine is understood by Gideon as foretelling future success (Jg 7, 19). The Book of Daniel is full of dreams and prophetic visions of the future, which border on the higher sphere of prophecy, or
and afterwards Jonathan alone. This reminds us of the identical process in the case of Achan (Jud. 7:21), who was stoned by the Urim and Thummim with the twelve stones of the breastplate, and explain these names as 'lighted up' and 'dark,' stating that the stones lit up or a light shone in them (according to some the letters and words) and that the prophet, or rather priest, made the turning-point in the whole history of Jewish worship and in the practice of divination.

Special mysterious powers were ascribed to the stones of the breastplate, and from Qophanim onwards the literature of Lapolaria, or 'stone books,' has grown continuously. Hebrew literature shows a variety of such Lapolaria (Koхот Глава). A number of unedited texts have been collected by the present writer in his Cod. 377, besides other MSS (Cod. Gaster, 357, 714; de Vidas, loc. cit. fol. 51a). After the disappearance of the Urim and Thummim another inspired oracle took its place—the Bible oracle (the oral recitation of Biblical verses). Infants were asked to tell a verse to a man who met them quite unexpectedly, and from the first verse that meets the eyes as a means of divination, or in putting in a pointer, and the passage through which the pointer rests is taken as full of significancy and prognostication. Samuel used to inquire through the 'book' (Bab. Kallah, 9b5; cf. the words Versibus). The Bible oracle is the liturgical part of the Shimmussa Rabba (or that of selected portions of the Bible) known in the 8th or 9th century. In the Shimmussa Thallin the Book of Psalms is used as a means of divination (Cod. Gaster, 1094c, and often printed with Book of Psalms; best ed. by W. Heidenheim).

At an indeterminate period in post-Biblical times a large number of magical ceremonies and practices of divination flowed into the stream of Jewish religious belief. It naturally happened that each of these elements to its proper source. All that was done was to copy and to borrow such material, and so change and mould it as to make it compatible with the special teaching of Judaism, though the line of demarcation between, e.g., Jews and Muhammadans in these practices is so faint as to be often indistinguishable. Nowhere does this borrowing show itself more clearly than in the books for telling future events, or fortune-telling books (Sifre Girdot [Amsterdam, 1790], Uriah Yeshuham [Dyrrenfirth, 1790], ascribed alternately to Hai-Saadya, Aben Ezra, Pockeah, Ibrin [Venice, 1657]; Cod. Gaster, 61, 213, 439; Aben Ezra, fol. 571, 751, 985, 986, 627, 679, 782, 1017, 1069, 1090). A thorough investigation of the origin and history of these books and their interdependence is still lacking (Steinschneider, Die hebräischen Übersetzungen der Mittelalter, § 593, pp. 928-71).

The hand and the face of man were also used for the purpose of divination. The Zohar (Exodus) already contained almost a complete treatise on physiognomics (bokmah ha-paruyf), and the Hebrew version of the Secretum ascribed to Aris-totle (ed. Gaster [contains in bk. xi, a treatise on physiognomy]) continued to spread and to fortify the belief in physiognomics among the Jews. Cheiroromancy (hochamm ha-geroil, last ed., Warsaw, 1892) is found in many manuscripts and prints, and also in translations in the Hebrew-German (Cod. Gaster, 443, fol. 90b f.).

(c) Rê'eh, or see.—The last form of divination to which Saul resorted was through the nabi', the seer. It is found in many manuscripts and prints, and also in translations in the Hebrew-German (Cod. Gaster, 443, fol. 90b f.). He was expected to answer not only important questions affecting the safety of the king or nation, but also trivial inquiries about lost property, and the Urimeh or seer was then acting as the Hebrew counterpart of the heathen jasém (like Balam, etc.), who also claimed to 'see' and to be a 'seer' (Nu 24:9). Samuel is consistently called the seer and not the prophet in 1 Ch 13:15 26:3 28:20; and other persons belonging to the period before the building of the Temple appear under the same names of rô'eh and hoshékh, which alternate with one another and are both distinguished from nabi'. The latter was, no doubt, considered as yet inferior to them; for we find the 'company of prophets' (1 S 10:16-11:1), Saul turned prophet (10:15), and 'the sons of the prophets' (1 K 2:8, 2 K 2:2 etc.) all playing an inferior rôle to the prophet. As such a prophet means a man of insight— a man who sees; i.e., takes in the essence of things, and therefore seems inferior to the nabi' of the time of the kings. He is more akin to a diviner. Abraham is called a nabi' (Gn 20:6), although he does not prophesy, but knows of Abimelech's dream. Aaron is appointed nabi' ('he who reads'), ascribed to the opening words of the enemy or interlocutor. This is the origin of the Bible oracle (stichomythus) by means of a written or later on a printed book. It consists in opening the book and looking at the first verse that meets the eyes as a means of divination, or in putting in a pointer, and the passage through which the pointer rests is taken as full of significancy and prognostication. Samuel used to inquire through the 'book' (Bab. Kallah, 9b5; cf. the words Versibus). The Bible oracle is the liturgical part of the Shimmussa Rabba (or that of selected portions of the Bible) known in the 8th or 9th century. In the Shimmussa Thallin the Book of Psalms is used as a means of divination (Cod. Gaster, 1094c, and often printed with Book of Psalms; best ed. by W. Heidenheim).

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therein have survived to the present day. Many a man in medieval times was credited with insight into the future through the knowledge of this

The last stage in the development of the art of divination was reached when the place held in ancient times by the baal 'ath, the female possessor of the 'bb (woman of Endor) and the medium, was finally taken by the baal shém, the possessor of the ineffable wonder-working name of God. He was the exact counterpart of the baal 'ath 'bb, the female possessor of the 'bb (woman of Endor) and the medium. He could see the dead, could call the future, and perform every possible miraculous deed. The legend of the baal shém told in Ma'ase Nissim (see Tendlau, Sogen 4, no. 52, p. 25 ff) makes him raise out of a cup Job b. Zeruiah (King David's
genealogy). Practically the last link in this chain is the famous baal shém (known as Besh [Baal Shem Toeb]), the founder of the sect of the Hasidim at the beginning of the 18th century, whose successors are the reputed wonder-working Rabbs of the Hasidim in Galicia and Eastern Europe.

But all these modes of divination have gradually disappeared. Only the Qabalistic formulae are from time to time resorted to and practised in addition to those borrowed from other nations; for instance, among Jews, and especially in Eastern

countries, the Jews follow the superstitions of the native population, and practise the same modes of divination for such lower purposes as to detect a thief, or to find out whether a woman will marry in the next year, whether her child will be a boy or girl, whether or not an undertaking will be successful. But there is nothing specifically Jewish about them.

LITERATURE. — As the writer of this article differs fundamentally in the interpretation of the Biblical terms on divination from his predecessors, he does not refer to any other articles on this subject, or to any of the special books hitherto written on divination in the Bible. In addition to the references given in the text of the article itself, the All-seeing Figure will give the purpose of directing students to a vast field of hitherto scarcely explored literature. One name stands out prominently, that of M. Steinschneider, and his great work, Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters, Berlin, 1894 (notably p. 539, p. 908 ff; p. 541, p. 906; p. 592, p. 840; p. 553, p. 967-71; p. 575, p. 963 ff; and p. 534, p. 571), contains the most reliable data on many of the subjects of the later period of Jewish literature and when it stands under the influence of Greek, Arabic, and medieval Latin literature. Still even he left room for additional investigation, if it so be desired. More books may be now and then collected here:

M. A. Delrio, Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex, ed. Cologne, 1720, ii. p. 14 no. 6, p. 475, 478-489; c. 9. 1596, b. iii. chs 4-29, fol. 101 f; M. Gu道德imm, Gesch. des Erzählungswechsels und der Cultur der Juden, Vienna, 1858, vol. i. p. 201, no. 21; M. Gaster, Literatur Populärna Rumania, Bucharest, 1885, pp. 524, 526 f, 517, 516, 520; K. Kann- 

Gaster, Gesch. der romanischen Literatur 5, Munich, 1837, pp. 627-631 and passim; H. Diels, Beiträge zur Zirkulations-

literatur, Berlin, 1906; Jacob Rakiv, Kosmizhe v Yakhile- 

Lehborn, 1850, fol. 244-250; M. GASTER.

DIVINATION (Litu Slavic). — A synopsis of the various means employed by the Prussians and Lithuanians to divine the future is given in the art. Aryan Religion, vol. ii. p. 54 f. As grounds of their predictions they had—or still have—

recourse to the flight and cries of birds; appearances in the sky and other natural phenomena; sacrifices, entrails, and blood; chance meetings, the rustling of the oak, fire and smoke, dreams; various happenings and utterances at weddings; wax, lead, glass, the foam of beer, amulets, seals, trunks, and such and other things. One of the most ancient and widely-used accessories of divination was blood, both of man and beast. When the Grand-duke Keist of Lithuania was overthrown and taken prisoner by King Ludwigo of Hungary in 1531, he made a treaty with the victor, pledging himself to embrace Christianity and desist from further troubling. This treaty was ratified by a rather curious Lithuanian oath, the preliminary to which was a blood-curse.

'Et facta est base promissio per regem cum tali inantamento: accepti enim bonem et in praevisus reis Ugurane et morum fuit donum dictis incidit in collocis contractorum et extet, bonum esse indicium futurorum; et largius fuit suffixus effusius. Tunc emolgens a benn bonum redactum: caput et corpus progenies suae, sic sibi contagi, si promissa non servaret' (Scriptores Rer. Prass. iii. 420).

But human blood likewise was not to be used for purposes of prophecy. Thus, in 1353-56, when the Grand-duke Gedimin sent twelve hundred horsemen to the assistance of King Lokietek in his struggle with the margrave of Brandenburg,

a proposition to know, kau'mi tempore quodam at tingm viniunt, caput infer auxra detergentes, dorum inuis gladiis suspendere, prophetiam sungamus attendere, de exitu bellorum per ipsam divinare conscribere' and it is also recorded that in the same campaign 'quilibet undatum pulsardentur et divinaciones suas exercerent' (cf. A. v. Mierlo, Der Eid des Keistus.' Sitzungsb. d. Altertumsgesellschaft Prass. no. 18, Königsberg, 1869, p. 104).

Such incidents show that as late as the 14th century of our era the Lithuanians, like the propheticst of the Cimri (cf. ERE ii. 544'), were in the habit of killing their prisoners of war in order to ascertain by an inspection of their blood whether the approaching battle would result in victory or defeat.

Leaving the Baltic peoples, we proceed to speak of the Slavs, and, more particularly, of the Russians. Here, in the 16th and 17th centuries—a period from which all verbal compilations have perished—we find an almost incredible development of the belief in omens (primatia) and the practice of fortune-telling (gudanie). It is scarcely too much to say that among the Russians of that age the individual's whole sense of life was entirely conditioned by premonitions. Books of magic and collections of warnings and predictions, though banned by the clergy, were passed from hand to hand. A creaking in the wall or a singing in the ears foretold a misfortune. An itching of the palm signified a gain of money. Itching eyes betokened weeping. The croaking of ravens or the crowing of cocks was an omen of misfortune. The cackling of ducks or geese, twichting of the eyelids, the crackling of the fire, the howling of a dog, the squeaking of mice or their nibbling of clothes, a cat appearing at the window with a captured mouse, a terrifying dream, meeting with a blind person—all these foreboded loss by fire. In a MS in the Rumianin monastery of 1597, the Russian diviners had written:

'When the shores beave, and the sea rages, when dry or moist winds blow, when rain, snow, or storm-clouds appear, when thunder rolls, the wolf howls, the eagle shows claws, the trees grate on one another, wolves howl, or squirrels leap—then will come plague, or war, or scarcity of water; in summer fruits will grow nowhere, or they will disappear.'

The people believed in dreams, and framed an elaborate system of reading their significance. They saw portents in the act of sneezing, in the crawling movements of insects, in every sort of object they came across. It was thought un lucky to meet with a monk, a horse with hair worn off, or a pig. As early as the 12th cent., we find St. Theodosius censuring those who allowed such occurrences to scare them homely superstitions and foreign superstitions were inextricably blended. The people had also complete written systems of prophecy, called refil—a term of Arabic origin ('lib- eilus astronomicus seu mathematicus Persarum' [Ducange]).

The german. 'geopolit' (cf. ERE ii. 465, note 1), § 23, warns against their use. Mention should also be made here of the so-called 'birth-magic' which the sorcerer, at the mother's request, performed over the newly-born child, and by means of which he ascertained or

1 Cf. for what immediately follows, Kostomarov, 'Sketch of the Domestic Life and Customs of the Great Russians in the 10th and 17th Centuries,' in Sermoncrat, vol. xiiii. (Russ.).
DIVINATION (Litu-Slavic) 815

determined its lot in life. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to say that the Russians of that day lived from the cradle to the grave in an atmosphere of constant dread and solicitude regarding the future; and the benevolent and emancipating results of culture and enlightenment are never muchascribed to the influence of the teachings of the Church, as the presence of omens and superstitions is considered to be a part of human existence thus harrowed by omens and superstitions which pervade the world of nature. The Devil, his visions and prophecies, are the oppressors of the people, and the Russian peasantry are filled with dread of the supernatural. The Russian peasant is the slave of superstition, and his every act is governed by the supposed will of the gods. The Russian peasant is the slave of superstition, and his every act is governed by the supposed will of the gods. He believes in the future, and his every act is governed by the supposed will of the gods.

Even at the present day, however, among the Russians, the belief in omens and predictions still prevails to an extent without parallel among any other European people. The manifold superstitions of an aged Russian peasant woman are thus set forth in Turgenev's romance, Fathers and Sons.

'She was plaus and impressionable to a degree; she believed in all kinds of omens, predictions, spells, dreams; she believed in hastes [see below]. In household spirits, forest spirits, no-luck forsythians, enchantments, popular remedies, Monday Thursday said [the] sun shone on Monday Thursday breed rain, as the end of the world was at hand, that the backwheat would not ripen if the rain fell on the Sunday, and that mushrooms cease growing when they have been seen by a human eye,' etc.

In the present article we do not propose to deal further with this mass of detail, but will restrict ourselves to a somewhat fuller consideration of two particular points: (1) Peasant weather-lore, which, amid a chaos of absurdity, nevertheless contains a certain measure of rationality, based upon experience and the observation of Nature; and (2) the interval between Christmas and Epiphany—a period during which, even in the Russia of to-day, all conceivable forms of augury and prophecy are still in full swing.

(1) The first of these topics, peasant weather-lore, has been dealt with by A. Ermolov in two volumes of his comprehensive work, Agricultural Folk-wisdom in Proverbs, Sayings, and Weather-sayings, etc. The latter of these, the Wirtschaftliche Volkskalender, Leipzig, 1905, and iv. Popular Weather-lore (Russ.), St. Petersburg, 1905. It is shown in these works that, while all European peoples have a vast store of weather-wisdom, sometimes exhibiting remarkable analogies and parallels, yet the inhabitants of Eastern Europe surpass all others in this regard. In that region there is no animal so diminutive, no herb so insignificant, but its doings or properties may supply omens of future events, of weather, or of fate; and it is believed that the weather will be more abundant or more plentiful, or more favourable to the husbandman; while, again, there is no natural phenomenon, occurring at some particular time, but may act as the harbinger of a good or a bad harvest. In Kasan, the Chuvashes (a Finnish, now Finno-Rusian, tribe) are said to be looked upon as oracles.

Strange as it may seem, they scarcely ever go astray in their predictions. By long-continued observation they have become sensitive to signs which enable them almost unerringly to forecast the weather. Their memories are stored with a mass of all but incredible omens inherited from time immemorial.

(2) The period between Christmas and the Feast of Epiphany is known in Russia as svatlé (from svata, 'holy'), or koljada (from Lat. calendae), the latter term being also applied to the practice of going about from house to house at Christmas and on New Year's morning. During the Christmas week the practice of prophesying, which is applied in the main to affairs of love and marriage, and partly also to forecasting the weather and the harshness of the winter's severity, is widespread among the Russian peasantry (cf. Russian Folk-poetry [Russ.], Glasnov ed., St. Petersburg, 1904, p. 85; Stepanov, Popular Festivals in Holy Russia [Russ.], St. Petersburg, 1899, p. 149). When young men or young women wish to know something of their partners' future, they have recourse to the horse-oracle. The young women, for example, take out a horse, and walk it over a beam; if it stumbles, the husband of the person consulting the oracle will be a good man; if it steps clear, he will be bad. Divining the future by means of a splinter of wood is also concerned with marriage. When the splinter has been partly dipped in water, it is set fire to at the dry end; then the young woman distressed with the thought that she will expire forecasts respectively a happy or unhappy marriage.

The period between Christmas and Epiphany was, as already indicated, a special time for weather-prophecy, as witness the following extract from Ermolov, op. cit. 1. 518:

'In Little Russia, before the supper on Christmas eve, the oldest of the house or brings a bundle of wheat-straw, spreads it upon the bench in the front corner, covers it with a clean tablecloth, and then places above this, and just beneath the bracket for the saint's image, an unparched sheaf of rye or wheat. During supper those present engage in reading the signs which indicate the character of the ensuing harvest. For this purpose they draw hasty lines under the tablecloth, and from the length of these form an estimate as to the growth of the corn. They likewise pull stalks of straw out of the sheaf under the iron, if the stalk bears a full ear, they may look forward to a good harvest; while, if the ear is shrivelled, the crop will be poor. A fresh snow on Christmas Eve or Christmas Day is a sign of a severe winter. If it comes to the harvest or to the autumn rain, the backwheat will turn out well; while, if white or red seeds predominate, severe weather will prevail, and we have to fear frosts of the following winter. At the killing of the pig before the Christmas festivities, the peasants in Little Russia inspect the pancake. If it is large, this is a sign of abundant harvest. If its length is equal to its breadth, the winter will be a long one, and there will be no severe frosts; but if the length be four times the breadth, the winter will be mild at the head end and thin at the other, or vice versa—winter will be cold at the beginning and warm towards the close, or vice versa. If the pancakes be thin about the middle, the peasants expect a thaw in mid-winter.'

This custom recalls the Roman Saturnalia and harvesting; and it is also said that the Russians have a parallel to the st regius, a prediction by means of divination by the eating and drinking of fowls (cf. the 'Romuni' section of this article). It may be said without misgiving, indeed, that analogies of the Roman auguries and their underlying superstitions are now found nowhere more abundantly than in the east of Europe. It should be observed, however, that the peasant are quite well aware that during the svaté they have still one foot in paganism, for, as they say, 'the beginning of the season' also works in the reverse. Therefore, the witches, who steal the moon and the stars from the sky, keep holiday, and disport with the demons.'

'Where, nowadays, as the foregoing bears out, the Russian people—men and women alike—are all highly proficient in priscity and gaudenia, these arts were formerly to a great extent in the hands of wizards and sorcerers, the various names applied to whom are enumerated and explained in the art. CHAMPS AND AMULETS (Slavic), vol. i. p. 405. Besides these adepts, however, there are other two classes of persons to whom is attributed a special measure of supernatural and prophetic power, viz. women and lunatics.

The belief in the faculty of seeing into the future belongs in an eminent degree to women can be traced everywhere in ancient, and, as existent among the Germans, finds its clearest expression among the Brandenburg. (feme se qui etiam sacrum aliquid et providum putant, no aut solum carmen supernaturum aut response negligunt; cf. also Huf, ib. 69, 427. See further aged Germanische of Ferdinand Stadenius, 1670-1680, v. 204.)

As regards the basis of fact which underlies the real or imaginary prophetic gift thus ascribed to women, and exalting them in the people's eyes to the degree of oracles among the Indo-German peoples, cf. ERE ii. 65.'

2 On this topic, cf. the present writer's remarks on the Indo-Germanic marriage in Die Indo-Germanen, Leipzig, 1911, p. 87 f.
the position of Halliwallius (Goth., [Jordanes, Get. xxiv.]), 'those who know the secrets of hell, or of the under world,' we shall hardly err in tracing this element to the nervous and hysterical nature of woman, which, in moments of excitement, seems to raspe above earthly conditions. It was in the state of ecstasy likewise that the Greek Pythian uttered her oracles. This was also the case in the remarkable outbreak of the Russian klikti (from klikti, 'to shriek'), the 'possessed' or 'epileptics' who greatly disturbed the country in the 16th cent., and had to be dealt with by the Church Council of Moscow (stolbovny sobor) in 1551. They were principally elderly unmarried women — and very tall, tall! — who talked loudly and with barefoot and unkempt; they shook, they fell, they whirled, they writhed, and amid such doings uttered their predictions of the future. Frequently — and sometimes as a result of brierly — they brought criminal charges against individuals, who were thus rendered liable to legal proceedings. The presence of these women in a city was a veritable plague, and the Church Council referred to petitioned the Czar to order the initiated either to be shut up in the lying prophets' midst (cf. Kostomarow, Vie, cit., p. 547). Of a somewhat similar character are the prophetic powers ascribed among the Slavs to lunatics. The insane fall under the same category as the Roman soothsayers by the Greek terms applied to them, viz., jurdlivy (from ural'j, 'prophetic,' 'madman'). They filled the soul of primitive man with amazement, and even with reverential awe. Like the hysterical women just spoken of, they professed forthwith oracular phrases, which seemed to come from another world, and to betoken a supernatural knowledge. Precisely the same process of thought manifests itself in the Greek series of words: aixiogov, 'I rave,' aixi, 'lunacy, dazavtis, 'soothsayer' — a development which seems to prove that at a very early period there must have existed in Greece the same sort of prophetic lunacies as are found in ancient and modern Russia. During the reign of Boris Godunov there lived in Moscow a lunatic of this type, who was revered as a saint. Naked and with hair dishevelled he went about the streets in the coldest weather, uttering his prophecies of coming woes. In awe-inspiring accents he arraigned Boris for the murder of his dethroned brother, and may be, of offending the people, or else convinced of the man's holiness of character — made no sign, and did not attempt to interfere with him to the least (cf. Giles Fletcher, Of the Russa Common Monarch, 1591). I had the privilege in 1856, p. 115 f.). Even at the present day the insane fill a somewhat similar rôle in Russian village life. In a sketch called 'Village Drama,' by J. Garin (who has a masterly knowledge of the village communities), a merchant makes inquiries regarding a certain lunatic whose favourite occupation is to pray for the dead upon their graves, and receives the following answer:

'Ve believe thus: he is a great servant of God. And he has taken upon his alde in the bathroom at my house. I do not know why he has chosen me, for I am more wicked than others, and wholly covered with sins, and cannot tell why it entered his mind to live with me. Still, he has fixed upon me, and now lives with me. We cannot account for his behaviour, we do not know, and we understand only by signs (primeti)—he is, in truth, a great servant of God.'

Such are the ideas which still prevail regarding the belief in insanity, in the Russian country.

LITERATURE.—This has been given in the course of the article.

O. SCHRAEDER.

DIVINATION (Muslim).—The methods of divination in use among the Muslims are numerous. The following are the more common: (a) 'Um al-Rumi, Ibn Khaldi (Prolegomena, tr. de Slane, 1862-68, i. 218): (a) gazing at polished surfaces or 'crystal-gazing';
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In Turkestan, 'the most common method of divining the course of events is to place on the shoulder blade of a sheep, which has been carefully cleaned of the flesh. This is gradually calcined, and the cracks, the colour, and the shape of the blade of which fall from it, depending on good or bad luck or the various accidents which may happen on an expedition. Another is very common in buds, or other means of dried sheep dung. The Kirghiz selects forty balls of dung, and divides them roughly into three heaps. He then takes four at a time from each heap, until only four or less remain in each. The remainder he also divides into three heaps, and again takes one from each four. Three more heaps are formed, and last there are four lots of their piles. What is left be divided by three, and sees whether the remainder be one, two, or three. The various numbers and positions of the balls of dung can be explained by an experienced noothayer to the intense satisfaction or to the disappointment of those who consult him' (Schuyler, Turkistan, New York, 1876, p. 31).

Similar omens are drawn in N. Africa from the excrement in the rectum of the victim, and the blood. Scapanology is practised by many of the Arabs and Turks. (J.A.H. 265) together with palmyra and another mode of augury which is far less familiar, viz. divination by the gnawing of mice. When the Khalif Mansur (A.D. 754-775) was in a village, it is said, one night a mouse bit him, and he sent it to be mended, but the workman suggested that it ought to be examined by a diviner first; the diviner foretold the Khalif a quiet and prosperous reign (Zoology, A.D. 1225, p. 93).

In such groups as the Greeks (A.D. 322, 444, etc.,) a mirror or magic mirror goes back to ancient times; according to Ibn Khalidun, who agrees in this respect with modern crystal-gazers, the image appears not on the mirror itself, but on a kind of vapour which floats above the mirror of the crystal-gazer's eyeglass. The Khalif Mansur had a mirror which told him whether a man was a friend or an enemy; according to Sir 123rd, the mirror rusted in the end of the enemy, and this was probably how the Arab of the current day, which tells him in one of friendship (line 380). The process varies very much in different places, different materials being employed, with great varieties of symbolism. In Egypt the practice called darb el-mundal is common, and performed with liquids, e.g. water or ink, or else with solid mirrors, such as sword-blades. Lane (Modern Egyptians, ed. 1871, i. 337-346) gives an account of some extraordinary performances of the kind which he witnessed in Cairo; the visions were seen on the mirror, and certain questions asked to gaze, in ink placed in the palm of the hand and surrounded by certain numerals; other features were a chafing-dish with live charcoal, in which it was written on a piece of paper by the diviner were burned together with frankincense and coriander-seed. In the mirror so arranged the boy saw among other persons Lord Nelson, of whom he had never heard. Lane's story provoked considerable discussion in Europe, but was defended by Sir R. Burton (Pilgrimage, ed. 1893, ch. xxviii.), Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and others persons familiar with the East. This process is used for discovering offenders; according to the account of those seen by the diviner, who was asked in the presence of Lane's but adds many details, the medium is supposed to command the services of ten of the jinn, who are first told to discharge certain domestic duties and then compelled by an oath to either his will, and gives his wishes to know. The function of medium is to serve a small class: boys under age, negroes, enceinte women, and people with a long line of fortune.

Possession, or inspiration by the jinn, appears to have been a principle of the pre-Islamic divination, and the archaologists profess to name some of the early diviners. Probably possession was not regarded as their usual state, and they hypnotized themselves by some process or other. The basis of the ancient utterance doubtless goes back to an early date in Semitic civilization; what is required is that the utterance should either be wholly unconnected with the matter on which it is made to bear, or that it should proceed from an invisible speaker. The author of al-Fakhri narrates cases in which information was conveyed by these mysterious channels.

The two last methods—geomancy and genamatria—are probably the most characteristically Muslim methods of divination, and the literature on both subjects is copious. In the former, some sand is casually taken up is arranged in fifteen columns of from 5 to 7 grains, bearing technical names; conventional values are assigned to the combinations of these, and these conventional values are dispensed answers to the questions addressed. A Bodeian MS contains a dictionary of those values; but it is not very lucid as to the mode whereby the column is obtained. Divination by the values attached to the letters of men's names is a highly complicated subject; Sabti (A man of Cuata) invented a divination-table for this purpose called Zarijah, consisting of concentric circles, accompanied by an exposition, by poem, based partly on letter-values, partly on astrology. Ibn Khalidun inserts it in his Progymenon; but his translator, de Sante, confesses his inability to follow the system. Some use, which is not very clear, is made by the name or a sign, 744, etc., which indicates, what is otherwise attested, that the 'number of the Beast' is something far more complicated than the letter-values of a man's name.

An obscure discipline, based on the numerical values of the Arabic alphabet, narrates which Ali is said to have composed two books bearing the names Jafir and Jami'ah, wherein, by calculations of this sort, doubtless connected with Qur'anic texts, he foretold the whole history of the world until the 'miracle of the month ofif.' These books are supposed to be in possession of the descendants of Ali, and, as was the case with the Sibyl's books, some of their contents are occasionally divulged; the author of the Dict. of Tech. Terms in the Muslim Science saw an extract which foretold the fate of the Egyptian sovereigns.

A classical manual of the black art is the 'Goal of the Sage' of Maslahah of Madrid (A.D. 938—A.D. 1007—8), which took him seven years to compose, containing twenty-three questions, casually asked of a man to know, then given to the reader. It appears that both the planets and the constellations divide between them the various objects to be found in the world, and the different avocations of mankind. Thus to Mars belong the powers of bone and corium, surgery, farriery, tooth-drawing, the Persian language, the right nostril, the gall, heat, hatred, the theology which denies the Divine attributes, silk, harekin and dogskin, iron-work, brigandage, bitter tastes, dryness, and red stones; to the Ram belong the face, pupil, and ear, yellow and red, bitterness, deserts and robbers' caves, fuel, animals with cloven hoofs. The week-days, besides their planetary assignation, bear to certain angels: Monday to Gabriel, being cold and wet; Thursday to Isra'il, being hot and wet; Saturday to Azrail, being cold and dry; Wednesday to Michael, as being a mixture of all four. The nature of the ink to be used in the procession, etc. is affected by the conjunction of the planets and constellations; and, according to the position of the moon, a charm when written should be disposed of in earth, air, fire, and water. Those who desire the services of the planets should bow down to them, and address to them complimentary speeches calling them by their Arabic, Indian, Greek, or Yunani names. The Greek names (called by this author Rami) are correctly given. One author, Jair of Basrah, whom this writer cites, invented a planetary division of the Qur'aan, by counting the mystic letters contained within.
these divisions, he discovered how long each dynasty was to last; for each was controlled by one of the planets.

Lane (i. 328) describes some of the consulting tables or books in use in Egypt. The table of Idris consists of 100 compartments, in each of which the name of the Arab alphabet is written. The questioner, after reciting a text bearing on the subject of the Divine omniscience, places his finger at random on a letter; he then makes a sentence by adding every fifth letter till he comes back to the first; the sentence thus formed tells him whether to proceed or desist; it is so constructed that the proportion of negative replies to positive is four to one. Some which the writer has seen consist of Qur'anic texts written in a mysterious alphabet; therefore only an expert can use them; the more cautious experts are ready to give general answers out of them, but decline to give replies in which any sort of exactitude is required. The use of sortes Koranici, or divining by the first text that meets the eye on opening the sacred volume, is said to go back to very early times; many copies of the Qur'an contain directions for this method of using the book. One method mentioned by Lane consists in counting the number of times the letters which commence the Arabic words for 'good' and 'bad' occur on the page, and in deciding for or against a course by the majority. Another substitutes the rosary for the Qur'an, and employs the three formulae, 'God's glory,' 'Praise to God,' and 'God is good.' In the latter, so good is God, that indiscriminate good is good enough; 'indifferent,' 'bad'; two beads are then selected at random, and the formulae recited in the above order, the beads being counted between the two selected; whichever formula goes to the last bead is considered as answering the question.

That the dream should be commonly employed for ascertaining the future is natural, and there is a considerable literature on the subject, or 'dream interpretation,' mainly founded on the work of Artemidorus. Lane mentions an Egyptian practice of praying for dreams which can be used in this way: the questioner requests to be shown something white or green, or water, if the course which he contemplates has not been approved; something black or red, if so; and in the case of the former, certain mystic words uttered before going to sleep will produce, it is thought, veridical visions. In some places the Qur'an serves as a sort of vocabulary for the language of dreams; a ship signifies safety, because the word 'saf' is used in connection with Noah's ark; to dream of a king entering an unusual abode is unlucky, because the visit of a king is said in the same book to be a prelude to disaster. Similar glosses can be got from traditions, current proverbs, or familiar usage of words, while, in other cases, the theory that dreams signify their contraries can be applied; e.g. the victor in a dream-duel will be the defeated in the real encounter. The author of the Majíd al-du'álin gives a brief glossary of the dream-language, in the main on these principles; a complete dictionary of it was composed by 'Abd al-Ghani al-Náhlí (printed at Cairo, 1307), including proper names; the number of dreams assigned to the symbols is sufficiently perplexing; thus, to dream of Adam may either signify a warning to repent, or presage promotion to high office, or indicate that the dreamer will be deceived by the words of an enemy, etc. There are places where verbal dreams are more likely to be obtained than elsewhere; these are sometimes caves, more often the graves of saints.

The attitude of Islamic theology towards all these practices is, in general, tolerant, and indeed the presence in the Qur'an of mystic letters strongly favours its magical employment, which is exceedingly natural in those countries in which Arabic is little understood, though used in both private and public worship. The belief in the jinn, who discharge some function in many of these operations, is also orthodox. The prophet himself appears to have attached considerable importance to omens, and, as might be expected, had prophetic dreams. The alphabet of the jinn is written in reverse, to confound the questioner, after reciting a text bearing on the subject of the Divine omniscience, places his finger at random on a letter; he then makes a sentence by adding every fifth letter till he comes back to the first; the sentence thus formed tells him whether to proceed or desist; it is so constructed that the proportion of negative replies to positive is four to one. Some which the writer has seen consist of Qur'anic texts written in a mysterious alphabet; therefore only an expert can use them; the more cautious experts are ready to give general answers out of them, but decline to give replies in which any sort of exactitude is required. The use of sortes Koranici, or divining by the first text that meets the eye on opening the sacred volume, is said to go back to very early times; many copies of the Qur'an contain directions for this method of using the book. One method mentioned by Lane consists in counting the number of times the letters which commence the Arabic words for 'good' and 'bad' occur on the page, and in deciding for or against a course by the majority. Another substitutes the rosary for the Qur'an, and employs the three formulae, 'God's glory,' 'Praise to God,' and 'God is good.' In the latter, so good is God, that indiscriminate good is good enough; 'indifferent,' 'bad'; two beads are then selected at random, and the formulae recited in the above order, the beads being counted between the two selected; whichever formula goes to the last bead is considered as answering the question.

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...tions' ([1.164]; a physician employs incantations to aid in childbirth ([1.277]); the use of a magic tamarisk arrow enables Rustan to slay Isfandiar ([1.285])); a grain of truth in the statement of Diogenes Laertius ([Proc. 6]), that the Magi 'did not know black magic' ([περὶ τῆς γραμματείας μαγείας οὐ κακοῦ], though they 'practised the magical art and prophecy' ([τοῦ μαγείας καὶ ἀρχετορείας τοῦ οἰκογενειακοῦ]).

Divination relies in great part upon omens (q.v.), which may depend upon the day when they are seen. Thus, on the 'Fox-day' festival in the month of Atarór a white ram was believed to be soothsaying; if it died of a natural cause, there was a year of prosperity.\footnote*{\textit{Bombay, Chicago, Oriental. Soc.}}

Although astrology is not mentioned in the Avesta, there is no reason to doubt that it existed in Iran from a very early date. The first mention in any Pahlavi text thus far accessible, however, seems to be in the romance Kārmadīn (dating from the middle of the 6th cent.), which relates that Ardavan (Artabanos V. [A.D. 215-224]) summoned before him the sages and astrologers and asked them:

'What do you observe regarding the seven planets and the twelve signs of the zodiac, the position and the motion of the stars, the condition of the contemporary sovereigns of different kingdoms, the condition of the people in the different countries in which you dwell, and regarding myself, children, and our family?' The answer from the two chief astrologers was: 'The Moon, the Sun, and the Sun's moon do not know anything below; the star Jupiter has returned to its culminating point and stands away from Mars and Venus, while Hapiōrrap (the Great Bear) has approached the earth, and should a white eagle appear over and give help to Jupiter; whereupon it seems clear that a new lord or king will appear, (who will) give my posterity victory, and bring the world again under the sway of one sovereign. . . . It is so manifest that any one of the seven rulers who flies away from his or her kingdom, and leaves his or her kingdom, (from to-day) will attain to greatness and kingship, obtain his wish, and be victorious over his king' (ed. and tr. Israfil Peshekan Sanjana, Bombay, 1899, p. 101 f.).

The richest source for examples of Iranian astrology is unquestionably the \textit{Sah-nāmah}, the enumeration of the principal instances in which is as follows:

Faridun casts the horoscope of his son Sāh (l. 104); the astrologers and ministers of this old king are noted (Persian) as having foretold (l. 184) that the astrologers declare to king Minōdhīr that his death is approaching (l. 299); they find that the children alleged to have been found in the ruins of a temple in the city of the king nor brought forth by his (l. 182); they foretell misfortune to a city built by Šīrāzn (l. 230). They cast a horoscope for the first day for the division of the army at Kāshin (Kainamak-i Turān (i. 9)); they prophesy the 'fortunes of battle to Tis (l. 54); they are among those sought to inquire into the king's dream (l. 196); they prophesy the 'ruins of a tower to Irsā (l. 3); the Alkanand Arvāzhad the astrologers to divine the future, and they foretell sorrow (l. 226); the horoscope of Bahram Gūr is cast by the astrologers (l. 296); Yazdāhr, the father of Bahram Gūr, seeks from them the day and manner of his death (l. 416); ill-forebodings are given to Bahram Gūr by the astrologers (l. 55); retreat is prophesied for Bahram Čōpān in his expedition against Savāv (vi. 474); Alī Golāsp seeks the future from an aged female astrologer, her evil predictions concerning her daughter bring her a vitalizing discoursing concerning his (l. 561 f.); it was prophesied to Chōrā Parviz that he would have a hand of a slave, be possessed of a mountain of gold and one of silver, under a heaven of gold and on an earth of iron (l. 266); the same king had brought the astrologers to despair (l. 299 f.); and an astrologer foretells evil for Yazdāhrī, the last of the Iranian kings (l. 295).

Peculiarly striking and interesting are astrologers by Ardīn (the \textit{Bombay, Chicago, Oriental. Soc.}) to the Chinese (l. 276, 465), the Arabs (l. 359), and the Greeks (l. 59); while in other instances are represented, as they have their own astronomical tables, also those of the Hindus (l. 276) and the Greeks (l. 396). At the court of Faridun there was a council of sages, scholars, priests, and astrologers (l. 121). It may also be noted that the \textit{Cahar Magalā of Nīpāmi} of Samarkan (ed. Browne, \textit{J.E.A.S.}, 1699, ed. Mirza Mahammad, London, 1849) has an entire chapter on astrologers and their art, and there are many other notices on the matter, as that the poet Anvari made a noticeably unsuccessful forecast of the weather (Browne, \textit{Lit. Hist. of Persia. London, 1822 ff.}, i. 367). On the other hand, there are no naturalistic elements in the Persian astrologers explained to Xerxes as foreboding the eclipse of the Greek power, whereas the reverse was actually the outcome (\textit{Dionysius of Halicarnassus}, l. 474).

The regular forms of divination among the Iranians were astrology (which may here include horoscopes [see, further, the 'Persian' section in art. STARS]) onemormancy, cylanomancy, and randomancy.

1. Astrology—Reserving for the art. STARS (Persian) a full discussion of that astronomical and astronomical knowledge to which the Persians were indebted, as no small part of their fame in the classical world, we may note here that the Pahlavi \textit{Dinkart} (9th cent.)—a work which, though late, may be regarded as authoritative in its field—has an interesting summary of the Iranian views regarding astrology (ed. and tr. Peshonit Belaram-je Sanjana, Bombay, 1874 ff., p. 500 f. [vol. ix.]):

'The star-readers understand the worth of the allotment (of destiny by the stars). How long are the chief astrologers (stars) to remain that way? How long are they to have the force? The laws relating to these and other (astrological) details the astrologers learn from writings on the earth (i.e. from astrology). Astrologers can foretell the good events of a man's life (from his horoscope).

Although astrology is not mentioned in the Avesta, there is no reason to doubt that it existed...
DIVINATION (Roman)

According to the late Zarvitát-nāmah (ed. and tr. Rosenberg, St. Petersburg, 1904, p. 25 f.), Zoroastrians had a prophetic dream, for the literal or psychological understanding of which the services of an 'interpreter of dreams' were necessary. But it is in the Sāh-nāmah that we find the richest material for a knowledge of the system of interpretation of dreams made use of in Persia.

The evil Dhājak (the Ab Dhāhak of the Avesta) sees in a dream his approaching downfall at the hands of Variás (l. c. 175 f.). Two visions which make him think of a restorer to favour his son Zad, whom he had exposed in infancy (l. c. 175 f.). The interpretation of the dream of Kāi Qubad is interpreted by the hero Rustam (l. c. 303 f.). The Turanian king Afrasîb has a dream of evil portent (l. c. 206 f.). Sāvāzāx is warned of the approach of his impending death (l. c. 311 f.), but he himself appears in a vision to Firan, the general of Afrasîb, to announce the birth of Kīr Choiš (l. c. 333). The archangel Schön tells Giindaz in a dream of the future great deeds of Kīr Choiš (l. c. 389 f.). Zarîah is told in a dream of the death of her son, Farâd (l. c. 666 f.). Sāvāzāx appears in a dream to Tías and foretells the successful outcome of the impending battle (l. c. 669). A vision of ill omen is seen byئ (l. c. 254 f.). The archangel Sîroî as follows in a dream warns Kīr Choiš of his approaching death (l. c. 182 f.). Nîrušun the Just has a vision which is interpreted by the famous sage Bazurunjar (l. c. 180 f.). Bahram Cypâd, on the eve of battle with Sâvâk, had a dream foretelling defeat; but this was a false vision, sent by a Türk, and it was Sâvâk who was defeated. Choros also records similar prophetic dreams by a Greek princess (l. c. 291 f.), and a Hindu king (l. c. 556 f.).

2. Cycloamancy.—Divination by cups is mentioned among the Persians both by Atheneus, on the authority of Hermippus (Deipnorhmos, 478 A: τὰ δὲ κύβῳ οὖν Παναγίαν τὸν ἅγιον ὢν δ' ἐξει, ὡς φονον Περσίων, ὥς οὖν θέει τὰ διάμνικα κατ' ἑκάστρον ἱεροσελήνην λαμπρὰ κατὰ σέλενα σταυροῦ), and by the Sāh-nāmah (l. c. 274 f., 281 f.). The latter work refers specifically to the magic cup possessed by Kīr Choiš, whose prophecies are described (l. c. 775 f.; ed. Vullers-Landauer, Leyden, 1877 f., p. 1100, lines 2-6):

'He took that cup in his hand and looked. In it he perceived the seven kürâz (regions of the world): of the activity and character of high heaven he made evident the what, the when, and the how much. Within the cup he perceived the reflection all at once from Places to Aries; what Saturn, what Mars, what Jupiter and Leo, the moon, and how the number, and how Venus and Mercury—the magician ruler of the world seen always in all that was to be.' By this method of divination, which is precisely that of crystal-gazing (g.v.), the king was enabled to discover the exact plight of the hero Bīzam and to take steps for his rescue from captivity. The magic cup was later said also to have been possessed by the eastern, legendary monarch Jamîd (the Yima of the Avesta, concerning whom see above, i. s.), among the Persians; and 'Umar Khaysîm could even allegorize the legend, when he wrote (Quaran, 355, ed. and tr. Whindell, London, 1838):

'To find great Jamshid's world-reflecting bowl
I throw in sea and land, and view the whole;
But, when I asked the wise sage, I learned
What my own body and my own soul.'

4. Rhodomancy.—The use of rods for divining is recorded by Dînân (Iraq 8 [FHG ii. 911] among the Medes, and by Herodotus (iv. 67) among the Iranian Scythians, whose 'ancestral mantle' (xârâx xōrzâx) was by means of willow rods, employed in the following ways:

'When they have brought great bundles of rods, they lay them on the ground and unite them; and, putting the rods one by one, they divide; and while saying this they collect the rods and again lay them together one by one. . . . They also practise divination by means of the dividers. When they have split the linden in three parts, he unseveres and separates it (λεκτικός . . . καὶ διαφαίνεται) in his fingers.'

As a trace of divinatory methods in Persia, according to Herodotus (iii. 84-87), after Darius and six other Persian nobles had slain the pseudo-Smerdis, they agreed that he should be king whose horse should first neigh after sunrise, when they had stuffed their steeds. Whether true, if we may believe Herodotus, that the choice of Darius in this manner was won by trickery, but the fact remains that the selection of a king by an animal is frequently mentioned in the East. A note was made by the compiler of the Persian record of Indian folk-tales whereby he who is chosen by an elephant (sometimes accompanied by a hawk) is made king (Knovales, Folk-Tales of Kashmiri, London, 1893, pp. 17, 139, 161 f., 399; Steel and Temple, Wide-awake Stories, Bombay, 1884, p. 140 f.; Day, Folk-Tales of Bengal, London, 1885, p. 100).

And, according to Agathias (ii. 25), the Persians sought to know the future by gazing into the sacred fire—a practice which they thought might be derived from the Chaldaeans of On.

In conclusion, mention may be made of an interesting form of minor divination practised by the sage Bazurunjar, as recorded in the Sāh-nāmah (vi. 371 f.; see also, T'.H'taibí, Hist. des rois des Perse, ed. and tr. Zotenberg, 1908, p. 536). He had been imprisoned by Nāsīrān the Just, to whom the Emperor of Byzantium sent a sealed casket, the contents of which were to be divined without opening it. All the nobles failed, and Bazurunjar, when set at liberty, requested to use his skill. As he passed along a road, the sage met three women—one having a husband and child, the second married but childless, and the third unmarried; and he accordingly was able to inform the king that the casket contained three pearls under more than three wrappers—one of the pearls being pierced, the second half-pierced, and the third unpierced.

LITERATURE.—The passages in the classics regarding Persian divination are indicated by Rapp. Zend xx. (1886) 181. The Iranian material appears to remain unrecorded and unconsidered.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

DIVINATION (Roman).—Among the inhabitants of ancient Italy we find abundant evidence of the desire to hold intercourse with the gods as a means of securing intimations of their will and dispositions regarding the future. In Italy, however, this desire assumes forms considerably different from those met with in Greece. Thus, the Italians were strangers to the idea that the Deity takes possession of the mental and spiritual faculties of a human being, making him ἀφολος, and using him as the medium for the transmission of his desiderations and intentions; and even if—as has recently been conjectured (W. F. Otto, ARW ii. [1909] 546 f.)—they had in the word superstitio a term signifying the state of trance, and thus corresponding to the Gr. θεραπεία, yet the former would apparently have carried from the outset a suggestion of something odd and sinister. In Italy there was no practice of inquiring into futurity by the trance or by immediate Divine enlightenment, and accordingly no trace of that specialism in divination which has its origin in the Greek ἄφολον καὶ ἅλλοτρον μαντείαν σέβοντας, in contradistinction to the skilled interpretations of casual appearances in the external world (Plut. de Vita et Poeni Horatii, ii. 212; cf. Cie. de Div. ii. 26 f.). Among the Italian was peopables, therefore, we find neither with predictions emanating from Divinely inspired prophets and prophetesses (the word rates being probably borrowed from the Celt), nor with dream oracles in which the gods vouchsafe their revelations through sleeping in temples. When Vergil (En. vii. 81 f., italized by Ovid, Fasti, iv. 649 f.) tells us that King Latinus performed the rite of incubation, and received a dream-oracle, in a sanctuary of the god Faunus, he shall hardly err in regarding the narrative as a product of the poet's fancy (cf. R. Heine, Vergils epische Technik, Leipzig, 1908, p. 174, note 2), for which the descriptions of famous Greek incubation temples, such as that of Trophonios in Lebaon, may have supplied the model. It is true that, when the Greek cult of the Epidaurian Asklepios migrated to Rome, it carried with it its associated practice of ἔγκυομαι (cf. M. Dessier, L'Été Thébain de Panticapée, Paris, 1902, p. 228 f.); yet it did not force its way into the ancient Roman or Italian cults; for, on the contrary, the language of
Plautus, *Curt. v. 266, 'lamque incertum satius to fucrat lov,' in no sense implies that incubation was practised in the Capitoline temple, as the poet is merely in jest contrasting Jupiter as the god of oaths with Asklepios; while his testimony of Schol. Pers. ii. 26, 'cum Romani pestilentia laborarent, Castor et Pollux in somnium populum monemunt quibus reddens urgeterunt,' is not sufficient to justify the hypothesis that incubation was practised in the Temple of the Dioscuri in the forum (L. Deubner, *de Incubatione*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 79; *Neue Jahrh. f. klass. Altert. ix.* (1902) 384 ff.). The inscriptions, no doubt, furnish a large number of dedications which were made 'in certa diebus, perversione, ex omnibus, aedificavit,' or v. 2472 (Ateste) : 'C. Titius C. I. Pelops a love ex visus iussus posuit,' refer, not to incubation at all, but to ordinary dreams, which merely attracted the attention of the public. L. Codius Antipater, the historian, who revelled in stories of dreams that came true (Cic. *de Div. i. 49, 55;*), and who was probably the object of Sisenna's solemn *somnus erudi non opere* (ib. i. 99), no doubt borrowed this article for enlivening historical narrative from his Greek models, but he could not have resorted to the expedient unless the Italians had shared the general belief in the significance of dreams. Our contention is, however, that neither the dream nor the oracle was an element in the religious practice of the Italic peoples.

Nor do we find the *gnomic oracle* on Italian soil. The reference of Ennius (Ann., frag. 214, Vahlen, Leipzig, 1903) to the *Curt. v. 280* should be vatesque canebant (cf. Varro, *de Ling. Lat., iii. 36*), and the ascription of *prologus crepult* to the goddess Carmenta (Plut. *Rom. 50*), are simply hypotheses designed to favour the etymology of the title. This may be seen from the curious way in which Livy (xxv. 12) renders them, they were simply Greek Sibylline sentences in a Latin redaction, and their supposed author, Cn. Marcus vates (Fest. p. 156), has as little right to be regarded as an ancient Italian soothsayer as the Publician vates mentioned only by Cicero (*de Div. i. 114, 113*).

In point of fact, the oracle as met with in Italy never signifies an utterance emanating from an individual possessed and inspired by a divinity; it involves no more than the listening for and interpretation of the mysterious voices and noises to be heard in the world of Nature. It is to such manifestations likewise that the fragment of the *Mysteries of Cotecia* with A. de Vos (Buerne, 1705) refers: 'prisca horrida silent oracula crepulsa in memoribus.' The belief in the prophetic powers of certain water-nymphs, such as Carmenta and the Camena, may be supposed to indicate a practice of drawing oracular revelations from the murmur of springs. In the soothsaying of the Galatians, heard the voice of the god Faunus, or his later representative Silvanus—the voice, *e.g.*, which on the stricken field at length announced the sternly contested and long doubtful victory (Dion. Hal. *Ant. v. 16. 21;* Livy, ii. 7. 2; cf. *Cic. de Div. i. 101, de Nat. Deor. ii. 6, iii. 15); while at Tiona Matine, a place in the old Sabine country, the woodpecker, the sacred bird of Mars, perched upon a wooden pillar, foretold a propitious change (Dion. Hal. *Ant. i. 14. 5;* the *pictus Feronius* mentioned in Fest. p. 197, has no doubt, a similar reference). There are numerous stories of natural-spiritual voices which, echoing forth from sacred woods and temples, were interpreted as portentous warnings or behests of the Divine powers (e.g. Livy, i. 31. 3, vi. 33. 5; *Cic. de Div. i. 101*; and the unknown divinity who in a communication of this kind had foretold the irruption of the Gauls was honoured as—Aius Locutius, or *ex omnibus, aedificavit,* etc., to various deities, or in which the dedicatory speaks of himself as *sonno monitum* (instances in Marquardt, *Rom. Staatsverwaltung*, Leipzig, 1885, iii. 106, note 7; A. De Marchi, *Il culto privato di Roma*. 1905) are exceptions in the mass.

The distinctive Italic method of divination was the future was carried out by means of *sortes*, small rods or plates bearing inscriptions and strung together (*acerre, whence sors*); one of these was selected at random, and its interpretation was explained in such a way as to provide an answer to the question put by the inquirer. The fact that in process of time the word *sors* came to mean 'general fate' in general, whichever elsewhere (cf. *sortilegi*), is a designation of Fortuna, the goddess of destiny and luck (thus, according to the inscription CIL x. 6308 [Terracina], a *Sortis signum memphiticum* is dedicated to Isis), clearly shows the importance of the device of *sortilegio* in Italic divination. Cicero (*de Div. i. 34*) draws a parallel between the oracle of *aequas sortibus ducentur* and those *quaes instincta divino adfla- tuque funduntur.* The procedure followed in drawing the lots is described most precisely in the accounts of the celebrated oracle at Praeneste which maintained its reputation till the later years of the Imperial period. According to Cicero's description (*de Div. ii. 85 f.*), the *sortes*—mysteriously discovered in some remote age—were inscribed upon tablets of oak, and in this form were preserved in a chest (area) made from the wood of a sacred olive tree; it was from this chest that Jupiter, who shared this particular sanctuary with Fortuna, selected a sortes. *Incubatione,* with Fortuna, a *incubatio,* is a *Arca* (*vas communis*); with Fortuna, *sortilegi* (CIL xiv. 2937, 2972; cf. 2862 = Buecheler, *Carn. epigr.*, Berlin, 1897, no. 249, 17); at the bidding of the goddess, a boy mixed the lots and then drew one out; the technical terms for this were *trahere, trahuntur,* and *incubatio,* etc. (CIL xiv. 6618); the *sortilegi* contains the words *sacris puerae sortes tertii sustulit*; cf. CIL v. 5801: 'sacro suscepto, sort(i)bus sublatis'; Juven. vi. 583: 'sortes ducet'.

Dennarii of M. Pictorius Cestianus from Cicero's time show on the reverse a figure of the boy, with a tablet below him bearing the word *SORIS* (E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la répub. rom.*, Paris, 1885, iii. 315, no. 10; also H. Dresel, *SILAV*, 1897, p. 371). To bring the gnomes thus drawn into connection with the lot and draw for an answer, there was the *sortilegio* of Fortuna at Praeneste (CIL xiv. 2869: *sortilegius Fortunae Primigeniae*), but also in connexion with other localities (CIL iv. Suppl. 5182, vii. 2274, viii. 6811). When a favourable prediction was fulfilled, it was customary for the inquirer to send some token of gratitude by a votive offering to the goddess, as is shown by the inscription CIL xiv. 2862: *Fortunae lovis puero Primigeniae d. d. ex sorte comos factus Nothus Ruticannae L. i. Flottillae.* The oracle was open for
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consultation only on certain days—in particular on one of the two annual feast-days of the goddess (according to CIL I. 1. p. 339: [hoc biduo sacrificiis maximi, magni] Fortunae Prim[ii]gen[iae]; otro est nomen Divinarum] talium [sunt vulgat],') the Prenestine festivals fell on the 11th and 12th of April); but exceptions were no doubt permitted in the case of distinguished inquirers, as, e.g., the Emperor Domitian, who, on New Year's Day, 79 A.D., after two years in succession, obtained a session of happy omen, but received a forecast of disaster in the year of his overthrow (Suet. Domit. 15). The Emperor Tiberius, having become sceptical of the Prenestine oracle, resolved to destroy the station, and had the sacred seat and consulted by the will of the name. The only reference to sortes connected with the city of Rome is supplied by the inscription of a 'sortes legibus Venere Ercina ('CIL vi. 2274')—an item of evidence emanating from a legal code of the official representative of Rome. The lines of demarcation between native and foreign divination had been obliterated in private life, and when all kinds of Greek and Oriental soothsaying had found adherents in Rome, Tiberius, on which the tablets were set up, prohibited the consul Q. Latatius Cercio from consulting the Prenestine sortes (Val. Max. Epit. i. 3, 2), and the scornful question of Cicero (de Div. ii. 87): 'quis enim magistratibus sacris hostibusque in unam syllabam vertatur in unam?'—was explained by the fact that the State religion took a narrower view of the character and purpose of divination than which prevailed in Greece, or, indeed, among other Italian peoples. Thus, the definition of Cicero (ib. i. 105, 132, ii. 70) refers to 'Soranos augur' and 'Maranus augur.' From the Roman point of view, the operations of divination were concerned, not with those things 'qua fortuitae putantur', praedictio atque praensio ('ib. i. 9); but exclusively with the determination of the question whether an action just about to be performed had or had not the sanction of the gods. It is true that in Cicero's day there emerged within the Collegium Augurum, the official representatives of the State of divination—the 'interpretes lovis optimi maximi publici augures' ('de Leg. ii. 20)—a conflict of opinion as to the function of the augi, viz. whether they merely expounded a system of doctrine where the question of a lucky or unlucky number of tosses was determined, or whether they could actually furnish a 'praesenso aut scientia veritatis futurarum' ('de Div. i. 105). Cicero, who himself became an augur in 53 B.C., and to whom Agrippa Claudius Pulcher (Consul in 54 B.C.) recommended the use of the sortes ('ib. i. 105), had dedicated his work de Disciplina Augurali (Cic. Ep. ad Fam. iii. 4. 1), took up a mediating position, holding, on the one hand, that the augural science of his day was nothing more than an instrument put into the hands of statesmen for political ends, while maintaining, on the other, that it had originally been a 'divinatio rerum futurarum' ('de Div. ii. 75; 'de Leg. ii. 32 f.). Even on the latter hypothesis, however, the disciplina auguralis had never become a mere oracle, but was a certain practice based on the occurrence and course of future events ('de Div. ii. 70): 'non enim summis ii nos augures, qui avium reliquorum signorum observantia futurae decumans'), but had merely solicited indications of the Divine consent to intended actions, and endeavoured to recognize the warnings proceeding from the gods; and, accordingly, Cicero is quite correct in speaking of the 'rerum bene gerendarum auctoritates' as the subject-matter of the science ('de Har. Resp. 18).

Such is the sortes found in the ForumNovus near Parma, and now in the museum of that city, are of a somewhat different character (CIL xi. 1129); on each of their four sides they bear a gnomic saying, composed, so far as we can judge from the much mutilated text, in hexameter verse of very irregular type (cf. A. Swoboda, in Wiener Studien, xxxiv. [1902] 485 ff.).

While the practice of supplying oracles by means of sortes was adopted by many barbarous peoples as indigenous to Italy, and prevalent everywhere on Italian soil, yet the Roman State religion took up a curiously disparaging attitude towards it. None of the recognised divinities of the ancient Roman régime delivered oracles, and, whilst Paulus speaks of divinae vel sortes ('Cic. De Nt. 1. 16'), quae quid quaeren sedem sorte, dictae quod tenendi habitarem potestatem,' we cannot say whether he was thinking of Roman deities at all, or whether his statement has any better foundation than the sortes of the Temple of 'Tentac'. quae credebantur esse sortem deum, etc. [Quint. 2. 1. 6].
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disapprove and foreboding—spontaneously vouchsafed by the gods (auguria oblativa [Serv. Æn. vi. 190, xii. 259]). Solicited omens—so far, at least, as concerned the magisterial consultation of the gods, yet not the priestly operations of the augurs—were usually taken up from the phenomenon of birds connected with, and thus the word auspicium (auspicium) became the general term for these intimations of the Divine which, approving or disapproving, guided human conduct, as also for the art of identifying and interpreting such intimations. Consultation of the auspicii was in ancient times an indispensable preliminary to all important actions both in public and in private life (Cic. de Div. i. 29 = Val. Max. ii. 1. 1); thus, we are told that the speeches of hawk calling occasion was held to be 'persperrimi auguri nuptialis negotios et pecuniae rei' (Pliny, HN x. 21). Latterly, however, the practice was discarded in private affairs, leaving as its sole vestige the designation 'municipal auspices,' which was applied to certain observances in marriage contracts (Varro, in Serv. Æn. iv. 45, etc.). In public affairs, on the other hand, the science of the auspicii was practically the highest authority, and the public functionary had to make sure of the Divine sanction for every action within his jurisdiction. Accordingly, the prerogative of taking the auspicii coincided with the official warrant for undertaking any public or private undertakings. In the Divine guaranty of success, was co-ordinate with the imperium, or secular authority, and the phrase 'auspicium impernumque' covered the entire range of official power (cf. the expression 'dictu auspicio imperioque divino captum,' in the epiphant of L. Mummius [CIL vi. 331]).

As regards the mode of procedure in taking the auspicii, we have numerous sources of information (e.g. Fest. p. 348; Serv. Æn. vi. 197; Cie. de Div. ii. 64; cf. Fest. p. 197; Serv. Æn. iv. 462). Many species, again, were propitious at one season of the year, and unpropitious at another (Pliny, HN x. 6142; cf. Fest. p. 349). Some birds are mentioned as to the circumstances in which, for any particular case, the omen was to be recognized as favourable or the reverse. With some kinds of birds the auspicio were determined by their flight, with others by their cries, and, accordingly, the augural birds were divided into the two classes of alites and aesores (Fest. p. 197; Serv. Æn. iv. 462). Many species, again, were propitious at one season of the year, and unpropitious at another (Pliny, HN x. 6142; cf. Fest. p. 349). 'Impepiatum inauguratius cornix puna cornix ab laeva, corvis parrà ab dextra consendant'; cf. Cie. de Div. i. 85). The auguries, in fact, were subject to an elaborate system of casuistry, certain details of which are given in the extract in Pliny, HN x. 6142 (cf. D. Detlefesen, in Hermes, xxxvi. [1901] 5 ff.). If during the period of observation one of the recognized favourable omens appeared (the technical phrase for this was 'advenient aves'; cf. Livy, i. 36, 3; 39, 3, xii. 16, 15; Fest. p. 241), the phenomenon was accepted as evidence of the Divine consent; but, if such favourable omen did not present itself, or if the proceedings were interrupted by the fall of some object ('cadua auspicia,' Paul. p. 64), or by a disturbing noise; e.g. the squeak of a marten (Pliny, HN viii. 223), or by a depredatory portent ('Paul. p. 64; 'clivia auspicia dishonest quae aliquid fieri prohibebat'), e.g. the appearance of obscurae aves (Serv. Æn. ii. 241; Ausg. xii. 14. 6), such as owls or owlets, the consultation was regarded as having miscarried, and the action for which Divine sanction was sought could not be undertaken without a repetitio auspiciarum; this, however, could not usually take place until the following day (Livy, iv. 38, 15, 39. 1).

Even when a consultation had resulted favourably, however, it was still possible that the divinity might in some way interfere with the provisionally sanctioned undertaking, which had not been asked for. The range of such auguria oblativa was very extensive. In the system of the augurs five varieties of signo were distinguished, viz. 'ex caelo,' 'ex avisbus,' 'ex tripulibus,' 'ex quadrupedibus,' 'ex piscibus.' Among this classification was by no means exhaustive. An official who was about to discharge some duty of State might find a propitious or deprecatory sign in any occurrence in Nature or in his immediate surroundings, which he was willing to bring into relation with his intended action. Here lay the vast province of omina—events which in many cases were of an altogether indefinite character, but in which the person concerned might read a significance favourable or adverse, as the latter merely confirmed the result of the antecedent solicited auspicii, while the former actually reversed the Divine consent already granted, and gave warning that the previously sanctioned course of action was to be abandoned, turned out or persisted in: 'etem dirae (i.e. all events of an abnormal and therefore alarming nature) sicut cetera auspicia, ut omen, ut signa, non causas aderunt car quid eventum, sed mutantes eventum, nisi proverbia' (Ib. ii. 35). Among such prohibitory omens, the phenomena of thunderstorms were regarded as of special importance. The lightning flash was a solicited portent of great significance, not indeed for the divination of the future, but for certain priestly ceremonies. The order of the augurs (auguria), in which the latter sought to make sure of the Divine consent to specific actions by auguria coelestia (Paul. p. 64): with their litus they divided that portion of the heavens lying within their field of vision into four regions ('antica,' 'postica,' 'dextra,' 'sinistra'), and then decided, by a special lupon dictio (Serv. Æn. iii. 59), the regions in which the celestial signs were to be regarded as having decided. The example of this procedure is the inauguration of priests which Livy (i. 18) describes in full detail, but Cicero (de Leg. ii. 20) refers to other auguria of a similar kind, regarding which strict secrecy was maintained (Kemnitz's case, i.e. that the actual character of many of them, such as the vernixia auguria (Paul. p. 379) and the augurium odarium (Pliny, HN xviii. 14; Fest. p. 285; Philarg. on Verg. Georg. iv. 425), is very obscure, while the frequently
mentioned augurium salutis (Cic. de Div. i. 105; Dio Cass. xxxvii, 24 f., li. 20, 4; Suet. Aug. 31; Tac. Ann. xii. 23) is expressly spoken of as auspiciæ terribilium (Dio Cass. xxxvii, 24. 1), in which the divination was asked whether it was permissible to pray for the salus publica. The latter ceremony is referred to in a cippus recently discovered in Rome, and bearing the inscription (Notiz. d. Sav. 1910, p. 153) : 'Auguria: mutua sem quae salus populi Romani conditior, quae actum est (here follow the names of the consuls in A.D. 3 and 7), qua acta sunt (consuls of the years 1, 2, 8, 12, and 17 A.D.).

In all these augural rites the lightning-flash, and especially its connexion with the lightning-god, was a highly favourable imperativum auspicium (Cic. de Div. ii. 74); such an augural ceremony is probably indicated also by the African inscription CIL viii. 774, bearing the representation of a lightning-flash, together with the words : 'Deo locii invocatus dignitatis tale, munisicipes Africae sese[dem]—a dedication which dates, at all events, from the time when the lightning was regarded as a solicited sign even in magisterial divination. As a spontaneously given sign, on the other hand, lightning was assumed to be wholly unfavourable. Thus, a marriage by the solemn rite of conferratione could not be proceeded with if a peal of thunder was heard (Serv. En. iv. 339), and the supreme deities and the bodies of the Roman people were subject to the principle, 'love tonante fulgurante comitia populi habere nefas' (Cic. de Div. ii. 43; cf. in Vatin. 29; Philipp. v. 7), so that thunder or lightning led to the adjournment of the comitia as inevitably as did an epigaster emerse (vomitorius comitidialis) (Fest. p. 234).

It is true that in these, as in all other cases of the unsolicited sign, it rested with the presiding official to decide whether he would apply it to the matter in hand and take necessary measures, for example in case of Cato the Elder, viz. 'quod ego non sensi, nullum nihil vitium fact' (Fest. p. 234)—a principle according to which the magistrates tried their best to avoid the possibility of even noticing unwelcome signs (Cic. de Div. ii. 77).

But, as such disregard of Divine warnings might result in serious mischief to the State, the legislature put an obstacle in the way of anything like extreme neglect of unfavourable omens. By prescribing that the magistrates must, without further investigation, take full account of all such auguria oblativa as were announced to them either by another magistrate ('obunctatio'), or by the augur who was officially in attendance ('obunctatio'). This injunction was put into practice by a decree of the comitia, and in the political conflicts of the day it became an effective instrument of obstruction, as a meeting which took a course unsatisfactory to any party could avoid the possibility of even noticing unwelcome signs (Cic. de Div. ii. 77).

This political perversion of a statute which was in its origin the expression of a religious sentiment is but a symptom of that general deterioration of the auspices which showed itself more and more during the later years of the Republic. The stringency of the ancient regulations was relaxed first of all in the army, and especially during war, as the conditions were then frequently most unfavourable for the ceremonious and protracted observation of the flight of birds. For a time, as would appear, the place of the traditional ceremony was taken up by a special event, which involved some sort of observation of spear-points ('ex acuminibus' [Cic. de Nat. Doct. ii. 9; Arnob. ii. 67]), but, when—during the Second Punic War—this device had at length been abandoned (Cic. de Div. ii. 77), every other expedient for divining the will of the gods was superseded by the observation of signa ex tripudia, i.e. the manner in which owls pecked the grain by which the augur would—on the point being, not simply that they ate, that they fed so greedily that part of what they picked up fell to the ground again (tripudium = terriposum, poviere enim ferre est [Paul. p. 244; Cic. de Div. ii. 72]). Such accidental dropping of food was formerly considered a favourable signum oblattivum, and might as such be mediated not only by birds of any kind, but also by quadrupeds (Cic. de Div. ii. 73; Pliny, H.N. viii. 83). These pullaria auguria (Serv. En. xii. 43) was a mere survival, for actually degenerated into a mere form, especially as the act of feeding could be so managed as greatly to influence the result of the signum (Cic. ii. 73); and a similar fate befell municipal divination, in which the observation of birds was at length abandoned in favour of observation of the sky (de ceelo servare); this, however, was performed, not by the official himself, but by his servant the pullarius ('tam de ceelo servare non ipsos censes solos, qui auspiciabantur, nec imperator, tabellarius, V. 25; Cic. de Div. ii. 73).

On account of the comparatively rare performance of the augural ceremonies, it had been possible to solicit a lightning-flash as an indication of Divine consent, but with the manifold other divinatory authorities that was still a rare act. The pullarius could be met only by way of a gross fiction, so that Cicero is perfectly justified in saying (ii. 71): 'haec certe, quibus utimur, sit tripudio sive de caelo, simulacra sunt auspiciorum, auspicia nullo modo.'

The performance of divination during war came to be still further circumscribed by the circumstance that in the imperium militium the duty was assigned—from Sulla's time regularly, and often earlier—now to the praetors, and later to the censors, i.e. consuls and pratores, but to the holders of prorogated authority, the preconsuls and propratores, who had no auspicia of their own (Cic. de Div. ii. 77); 'ubi ergo avium divinatio quae... servare... magisteri ad urbem, urbana res retenta videtur, a bellicis esse sublata.' But, as it still remained necessary to make sure of the Divine sanction before entering upon any decisive line of action, the divination itself might be sought in the field by exipsumium, i.e. the inspection of entrails ('omulto nostros, qui nihil in bello sine extis agunt, nihil sine auspiciis domi' [Cic. i. 95; cf. 28]), which, however, had been previously employed as a means of determining the time to be observed according to Livy, xxvii. 16. 15, before Fabius Maximus moved his camp from Tarentum to Meta- pontum, he first of all inquired by means of birds, and then, not having received the required indication of Divine consent, he caused the barbarians to inspect the entrails of a victim. But it should be clearly understood that the inspection of entrails as a means of ascertaining the future was a foreign, not a Roman, method of divination. It is true that the indigenous religious practice sanctioned the inspection of the extre of a sacrificial animal—not, however, for purposes of divination, but only as a part of the requisite test applied to the victim in order to determine whether it was acceptable to the deity and suitable for a sacrifice. In such instances the entrails of the victim were examined in connexion with the body as a whole ('adherentia extra inspicer' [Paul. p. 100]), and boiled in a pot (Varro, de Ling. Lat. 98), if any abnormal animal was regarded as unsuitable, and the sacrifice could not be validly performed—it did not become a litatio ('non pertilitat eum'). An abortive sacrifice of this sort might, of course, bear the character of a signum.
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oblitrium, and thus be recognized as a Divine warning (as was the case, e.g., in the incident related by Livy, xii. 15), and it was therefore possible to speak of auspicia in connexion with certisipicis (e.g. Paul. p. 244: "pesicera auspicia esse dixit"). Or, were

vestigia, with its scrutiny and interpretation of entrails, was never resorted to for the purpose of acquiring information as to the course of coming events.

This function, however, was the distinctive feature of the Etruscan haruspex, which had found its way into Rome at the time of the Second Punic War, and in the hands of which certain acts of prophecy were called consultatio divina [Serv. . En. iv. 56; Macro. Sat. iii. 5, 11], to deduce information regarding the issue of the proposed action—information which was not confined merely to a prophecy of success or failure; but which was deep enough to detail, as e.g., an ambush of the enemy (Livy, xxvii. 15. 16), or a case of imminent death (Ammian, Marc. xxii. 1. 1). The interpretation was arrived at upon the basis of a highly complex system of doctrine, involving a most precise observation of the nature, and especially the abnormalities, of the victim's inner organs—more particularly the liver. The celebrated bronze liver of Phaeae is a direct survival from the practice of the haruspices, and, by means of its precise division of the organ, with its various convexities and indentations, and the inscribed names of the gods associated with the several parts, gives us some idea of the procedure of the priests. Moreover, the fact that models of the livers of animals, formed of terra cotta and covered with inscriptions, have been found also in Babylon,² points to a relationship between Etruscan and Chaldean haruspicy which awaits a more thorough investigation.

There was no divination of the future, which, as we have seen, went far beyond the limits of the Roman practice, makes its influence felt likewise in the official treatment of prodigies, i.e., unnatural and alarming occurrences, such as showers of stones, earthquakes, earthquakes, miracles, births, etc. PRODIGIES AND Portents [Rom.], regarded as signs of Divine resentment. To the Roman mind such phenomena were an evidence that the normal relations between the community and the higher powers were disturbed, as also an occasion to take the necessary steps towards retrieving the paz et venia dei, and those who in such emergencies wished to ascertain the measures requisite to an effective reconciliation had recourse either to the pontifices, as the custodians of the ancient Roman ritual, or to the representatives of foreign cults, such as the decumviri (later, the ve. viri) sacris faciundis, who were proficient in the Graeco ritus, and the Etruscan haruspices [Cic. De div. i.

97, 98). The haruspices, however, did not confine themselves to a simple specification of the means of reconciliation; on the contrary, they also undertook to deduce from the character and course of the prodigy an answer to the question "quid porteat prodigium?" i.e., to predict the future tendencies of such events as civil war and conspiracy (Cic. de Har. Resp. 18), foreboded by the prodigy. Cicero's oration de Haruspiciis Response gives us a clear conception of the matter and form of such a professional finding. The sacred books of the Etrusca disciplina supplied full directions for the interpretation of ostenta, and in particular they contained a doctrine regarding the interpretation of lightning which was, in an absolutely and far from arbitrary fashion, found in the closing centuries of the Republic the haruspex became permanently attached to the staff of the commander-in-chief. The Etruscan haruspicatio (CIL vi. 32285, i. 78) was performed prior to all important undertakings, such as the departure of the army for war, or the beginning of a battle; and its object was, from an inspection of the entrails of a victim slaughtered expressly for the purpose (animals from which ³ such acts of prophecy were called consultatio divina; haruspices, however, was of a very different character (for their system, cf. e.g. Pliny, HN ii. 138 f.; Seneca, Nat. Quest. ii. 39 f.). They first of all ascertained the region of the heavens whence the lightning-flash proceeded, and attempted to define the nature of the stroke, from which it came; further, they defined the several kinds (nomenium) of lightning-flash sent forth by particular gods, and determined the place, the time, the effect, etc.; then from all these data they elicited the requisite sacrifice, which was required, but also the import of the phenomenon. Nor did they rest satisfied with a simple announcement that the lightning signified the deity's consent to, or warning against, a given design ('consiliaria fulmina') (Seneca, Nat. Quest. ii. 20. 1), but they also gave quite definite predictions of future events, such as an extension of the frontier and a defeat of the enemy (Livy, xiii. 20. 1), or the approaching death and dedication of the Emperor (Suet. Aug. 97).

It is a fact worthy of note that this mode of divination was always regarded by the Romans as outlandish and unreliable, and this explains why the haruspices were never admitted into the official priestly body, and why they never found a place in the Roman disciplina auguralis; so that, when the Senate wished to have the opinion of the haruspices in any particular case, it summoned them from Etruria expressly for the purpose (the regular practice for this was 'haruspices acciusendi ex Etruria' [Cic. de Har. Resp. 25]). This proceeding, however, must be regarded in the same light as the action of the Roman State in sending ambassadors to lay certain questions before the Greek oracles, such as that at Delphi; the first deputation of this kind was sent just after the battle of Canne (Livy, xxii. 57. 5, xxiii. 11. 1). Livy's statements as to still earlier consultations of the Delphic oracle (i. 56. 9, v. 15 f.) are rightly regarded by H. Diels (Syllogeis Blätter, Berlin, 1891, p. 49, n. 3) as without foundation in fact. The truth is that, in times of severe national trial, the Roman people habitually resorted to the vaticination of foreign cults, but they did not thereby admit such practices into their own religion. The case was different with the so-called Sibyline Oracles (libri fatoles), which were authoritatively introduced into Rome as early as the period of the Tarquins, and had their official custodians and interpreters (see Sibyl., Sibyllins, and the phrase 'decemviri qui divindum scribant sacris faciundis'). The Sibyllines, however, were not oracles in the proper sense, but kalypsoi; i.e., the sentences specified the

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particular measures—sacrifices, lectisternia, supplications, admission of new cults—by which impending dangers could be turned aside and the anger of the gods appeased; but actual predictions of future events lay outside their province, and were first deduced from them at a relatively late period, at the latest in the later 1st century B.C. (Liv. xlix. 45. 3).

We may thus venture to affirm that the aversion to an over-curious prying into the unborn future, as also to the practice of consulting the Deity with references to coming events, was a characteristic feature of ancient Roman life, and that the Romans manifested this reluctance in considerably greater measure than the other peoples of Italy.

For, as we have seen, they asked no more from their augurs than an assurance of Divine concurrence with their actions, and were unwilling to do anything in opposition to the Divine counsel, being for the rest content to abide the issue, and seeking no further revelation of the future. But when we bear in mind that in times of calamity even the supreme authorities succumbed to the temptation of resorting to the practitioners of foreign divination for the occult knowledge which their own religion failed to supply, the Roman private life of a manner of mantic devices of exotic origin acquired in process of time a great and growing influence.

Cato the Elder already found it necessary to insert among his directions for the conduct of an estate (gen. i. 3. 13) the statement that the augurs of Haricola Chaldaeum ne quem consulsissi velit (de Agri Cult. 5. 4); while Cicero gives quite a list of fortunate-tellers who, finding their clientele among the middle and lower classes, made a profitable trade of forecasting the future; hence the testator, non me sollicitos neque eos qui quaeast causae haricori, ne psychantomiam quidem... aegorese; non habeo denique nunci Maruorum augurum, non viciuos haruspicos, non de circos astrologos, non Isiacos conterctores, non interpretes somniorum (de Div. i. 132). These references are elucidated by evidence from the Imperial period, which shows that the people were in the habit of consulting foreign augurs regarding such things as sickness (Plin. Ep. ii. 20. 5), the outcome of every kind of venture (Juven. vi. 588 ff.), the whereabouts of runaway slaves, or the advisability of purchasing an estate (August. de Civ. Dei. x. 11). A further illustration is afforded by a collection of oracular sayings of very general application—and, as it would seem, from a Greek original—extracted from the Merobaudes palimpsest of St. Gall, and published by H. Wissowa (Sortes Sanguilentes, Bonn. 1887); from these sayings the inquirer probably selected his particular oracle by means of dice.

The most influential of these exponents of exotic divination were the Chaldei, or, as they were subsequently styled, mathematici (ib. xii. i. 8. 6), i.e. the professors of Babylonian astrology, who presaged the destiny of individuals by means of the horoscope (hence they were also called genethliaci [ib. xiv. i. 1]), and gave information regarding the influence of the movements of the heavenly bodies. These astrologers were banished from Rome and Italy for the first time in 139 B.C., in consequence of an edict of the Pretor peregrinus, Cn. Cornelius Halspasius (Val. Max. Epit. 1. 3. 3). In the Imperial period, by a long series of regulations passed by the Senate—by the edicts of the Senate, by the acts of the various Emperors—they were made liable not to expulsion only, but to the severest penalties (Tac. Ann. ii. 32. xlii. 52. Hist. ii. 62; Dio Cass. xvi. 9. 22. 4. Ulpian, Mem. de Rom. leg. coll. [1768] v. 15. 2). These measures, however, brought about no considerable diminution of their activity (Juven. vi. 553 ff.), as their clientele included people of the highest rank, and even the Emperors themselves made use of their art. Hence Tacitus (Hist. i. 22) could with perfect justice speak of the mathematici as "genius hominum potentijs inuidium, sperrantius fallax, quod in civitate nostrae et vetabitur semper et rotinentia inuestigatum..." (ib.). In later instances of the seeking and giving of information bearing upon the life of the Emperor and the succession to the throne—and, in the case of slaves, consultations regarding the duration of their master's life—that ranked as capital crimes (Paul. Ventic. 3-4; Mommsen, Rom. Storreffch, Leipzig, 1889, p. 861 ff.); and, indeed, Alexander Severus actually instituted public chairs of astrology in Rome, and endowed them from the national exchequer (Hist. Aug. Ael. vii. 35; cf. vii. 44). Then again, with soothsaying in vogue in his own day (6th cent. A.D.): "nullus ex vobis caragos vel divinos vel sortilegiis requir... nullus sibi praecantatores adhibeat... similiter et auguria observare nocte nee in inthea positii aliquis avicentantur... nemo nee ex illicitis auspiciis... oracles... divinationem... augu- niantvrae praesumite" (Migne, PL xxxix. 2369); to these must be added the 'sortes Sanctorum' mentioned later in the records of Councils (cf. E. Bouche-Leclercq, Les sortes de Sanctorum, Münch. Mittheil. 1909, p. 42 ff.), i.e. the practice of opening the Scriptures at random in order to find a sentence which might furnish the solution of a stubborn dilemma or give information regarding the future ("qui de paginis evangelicis sortes legant") (August. Ep. iv. 37, p. 212, 3. Goldbacher)—a device which Augustine himself had employed (Conf. viii. 12. 29), and which was at an earlier day applied in exactly the same way to the works of the ancientalogists, especially Virgil (ib. iv. 3. 5). Cf. art. DIVINATION (Christian).

DIVINATION (Teutonic).—Tacitus (Germ. x) states that the German tribes practised augury and divination by lot as much as any people. He proceeds to describe how, which, he says, was used in both public and private life, and which from of itself appears to have been a common custom. He says that it consisted in picking up and interpreting chips of wood that were inscribed with some kind of signs (which may possibly have been runic characters), and that had been scattered haphazard:

"If the twigs prove unfavorable, the matter is left over for that day; while, even if they are favorable, the confirmation of augury is still required. For they are also familiar with the practice of divination—ravens, and it is a characteristic of this people to seek warnings and omens from ravens. They are kept at the public expense, in the woods and groves, while horses, free from all taint of human labour, these, yoked to a consecrated chariot, are accompanied by the priest and king or chief person of the community, who observe their manner of eating andMorning. Nor is there greater reliance on augury, both as to the common people, or the nobility, and even the priests; for they regard themselves as the ministers of the gods, the horses as acquainted with their will."

We may compare a passage in the Flitvæjarbok (saga of Olaf Trygvason, 322), where we hear of horses sacred to Frey at a sanctuary in the Thrandhjem fiord. In the sagas we hear also of ravens being used in augury, but the majority of the instances are concerned with birds, usually the raven. This bird was evidently considered to possess wisdom and knowledge of events, and is specially connected with battle; should one be heard thrice screaming on the roof, it bodes death to warriors; but the appearance of the raven following a host or a single warrior will bring good luck in battle.

A striking instance of the significance of the raven occurs in the saga of Olaf Trygvason in the Hitlætingslag. Earl Halvdan, the last of the fiaks of Norway, on the death of his brother at Danewirk, made a great blood-sacrifice, and there came two ravens flying, which crouked loudly, and now, thought the earl, the blood-offering has been accepted by Odin, and he thought good luck would be his. On the next day he bade his people bring in his devoted followers (tr. Laing). Here the two birds were perhaps supposed to have been Odin’s own ravens, Hugin and Munin, from whom he learnt all that was going on in the world. In this connexion we may mention the raven as the companion of the Seeress, the Seer, and the Norn in Anglo-Saxon records; it was woken of plain white silk, but on it in war time there became visible a raven, which by its drooping or flapping wings portended defeat or victory.

Augury from the voices of birds is frequently found in the form of a belief that certain specially gifted persons could understand the language of birds. Procopius (de Bell. Goth. iv. 20) gives the story of Hildigisilus, king of the Varni, who interpreted the loud and incessant croaking of a bird as presaging his own death. In the sagas various birds act thus as seeresses—the raven, the crow, and the nut-hatch. Thus in the poem Hofsmelm, Sigurd, after tasting Fafnir’s blood, is able to interpret the certain speech hatches which warn him of the treachery prepared by Regin; and the Ynglinga Saga gives the legend of a certain king Dag who had a sparrow which he greatly valued, since, like Odin’s ravens, it flew to different countries and brought him much news.

Divination appears to have been largely practised by ‘wise women,’ both among the early Teutonic peoples of the Continent, and in later times in the North. Strabo (bk. vii. ch. ii. [p. 294]) states that the Cimbri were accompanied to war by grey-haired prophetesses, who presaged victory in battle from the blood and entrails of slain fugitives preceding the battle. Tacitus has several references to the prophetesses Veleda, who was held in much reverence by the Breuci, and who had predicted the successes of the Germans and the destruction of the legions; and Caesar and other writers also allude to the predictions of ‘wise women’ among the Teutonic armies.

In the sagas, too, we hear of the ‘wise woman,’ such as Thorbjorg, who, in the saga of Kirk Raudh, visits the house of Thorkel. She has a special dress, seat, and board, and further requires one of the women of the house to sing the ‘warlocks,’ or spell song. Then she predicts the end of the sickness and famine, and forecasts the future of many of the people.

In addition to these forms, we have vague references to some sort of inquiry of the gods, accompanied by sacrifices; as, for example, in the Eyrgygja Saga, where Thordolf of the Muirt makes a great sacrifice and consults Thor, ‘his well-beloved friend,’ as to whether he shall emigrate or make peace with the king; but the word showed ‘Thorolf to Iceland.’

We hear also of divination by dreams, and of the practice of single combat, as a kind of oracle by battle, like the Homeric disputes, (Iliad, iv. 120) states was also used to presage the result of a war.


DIVINATION (Vedic).—The Vedic system of divination, when contrasted with the Greek art, presents striking differences. Institutions comparable with the wide-reaching influence of the Greek oracles were never developed, and, while the gift of prophecy was held in other mystic powers, was acquired and increased by religious austerities (cf. Mahabharata, 3. 16. 870, Calk. ed.), still the power of seeing what is hidden, especially what is hidden in the future, depended in the main not on inspiration, but on the knowledge of how to interpret certain omen and portent. The chief reason for this fact must be sought in the great development of the other branches of magic (cf. Magic[Veda]). A man who is in possession of the magical means to acquire any desired blessing has little reason to inquire what the future has in store. Indeed, his only motive for inquiring about the future can be to learn when danger is impending, in order that he may avert it by the timely performance of the necessary rites. It was primarily to this need that the observance of omens and portents in India was due, though further development was sure to follow, as the attempt to define an evil portent leads of itself to the observation of favorable omens.

The omens and portents recognized in the Vedic system of divination may be classified as follows: (1) ominous appearances and actions of animals, especially birds—Śikānas; (2) phenomena at variance with the usual course of Nature—ādibhūtas; (3) physical marks—ādeśas; (4) omens of an astrological nature; (5) omens drawn from occurrences at the sacrifice; and (6) dreams.

With regard to the omens derived from the sacrifice, it may be noted that while they depend in part upon things not wholly subject to the regulation of the celebrant (e.g. the movements and colour of the fire), in part they depend upon things that are subject to the will (e.g. when it is stated that Purjama will give rain if both or one of the bulls that draw the cart is black (Satopatha...
DIVINATION (Vedic)

Breahmang, 3. 4. 11), and so pass over by almost imperceptible transitions from divinatory observances into directions about the sacrificial technique required to obtain a desired object. This subject will be dealt with in other contexts (cf. e.g., 34 DREAMS (Vedic)), and the present article will be devoted to the ceremonies the purpose of which is the attainment of knowledge (vijñāna), usually of future events, which is unattainable by natural means.

1. Sources.—As was to be expected, the chief source for such ceremonies is the Kaushika Sūtra, which is supplemented by an interesting chapter in the Śānnavidhāna Brähmānya, 3. 4. Spartan influences occur in other Vedic texts, sufficient to show that such practices were not confined to these two schools, and that the reason why they are not more frequently mentioned in other texts is to be sought in the nature of the literature.

2. The ceremonies.—The most widely attested vijñāna ceremony is the test of the bride, advised or enjoined by the Gṛhya Sūtras (Āsvalāyana, 1. 5. 4–5; Gobhila, 2. 1. 3–9; Apastambha, 3. 14–17; Manava, 1. 7. 9–10; Kāthaka, 14; Bharadvaja, 1. 11. 1–2; Āśvaghoṣa, 37. 6–10; cf. Winternitz, Das altind. Hochzeitsrituell, 1892, p. 37). It is based upon the principle of attraction similitūnum, and consists in offering from four to nine crows of earth, taken from different fields, to a bride, positing that the crows' list is typical, and comprises crows from a field that yields two crops a year, from the stable of a cow, from a vedī (altar), from an undrtying pool, from a gambling-place, from cross-roads, from a barren spot, and from a cemetery. This signifies respectively that the bride's offering will be rich in food, rich in cattle, rich in holy lustre, rich in everything, addicted to gambling, wandering in different directions (according to Kaushika, that she will be unfaithful), poor, and the cause of the death of her husband (according to Kaushika, that she will not live long). When there is a ninth crow (Gobhila and Kāthaka), it is mixed of all these substances. The ceremony is recommended when it is impossible to determine the bride's qualities from the marks on her body (lakṣaṇān), but Apastambha implies that her family have a right to object to this test. An alternative in Kaushika, 37. 11–12, is to require the bride to pour out a handful of pebbles in a certain way, and if this does this in an easterly direction it is a good omen.

With this may be compared the practices for the purpose of seeing whether the ground selected for a house is suitable (Apast, GS 2. 8. 1–8), though these may appear to us practical rather than magical, and the impression is strengthened by the absence of all religious elements from the ceremony. A pit is dug and refilled. If the earth more than refills the site is good; if it fails to fill it, the site is bad; if it fills it exactly, the site is indifferent. Or, after sunset, the pit is filled with water. If, in the morning, there is water still in it, the site is good; if the ground is dry, it is bad; and if it is neither, it is indifferent.

Another method of divination in the Kaushika, with parallels in the hiatic literature, is based upon the wide-spread belief that a man's reflexion or shadow is part of his personality. Hence, when one places the bride, who has spilt his water, his spilt reflection is expected to be a man who will die (cf. gātāmaṇi, ituk or gatamatana), and is in danger of death. The Kaushika, 15. 9–10, employs this idea as follows: Before a battle the king crowns his warriors to look, two by two, into a vessel of water over which Athar has recited; if any warrior does not see his reflexion he must not take part in the approaching battle. Similar applications of this idea are found in Tāṭṭiriya Saṁhitā, 6. 6. 7. 1; Maṭrāyani Saṁhitā, 4. 7. 2; Āsvalāyana Saṁta Sūtra, 5. 19. 5; Apastamba SS. 13. 14. 3. 4; Kātāyana Saṁhitā, 3. 3. 6 (cf. Oldenberg, p. 536, n. 4).

Another method of divination practised before a battle is as follows (cf. e.g., 34 DREAMS (Vedic)); strings, are laid upon heated coals, and Athar. Ved. 5. 6 is recited over them. The middle string represents death, the other strings the two armies. If the middle string passes over one of the other strings it forebodes the defeat of that army; if one of the outside strings passes over the middle string it signifies the victory of the army it represents. Further auguries as to the rank of the men who will fall are drawn from the portion of the string that curls—the top, middle, and bottom, of the strings denoting men of similar standing. Reed-stalks (iṣṭika) may be used instead of the ropes (cf. Kaushika, 15. 15–18). The Śānnavidhāna Brähmāna (3. 4. 10) attains the same purpose in the following manner; each contestant is represented by a pile of glowing smokeless coals; these are sprinkled at the same time with ghee. He will be victorious whose pile first blazes up with flames free from smoke and moving from left to right.

To learn whether a woman (vijñāna) has the same text (3. 4. 11) proceeds in a similar way, but in this case the ghee must be made from woman's milk and churned on the same day. The favourable omen in this case is for one's pile to burn longest. If, in the ceremony of the death of her husband (according to Kaushika, that she will not live long). When there is a ninth crow (Gobhila and Kāthaka), it is mixed of all these substances. The ceremony is recommended when it is impossible to determine the bride's qualities from the marks on her body (lakṣaṇān), but Apastambha implies that her family have a right to object to this test. An alternative in Kaushika, 37. 11–12, is to require the bride to pour out a handful of pebbles in a certain way, and if this does this in an easterly direction it is a good omen.

Another augury before the setting out on a war-like expedition is to produce an inauspicious smoke by sprinkling grass with śālī-oil, reciting certain hymns over it, and burning it with an unclean fire (for these details cf. art. WITCHCRAFT [Ved.]). The expedition will conquer the region towards which the smoke goes (cf. Kaushika, 14. 30–31).

The direction in which a lost object must be sought is discovered in the following ways: A water pitcher is covered with a new cloth and placed upon a bed which is not in its usual position, and the leavings of an offering made with recitation of Athar. Ved. 2. 1 are poured over it. The faces of two girls who have not yet menstruated are covered with a cloth so that they cannot see, and they are told to remove the pitcher. The lost object is in the place that has in which they carry the pitcher. Dice may be used instead of the pitcher and a plough instead of the bed (cf. Kaushika, 37. 4–6). Another method consists of throwing down and spreading out certain pebbles, twenty-one pebbles blessed with Athar. Ved. 7. 9, but how they indicate the direction is not specified (cf. Kaushika, 52. 12 ff.).

Whether a woman will get a husband is ascertained by tying calves to seven- or nine-fold ropes, covered with the leavings of an offering made with recitation of Athar. Ved. 2. 36, and bidding her lose them. If she does so in order from left to right she will marry (cf. Kaushika, 34. 17). The direction from which the wooer will come (p) is discovered by letting loose a steer, whose head is covered with a new cloth on which have been placed the leavings of an offering made with recitation of Athar. Ved. 2. 36 (cf. Kaushika, 34. 18–19). The same information is gained, at a battle, by observing the site from which the crows come (cf. Kaushika, 34. 21–24).

The sex of a child is foretold by placing four fruits of tree, the father's hand, blessing them with Athar. Ved. 1. 11, and pouring water over them. If they adhere to one another the child will, for obvious reasons, be a boy. Or the priest may whisper the same hymn over the son of a
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Brahman and order him to touch the mother. If the name of the limb touched is grammatically masculine, the child will be a boy (cf. Kaushika, 33. 17-29). The conclusions drawn from the appearance of the root of a plant dug for a charm become easy deliverable, and from the fact that the symboal drawing apart of the mula-grass is accomplished without tearing them, are to be considered as the observance of omens rather than charms of divination (Kaushika, 33. 12-3).

The first form of the weather was an especial object of divination, and apparently undertaken by means of the smoke of burning dung. The idea readily passed into the form that the weather prophet controlled the weather. Hence, Atharv Veda 8. 8. 16-19 the system of weather prediction was a science (he who predicts the weather from the smoke of dung) their, they bestowed good weather upon him. "This shall be his dominion," they said. The hymn is employed in Kaushika, 59. 15-16, for the explanation of Sākādhdakṣaya, and devoted to the weather (Atharva Veda, 8. 8. 16-19).

In addition to these, the Kaushika has a number of charms for obtaining the answer to any question. They are referred to briefly, with rubrication of the hymns required, in Kaushika 37. 1-3, but fuller description is in the commentary of Kesava. The first is as follows. The questioner thinks either to himself or aloud of the question he wishes answered. Then he recites a hymn over a milk-porridge; while it is cooking he thinks, 'This will be the answer.' This is the essence of the divination. If he has guessed correctly, the answer to the original question will be according to his wish. Similarly, the answer may be made to depend upon whether a substance laid upon heated coals will burn; on the growth of a bamboo (Kausika 59. 15-16).

In some cases the number of blades in a bunch of grass is odd or even; whether a flower will close on the day after a hymn has been recited over it; whether he can foretell the direction in which a rod or arrow shot straight upwards will fall; or the size towards which a yoke or kāmpila-branch (Cirium omyriifolius) balanced on his head will fall; whether the quantity of milk he takes will be sufficient to fill to overflowing a vessel partly filled with water; whether he can find the direction which his horse goes right or left; whether he can foretell that the throw of the dice will be twenty-one pellies divided into two heaps in such a way that the odd and even numbers will be in the hand that he expected.

On the same principle rest two charms of the Śamavādhiāna Brahmāna, 3. 4. 9 and 6. Two heaps of unhusked grains are designated respectively as 'to be' and 'not to be,' and the person who is consulting the oracle is told to take his choice. On the face of it, one of the celebrant orders two pupils (brahuvačārinā) to raise two bamboo poles; if they bend (as he expects them to do), it is a sign of success. In both of these cases the necessity of divination is imparted to the apparatus by the celebrant keeping it with him over night, and singing over it a certain sāman. At dawn this sāman is sung again, and the test takes place. In the same way, a mādhan who makes a rope-door, and charges the celebrant with the fact that the future in a mirror or spoonful of water (3. 4. 4. 5); a rod is made to forebode success by growing longer in the night (3. 4. 7); and the seeds that will thrive are distinguished by their increase of weight on the night of the full moon of the month of Āśvin (3. 4. 8).

As an example of such practices in a śrāvaṇa-text may be cited Gāndhārika Sāhita, 3. 3. 8. 4, where directions are given to cook a cake of a certain size on the ekāyātaka (the first or last night of the year), and in the morning to attempt to set fire with it to a plant that is thick and robust. If the thick burns, it will be a lucky year. The same text also (śrī. 509; Hiranyakeshin 88. 22. 13-14) employs a horse as a weather prophet. But the ceremony enjoined in Gāndhārika GS 4. 8. 14.11-—one goes out of the village in an easterly or northern direction, and erects an arrangement on a mountain a pile of dung of wild beasts, sets it on fire, sweeps the coals away, and makes an obligation of butter with his mouth; if the butter and animal fire, he will get twelve villages; if it smokes, there is less a means of disarming than a charm to effect the desired purpose, combined with an angry with the ceremony, comparable with such practices as those of Kaushika, 19. 21, 47, 29, and others.

In looking back upon these performances, certain common features may be observed: (1) A religious or quasi-religious ceremony is necessary to impart efficacy to the apparatus. (2) The general principle of all the operations which make up an association being established between two questions, the answer to the one will be the answer to the other, or that the person can answer both correctly who can answer one correctly. This is not a particular principle of Atharva Veda, but a particular principle of magic, that the part may be substituted for the whole, and that objects connected in any way, even though merely by an association of ideas, constitute a whole. (3) It is noteworthy that none of the sciences of the mind of the people (Schrader, Bezieh. der indo-german. Altertumskunde, s.v. 'Gottesurtheil'), it is surprising to find only two incidental allusions to the practice in Vedica literature. The first of these is Pāośaśva Brahmāna, 4. 1. 6, where the story is told of how the Rishi Medhatithi taunted the Rishi Vatsa with being not a Brahman, but the son of a Suta woman. The latter proposed that they should both pass through the fire to see which was the better Brahman. They did so, each singing the sāman they bears his name, and Vatsa emerged without losing a hair, for that was his wish, and the Vatsa sāman is a winner of wishes. The other passage is Chihāleogha (Upāna, 6. 16. 14). In the case of a thief, if a charm is invented by a form of the fire ordeal in which the instrument is a heated axe, is employed as a parable. Another passage, Kaushika, 52. 8, may bear upon the question. Among the practices assigned to the hymn, it is stated to be a lucky for preventing or helping the effects of fire, is the sātra, kāpamānāyā prarocchakhi. Śāyana, who is following Kesava, and who is followed in turn by Caland, explains that in place of the toptanā śrāvaṇa (cf. below), the celebrant must recite the hymn upon the fire or other substance employed before handing it to the person who is undergoing the ordeal. This interpretation cannot be correct, as such magical aids are especially forbidden in
the case of the \textit{vīra} ordeal; and, according to the \textit{prābhāṣā} (general rule), Kanśika, 7. 7, the \textit{sātra} must mean that the hymn is recited over a stirred drink and porridge which are given to the \textit{ṣūpana-mukta}. If it has anything to do with the ordeal, it must refer to a special preparation, which would have been forbidden had it been detected. In this sense the middle, not the passive participle, should have been employed, and it is best to give to the word the general sense of 'one who is suffering from a curse.' That in later times the ceremony may have been performed especially by those about to undergo with guilty consciences the \textit{tejprāṇī}\textit{qī} (sacrifice) is improbable, and Kēśāvā may be accepted as a witness to the fact; but there is no reason to believe that the ceremony was originally devised for such cases, or ever restricted to them.


The earliest lawsbooks, also, make but slight reference to the practice, most probably because it was not considered of great importance, and because they were consequently willing to leave the details to be decided by local customs. These have been gathered and systematized by the later treaties on law, which finally recognize nine forms of ordeal.

(1) By the scales (\textit{dhatu, tala}). The accused is placed in one scale of a balance and his weight in stones and sand in the other scale. He descends from the scale, and after certain ceremonies is again placed on the balance. If he is lighter, he is innocent; if heavier, guilty. Equality of weight is generally considered proof of guilt in a less degree, though the authorities differ upon this point and upon the significance of accedents to the apotheosis.

(2) By fire (\textit{agni}). The accused, whose hands are more or less protected by leaves and grains, is required to step in seven circles, while holding in his hands a piece of heated iron. If his hands are burned, then he is guilty.

(3) By water (\textit{salita}). To prove his innocence, the accused must remain under water until a swift runner can bring back an arrow shot at the time of submergence.

(4) By poison (\textit{vīra}). If no ill effects are observable within a certain time after the accused has taken the poison, he is declared innocent.

(5) By holy water (\textit{kōśa}). An image of a god recited or poisoned by the accused is kept in a vessel, which is then given to the accused to drink. If he does so without betraying his guilt, and no misfortune happens to him within a certain time, he is innocent.

(6) By rice grains (\textit{tarpāla}). Grains of unhusked rice are soaked in water in which an image of a god has been bathed, and are given to the accused to chew. He is then required to spit upon a leaf. If there is no blood evident, and his gums are unbruised, he is innocent.

(7) By a heated gold-piece (\textit{tejprāṇīqī}). The accused is required to take a gold-piece from a vessel of heated ghee and oil. Quivering and blisters are proofs of guilt.

(8) By a ploughshare (\textit{plāṭa}). The accused, to establish his innocence, must lick a heated ploughshare without burning his tongue.

(9) By lot (\textit{dharmaharmas}). Representations of innocence and guilt are placed in a vessel, and the accused is required to draw one from it.

The form of ordeal is determined by the nature of the crime, the position of the accused, and the season of the year. There is observable, as always in Hindu law, the tendency to favour the upper classes, but there is also a tendency to moderate the conditions of the ordeal in favour of the accused, and the accuser is generally required to undergo the penalty in case the accused is acquitted. This ordeal can be applied only in the absence of human evidence, and, as was to be expected, is accompanied by religious ceremonies (for further details cf. J. Jolly, \textit{Racht und Sitte}, 1896, p. 144 f., and esp. A. F. Stenzler, \textit{Die ind. Göttesurtheile}, \textit{ZIE} ix. 601-609).

The practices described must be much older than the texts in which they are contained. There is no warrant for declaring the essentials of any one form later than another; and the familiar nature of the Vedic allusions to the fire ordeal as something well known warrants the belief that similar, if not identical, practices were in vogue in Vedic times.

Allusions to ordeals are found in the classic literature in matters relating to punishment against an enemy for thwarting holy work, where Sītā proves her innocence by walking through fire; and in the Mṛchhbhatkātī, 9. 43, p. 156 f., where the ordeals by fire, water, poison, and the scales are referred to.


G. M. Bolling.

\textbf{DIVINE RIGHT.}—Divine right is a right conferred by God, sanctioned or inspired by Him, and based on His ordinance and appointment. The phrase is generally used to express the theory that kings hold their authority, not from the choice or consent of their subjects, but from God Himself alone. In English history it came into specific use in the 17th century, during the disputes between the Stuarts and their people. The claim of Divine right was pre-eminently made for that dynasty; the doctrine became the badge of Tories and High Churchmen; and at the Restoration in 1660 it was the accepted royalist creed. It was seriously maintained that the hereditary monarchs had a right to every other form of government, has the Divine approval; that no human power can justly deprive a legitimate king of his rights; that the authority of such a king is necessarily always divine; that constitutional liberties are not necessarily always dehiscic; that constitutional liberties are not necessarily always divine; that constitutional liberties are both God and the king and liable to be resumed at his pleasure; that treaties which he may make with his subjects merely inform us of his present intentions, and are not conditions of which the performance can be demanded.

The chief representative of the Divine right party was Sir Robert Filmer, who in his books and pamphlets laid down the doctrine that the government of the family is the original and model of all government, that all kings and governors derive their absolute authority from the patriarchs, and that to the end of the world the king will always have the natural right of a supreme father over his people. This fantastic theory was fully developed in his \textit{Patriarcha}, a posthumous work (1680), but his position was sufficiently indicated in works published during his lifetime, his 'Freeholder's Grand Inquest touching our Sovereign Lord the King and his Parliament.
DIVINE RIGHT

(1618), his ‘Anarchy of a Limited and Mixed Monarchy’ (1618), his ‘Observations upon Mr. Hobbes’ Leviathan, Mr. Milton against Salmusius, and the disputes concerning the Original of Government’ (1652). It amounted to a paternally despotism: the king alone is the maker of laws, the Lords only give counsel to the king, and the Commons merely perform and consent to the ordinances of the parliament. It was the principle that this power of government, doggedly adhered to by the Stuarts, that rent the fabric of the constitution in the reign of Charles I., and drove the long-suffering nation to the Revolution of 1688.

In the previous century, Richard Hooker (c. 1553–1600) had given a philosophical statement of the principles of government, making the consent of the people the prime requisite:

‘Without which consent there is no reason that one man should take upon him to be lord or judge over another; because, although there be according to the opinion of some very great and judicious men a kind of natural right in the noble, wise, and virtuous, to govern them which are of servile disposition; nevertheless for manifestation of this their right, and more truly to maintain the commonwealth, the ascendant of them are to be governed seemeth necessary.

‘The state that their private families were hath given a supreme power; for which cause we see throughout the world, even from the foundation thereof, all men have ever been taken by others and in that trust. Howewel out of whole grand multitude having no such dependency upon any one, and therefore not performing, being obedience; nor the society in this world doth, it is impossible to say that should have complete lawful power, but by consent of men, or immediate appointment of God; except the natural superiority of fathers, their power must needs be either usurped, and then unlawful; or, if lawful, then either granted or consented unto by them; that is, their descendant, or else, in extraradical way, from God, unto whom all the world is subject.’

To popularize the principles of the liberty of subjects, the fiery logic of Samuel Rutherford did more than the massive learning of Hooker. His Le Fond (1641) was intolerable to the Royalists. Not only was it burnt by the hangman in Edinburgh in 1661, and by the hands of Sharpe under the windows of its authors college in St. Andrews, but it would probably have cost him his life, as he was about to be tried for high treason when he ‘got another summons before a superior authority’. The king,' he contents, 'hath no musterly dominion over the people, but only fidelity’ (110). ‘That the power of the king is fiducial, that is, given to him by God in the foundation of the kingdom only to do good to his people, and to hold that the trust of the king by the people’ (124). ‘The people may be without the king, but not the king without the people’ (144). ‘That doth not immediately any action of the people make kings, this is a weak reason, to prove they cannot unmakem them’ (146). ‘I utterly deny any correction of the king and his creature as an absolute monarch’ (214). ‘Whatever the king doth as king, he doth that, he doth by law, for he holds the Estates, who made him king. He must then be nothing but an eminent servant of the State’ (250).

The democratic principle was argued for in another classical work on English constitutional law and polity—Locke’s Two Treatises on Government (1690). In the ‘First Treatise’ he subjects the writings of Finnis to a searching analysis, going over his arguments seriatim, and in the ‘Second Treatise’ he maintains that civil rulers hold the power not absolutely but conditionally, government being a moral trust which is forfeited if the conditions are not fulfilled by the trustees. Written for the immediate purpose of vindicating the Revolution, Locke’s work contains the essential principles which have regulated political progress for over two centuries, and gradually moulded the British constitution.

Carlyle, in his lecture on ‘The Hero as King’, remarks that much sorry stuff, written some hundred years ago or more, about the ‘Divine right of kings’ had better be left to rot silently in the Public Libraries. At the same time he does not wish to ‘let the immense rubbish go without leaving us some soul of behind.’

‘Find me the true Koning, King, or Abeel, and he has a divine right over me. That we knew in some tolerable measure how to find him, and that all men were ready to acknowledge his divine right when found; this is precisely the healing which this black world is every where, in these ages, seeking after’ (On Heroen, People’s ed. p. 1351). ‘He that models Nations according to his own image, he is a King, though his spire be a walking-stick: a man so purely otherwise (People’s ed., vol. i. p. 280). To this high sense Cranwell is a king by Divine right. He is not King of England, not as such, nor officially so, only naturally so; has his kingdom to seek—trajical it is . . . to see a Royal Man, or Born King, wading towards his throne, such an one as King of England, . . . so seldom can arrive there at all’ (ibid. vol. i. 1351).

The older doctrine had an ephemeral revival at the time of the Holy Alliance (1814), which, while to all appearances an attempt at the reconstruction of the religious idealism of the Czar Alexander I., to find in the ‘sacred precepts of the Gospel’ a common basis for a general league of European governments having for its object the preservation of peace (1815). The same high doctrine was dear to the first Emperor, who intensively believed himself to be the viceregent of the ‘God of battles’; and it is held as firmly by Mr. Gladstone, who habitually lays stress upon the Divine right by which alone the kings of Prussia rule, sincerely holding that they are appointed and inspired to shape their people’s destinies. Considering myself as the instrument of the Lord, and I have my own opinions of the day, I go my way’ (Königsberg speech, 1910). The principle is logically applied in Russia, where the Emperor places the crown (as the first Napoleon did) on his own head, deriving his kingly power from no man, and being answerable to no man.

The Old Testament has often been regarded as teaching the Divine right of kings. But it speaks with a somewhat uncertain voice. In general it is for the monarchy, which, arising out of natural beginnings, drew together all the vital energies of Israel in devotion to one God and one king, the prophets went to all lengths in proclaiming the king’s person a sacred anointing and his rule Divine. The earthly monarch was sent in the place of the heavenly; he was Jehovah’s anointed and His son, the mediator through whom help, salvation, and blessing came to the people. The Civil State was as a miracle, a just and holy kind of government. ‘God, the King of the future was inconceivable without a heaven-sent king. Time, however, brought disillusionment; a succession of weak and unrighteous kings were unfaithful to the pure religion; Hosea (13:9) wrote for his evil; and, according to a late stratum of the historical books, Samuel, from the very beginning foresaw a dangerous rivalry to the kingship of Jehovah, an autocracy substituted for a theocracy (1 Sam 8:20). It is certain that the prophets never denounced their Divine right of criticizing the policy and the character of their kings, and that long before the end came they remorselessly foretold the dissolution of the State and the abolition of the monarchy, and at least until the Messiah should come to restore all things.

In the New Testament, Christ Himself acknowledges the rights of Caesar (the reigning Emperor was Tiberius) within his own sphere (Mt 22:21), and St. Paul declares that the Powers that be (koumata brefqysomai) are ordained of God, so that resistance to the Power is resistance to the ordinance of God (Ro 13:1). The Divine-right party in the Jacobean and Caroline period regarded such usanances as strongly supporting their cause, and even Bishop Berkeley appears to have interpreted them as prescribing an unlimited obedience. ‘Loyalty is a moral virtue, and “Thou shalt not resist the Supreme Power” a rule or law of nature, the least breach whereof hath the inherent stain of moral
Doceticism was not so much a definite system as a tendency. There was not one organized Docetic sect; nor was the idea of a phantomal body of Christ adopted by the Christians for apparent reasons of philosophy, or on the ground of texts of Scripture, or other such arguments. It is rather the consequence to which other heresies led. It is found, moreover, in various forms, more or less perfect. One school had only few Docetic tendencies, another more; it was possible to hold Docetic views about our Lord's birth or conception, but not about His death, and vice versa. So we find it in many grades, ranging from a slight tendency to consider Christ's humanity as privileged, more spiritual than ours, less subject to humiliating conditions (in which form it might be held by orthodox Christians), to the extreme school which made all His life on earth a senseless mystification.

2. In the NT and the Apostolic Fathers.—Doceticism is the first known Christian heresy. 'The blood of Christ was still fresh in Judea,' says Jerome, 'when His body was said to be a phantom (νερέτας) (P. xi. 243, 244). Theologians have argued that there are passages in the NT against those who deny the reality of our Lord's body. Certain texts in St. Paul which insist on Christ's birth from a woman, or on His having flesh (Gal 4, 4), Rom 2:9; 1 Pet 1:19), are not in harmony with the Docetism of the schools. In any case, there is undeniably a polemic anti-Docetic meaning in the Epistles of St. John; 1 Jn 1:8, and 4:12 clearly have this sense, just as 2 Cor 5:13 rejects the Gnostic basis of Docetism. In 2 Jn 7 there is a direct attack against Docetism. The ideal State is that in which the Divine right of every personality is recognized, and the throne thus broad-based upon the people's will. In such a State each individual can say, in a much higher sense than was meant by the Grand Monarque, 'L'état c'est moi.' It is vain to imagine that there's such divinity does hedge a king. (Hobbes, IV, v. 123), when the king happens to be Hamlet's stepfather, lawless and murderous; but the words have a profound significance when the Divine protection of a good king is mediated by the fervent loyalty of a great nation.

3. See also: Government, and Literature there cited. J. STRAHAN.

DIVORCE.—See Marriage.

Doceticism (δοκετισμός) is the heresy which teaches that Christ had no real material body and human nature, but only an apparent body, a phantom of humanity (like the angel Raphael in Tob 139). This acceptance of the ordinary laws that govern our life, His eating, drinking, birth, and death, are so many illusions (δεικτή, in the sense of 'seeming' only).

The name δοκετις (docetes) appears first in a letter of Heraclea of Antioch (191-203) (reproduced by Eusebius, H. E. vi. 123), in which he forbids the reading of the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus which had been adopted by the church of the excommunicated one, ordained Martinus, whom we call Docetist. It appears again in Celsus, Strom. iii. 19 (P. v. 1192), iv. 17 (ib. 153). In Hippo, Phys. xi. 26, in Eusebius, H. E. vi. 13 (C. C. 435), and Photius, Epist. 82 (ib. xlvii, 1564): 'Marcion, Valentine, Manes, and the other theses, which have been set up before the time of these writers. There are traces of it in the NT, it recurs in the Apostolic Fathers, and became part of the Gnostic system, and is found in the Neoplatonists and Manicheans, lasting into the Middle Ages, and was adopted (in part) by Muhammad.
have a material body, but this was only what seemed to be.

Docetism in the first period is always the corollary of some Gnostic system. F. Chr. Baur (Die christliche Gnosis, p. 258) held that all Gnostics were Docetists. This is not correct. There were Gnostic schools, as that of Bolland, which solved the problem in another way, denying any essential union between Christ, the spiritual Saviour—Eon, and the man Jesus—thus foreshadowing Nestorianism. But more explicit advanced Docetic ideas appear in a Gnostic system. Although we cannot say that all Gnostics were Docetists, we may safely say that all early Docetists were Gnostics.

Docetism was always a consequence of that representation of Christ as evil which is the common element of Gnostic schools. It was a feature of Gnosticism specially hateful to the early Fathers, because it made the Gospel story—all the life that is to be our example (Jn 13:14)—a vain pretence.

'Standeth one hour, of the world,' says Tertullian to Marcion (de carne Christi, 5 [PL ii. 760]). Although this theory was not a separate heresy, but rather a consequence of the larger issue about dualism, it could be rebuffed separately. Tertullian is said to have questioned whether matter be an emanation from the evil principle, it was possible to defend the real humanity and so the material body of Christ; it was possible to show to any one who accepted the story of Christ as a real human, subject to the normal conditions of human life. Many Fathers accordingly discuss this question separately, and refute those who deny it, without dealing with the reason of their denial. So we have left us the concept of Docetism as a special heresy, and of Docetism as a particular class of persons.

The Epistle of Barnabas, v. 12 ('God says that the stroke of his flesh is from them [sc. the Jews'], is sometimes supposed to contain a Docetic idea ( 'naivē Doketismos') (Harnack, Dogmengesch. i. 215), but unjustly. The text goes on to declare the reality of the Passion and Crucifixion; the word of prophecy; the fulfillment of prophecy (Frank, Patres apost., Tübingen, 1901, i. 33, n. 12). Ignatius of Antioch, in the Greek version of his Letters, repeatedly and vehemently denounces those who say that Christ 'suffered apparently' (παραμιμούμενον [Trell. 10]), and insists on the reality of His flesh (Eph. 7, 18; Troll. 9-10). All the first part of Smyrn. (1-6) is devoted to anti-Docetic polemic. Polygamy quotes 1 Jn 4:8, adding that whoever does not worship According to the words of Jesus Christ, and whoever denies the Resurrection and the Judgment is the first-born of Satan. He describes these ideas as 'the folly of many people' (Phil. vii. 1-2). This is generally believed to be directed against Marcion and his followers. Irenaeus tells the story of Polycarp meeting Marcion and calling him the first-born of Satan (Harr. iii. iii. 4). Justin Martyr counts Marcionites among the other Gnostics who 'in no way worship Jesus, but only confess Him in the body, but not in the devil, and whoever denies the Resurrection and the Judgment is the first-born of Satan' (Harr. iii. iii. 4). Justin Martyr counts Marcionites among the other Gnostics who 'in no way worship Jesus, but only confess Him in the body, but not in the devil, and whoever denies the Resurrection and the Judgment is the first-born of Satan' (Harr. iii. iii. 4).

3. Docetism in apocryphal scriptures. There are traces of Docetism in several apocryphal books that circulated for a time among early Christians. We have seen that the Logion of Jesus forbade the reading of the Gospel of Peter because it had been corrupted by Docetism. The fragment lately discovered (in 1857 at Ahimim in Upper Egypt, published by V. E. Bouriant in 1892) confirms his judgment. Verse 10 says (of Christ on the cross):

4. The Gnostic Docetes. The apocryphal scriptures quoted were composed in Gnostic circles; the quotations have anticipated part of what follows. With regard to Docetism the Gnostic schools fall into three classes: (1) those which were not Docetist at all, but distinguished Christ the spiritual Saviour from the normal man Jesus; (2) the milder Docetists, who admitted a body of Christ, though it was a spiritualized entity, i.e. he only passed through His mother, was not formed of her; (3) the extreme Docetists, who denied all reality to the body of Christ; He was born in no sense at all, and all His human life was a mere phantom (Harnack, i. 380). In many cases the Docetism of these apocryphal scriptures is latent rather than manifest, or it shows itself only in one or two sentences. For the rest they speak of our Lord in much the same way as the Canonical books, and they could be read in orthodox circles often without suspicion. On the other hand, they were rejected by authority (cf. Euseb. iii. 25) because of their heretical tendency, shown chiefly in the form of Docetism.

(1) Basilides (q.v.) (in Alexandria at the time of Hadrian, A.D. 117-138 [Enseb. iv. 7]) was not a Docetist, but solved the Gnostic problem in the other way, by distinguishing the man Jesus from the Spirit, the one, who entered into Him at His baptism. Irenaeus says that Basilides' account of the Crucifixion was that Simon of Cyrene was crucified by mistake, and Jesus Himself took the form of Simon, and stood by and laughed at them (Harr. t. xxv., 4). If Basilides really taught this [it is disputed], it shows a trace of one idea, common to most Docetists, namely, the denial of the Crucifixion.

(2) The milder school is represented by Valentinius, Apelles, Bardesanes, and Marinas. Valentinus (c. 120-160) taught that Jesus had a 'psychic' body which could not decay, was not subject to the normal laws of matter (Letter to Agathopus in Clem. Alex. Strom. iii. 7 [ib. viii. 110]). He was an emanation from the thirty Eons, the visible appearance of the pre-existent Christ produced
through Mary by the lowest (female) Ἐως, Sophia, and the power of the Creator-demiurge (ib. I. xi. 2, 3). Later Valentinian schools developed and modified the founder's ideas in various directions. Some, keeping the idea of the non-natural body of Jesus, further distinguished Him from ordinary humans, as did the two persons (ib. iii. xiv. 1). Mark (Irenæus' contemporary of this school) distinguished two baptisms of Jesus, one the (psychic) baptism of the 'apparent Jesus' (ὁ ἀμφικτύνων 'Ιησοῦς) by John for the forgiveness of sins, the other a pneumatic baptism, to which Mk 1:9 etc., refers, in which He received Christ, or the Spirit, for His perfection (ib. i. xxi. 2). This represents exactly the combined milder Docetism and (as we should say) Nestorianism of this school. Marcion's disciple Ἄπελλος so far modified his master's teaching that he, too, must be classed among the milder Docetes. He admitted that Christ had a real body, formed from the stars and 'higher' substances of the world, not really born of Mary, like the body of an angel (τοῖς) (Tert. de carne Christi, 6 [PL ii. 763]; adv. Marc. iii. 11 [ib. 335]).

We hear nothing of Docetism in Bardesanes himself (in Syria, A.D. 154–223? [Euseb. iv. 36]). Eusebius, in his account, tares, only (har. 1 [Opp. Syr], Rome, 1740, ii. 437–439) says nothing of Christological errors, nor does Epiphanius (Her. lvi. [PG xii. 899–903]). But Marinos and others of Bardesanes' school taught the milder form—Christ had a 'heavenly body', not born of a woman, and suffered only apparently (Adamantius, Dialog. de recta in Deum fide, iii. [PG xi. 1793]).

(3) The chief defenders of extreme Docetism are Celsus, and Marcion. Celsus (Kidoun, a Syrian in Rome at the time of Hyginus, c. 136–140 [Iren. i. xxvii. 1; cf. iii. iv. 3]) is known chiefly as the teacher of Marcion. He is said to have denied absolutely the reality of Christ's body and of all His apparently human actions (birth, death) on earth (Epiph. xii. [PG xii. 692–693]; Hippol. Philosop. x. 19 [PG xvi. 3433–3434]). Irenæus (ib.) counts him a follower of Simon Magus, the supposed father of all Gnostic and Docetic theories. Saturanius (Saturinus, a Syrian [2nd cent.]), mentioned already by Justin (Dial. 35 [PG vi. 532]), was a consistent dualist in all his system, and carried his principles to their logical consequence in absolute Docetism. Our Lord was thought to be possessed of the body of God, and came to separate the sparks of life and spirit in men from matter. His own freedom from matter is emphasized strongly.

He said the Saviour was unborn, incorporeal, without figure (τοις ἔγενσιν), without real matter, apparently seeming a man: and he said the God of the Jews was one of the angels. . . . Christ had come to destroy the Jewish God and for the salvation of those who trusted him (Christ); these are they who have a spark of his life' (Iren. l. xxiv. 2; cf. Hippol. Philosop. vii. 38 [PG xvi. 3525]).

The most famous of all Docetes is Marcion. He was a sailor from Pontus (Tert. Praxe. 30 [PL li. 48 f.1]; Euseb. v. 13), who became a Christian at Rome at the time of Eleutherius (c. 177–190? [Praxe. ib.]). Then he was attracted by Gnostic circles, and evoked a Gnostic system of his own which obtained a considerable following. Marcionites occur among the heretics in all the anti-Gnostic fathers. Irenæus traces the line of Marcion's heresy. Verdo from Simon Magus (Her. l. xxvii. 1). His Docetic system, as regards the beginning of Christ's life, was complete. His followers read a corrupt version of St. Luke (Her. iii. xii. 7; adv. Marc. iv. 2 [PL ii. 364]), in which all the account of the birth and infancy was cancelled. Suddenly Christ appeared as a grown man: in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius He descended into the city of Galilee Capernaum from the heaven of the Creator, into which He had already descended from His own' (adv. Marc. iv. 7 [PL li. 369]); cf. Lk 3:36 (adv. Marc. i. 19 [ib. 267]; Iren. Her. l. xxvii. 2). He was in no sense really a man, had no real body; any connection between the Divine Son and the man is impossible (Tert. de carne Christi, 3 [PL ii. 757]). Marcion accepted the idea of the sacrificial death of Christ. For this reason it is often said that he admitted a real passion and death. But there is reason to doubt this. It seems that, although he constantly spoke and wrote of the death of Christ as did orthodox Christians, he understood it in a merely Docetic sense. Nikephoros t. of Constantinople (806–815) quotes a sentence from a lost work of Marcion; 'Christ seemed to suffer and be buried' (Antirrhetika, 21, in Pitra, Spicilegium Solernense, Paris, 1852, i. 406). Tertullian devotes adv. Marc. iii. 8–11 (PL ii. 331–336) to proving, against the heretic, that Christ did not have a 'corpusphantastical'.

There remains Simon Magus, the reputed author of Docetism, as of all Gnostic theories (Iren. Her. l. xxii. 2; ii. Pref. iii. Pref.). His name appears repeatedly as the inventor of this idea; but it is very doubtful whether, as the present work shows, Eusebius (ib.) is the leader of the sect of Docetes and a disciple of Valentinus. But the passage tells us nothing about Julius' Docetic ideas; the fragments that Clement quotes of his works (ib. iii. 13 and 14 [PG viii. 1192–1196]) show only Enarration. Jerome (Com. in Gal. vi. 8 [PL xxxvi. 460]) repeats that Cassianus was a Docete. Otherwise nothing is known of him.

The Docetes, besides their principle that the Saviour could not be divinely by a material body, quoted certain texts of Scripture in favour of their view. Marcion made much of Mt 12, as showing that Christ had no mother (adv. Marc. iv. 19 [PL ii. 404]). He also quoted Ro 8:28 (εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν καιροῦ), and other texts. Polycarp quotes 1 Jn 4:6 (Phil. vii. 1); Ignatius uses Lk 24:33 (Smyrn. vii. 1). But the work of the nation, particularly in Galatia, is remarkable. The Tert. de carne Christi, 15 (PL li. 779 f.), is a good example of contemporary controversy against Gnostic Docetism. It may be noted, too, that the body of Christ in the Holy Eucharist is frequently used as an argument against Docetes. Already in the time of Ignatius, Docetes 'abstain from the Eucharist and prayer (παρακαταμενοι, prayer of obligation') because they do not confess that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ' (Smyrn. vii. 1). Irenæus (Her. iv. xvii. 6, v. ii. 2–3) and Tertullian (adv. Marc. iv. 40) use the Eucharist as a proof of the reality of Christ's body.

5. Docetism in the Fathers.—Certain Fathers have been accused of Docetic ideas. We have seen that Docetism admits of many degrees. It may be a question whether an otherwise orthodox Father conceived some mild form of it with regard to certain incidents of Christ's life. The Epistle of Barnabas seems to say that Christ's body was a 'Chaldee garment' (see p. 839), nor does there seem to be any foundation for the alleged Docetism of Origen (cf. Harnack, i. 688). The case of Clement of Alexandria is more serious. Photius accuses him of this heresy (Biblioth. [PG ciii. 384]). Yet he categorically rejects it (Strom. vii. 17 [PG ix. 533], iii. 17 (viii. 1925)); he says that our Lord was really a man.
DOCETISM (Buddhist)

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There is so little resemblance between the ideas of Hippolytus and Manichaean Docetic heresies that they will be considered separately. (Prisc. Con. 17; ed. G. Schepers, Corp. Script. coll. Lat. xviii. 118, Vienna, 1886.)

The Cathari, Albigenses (q.v.; see especially vol. i. p. 263), and other medieval Manichaean sects which adopted Docetic views, notably the Albigenses and Albigenses, carried it so far that they taught that the Virgin Mary, St. Joseph, St. John, as well as our Lord Himself, were all angels in the appearance of men (see documents in Dillingler, Beiträge zur Kirchengesch. des Mittelalters, Munich, 1880, ii. 34, 58, 66f., etc.).

In the year 1017 a Synod at Orleans condemned a number of heretics who denied the reality of the body of Christ (Mansi, xix. 377; Dillingler, i. 65, gives the date as 1022).

Pope Leo I. accused the Manichæans (Ep. xxvi. [PL liv. 745] etc.).

There is something of this heresy in their system and in that of their predecessor Apollinaris, inasmuch as they taught that the body of Christ, absorbed in the Divinity, was 'a heavenly body' (x. 18 [ib.]), and thinks that Christ's soul was not naturally subject to pain (x. 23 [ib. 861]). This idea, not uncommon among the Fathers, occurs as a supposed consequence of the hypostatic union, and can hardly be considered Docetism of even the mildest kind (Harnack, ii. 316 f.).

6. The Docetists in Hippolytus. —Hippolytus twelfth Bishop of Rome, to whom he calls Docetes (Philosoph. viii. 8-11 [PG xvi. 3347-3358] and x. 16 [ib. 3434]). These people seem to have had nothing of what is generally called Docetism; their use of the name is difficult to explain. Hippolytus himself calls them Docetes (docetâ, ib. viii. 11); he names the idea (ironically) as derived from the becon (becon) in their eye (Mt 7). Their system ('a much-tangled and inconsistent heresy' [ib. 11]) is one of the forms of much-tangled and inconsistent heresies about the origin of the universe. God is like a grain of the fig-tree, very small in size, infinite in power of development. From the seed come forth three emanations—branches, leaves, fruit; from God three heavens, and all other things from them. Each heaven becomes perfect, that is, tenfold; so we have thirty heavens. They are male and female; they generate a middle heaven, who is the Saviour. So it goes on. One heaven, a fire-god, is the Creator of the universe.

In a long tangle of wild nonsense the only trace of what we call Docetism is the statement that our Lord (whose life was as in the Gospels [PG xvi. 3355]) received at His baptism another body, the body born of the Virgin. When His material body was crucified, His soul put on this other one, evidently a spiritual Docetic body. He lived 30 years, in each year manifesting the teaching of the Master. Harnack, however, think that many different heresies can appeal to His teaching! But only the Docetes, who are from the middle deced and the best outraged, can really understand Him. 1

7. Later Docetism. —The Manicheans, as a consequence of their dualism, took over the Docetic idea. Augustine represents Faustus as denying the birth of Christ (c. Faust. i. [PL xlii. 290]), as describing His body as not human but formed of celestial elements (x. 211 [ib. cf. xi. 1 [343]), as denying the reality of His passion and death (xiv. 2 [269]).

Mani's Docetism is further complicated by a curious distinction between the Iesus imputabilis, who is 'living spirit,' and the Iesus impetabilis, who has souled the world (2. Flugel, Mani, seine Lehre u. seine Schriften, Leipzig, 1862, pp. 35, 258, 337 f.).

Later developments of Manichæism continued the Docetic idea. The Priscillians in Spain, who were not Docetes, though they were Dualists,

1 There is so little resemblance between the ideas of Hippolytus and Manichaean Docetic heresies that they will be considered separately as representing different heresies (ib. 860-570).

ADRIAN FORTESSER

DOCETISM (Buddhist) —1. Origin and Nature. —Speaking generally, the Buddhist religion has a strong tendency towards docetic ideas as to the personality of its founder. The strictly orthodox Theravadins adhered to the practical moral teaching of the Master, and opposed the idea that the Buddha could have any real being in the sense in which we refer to a deity, and obedience to the rules and traditions of the community. This is the reason why they, and they alone, resisted strongly the docetic tendency of the heterodox Mahàsaṅghikas. On the other hand, the latter, not content with the mere formulæ of the doctrine, tried in various ways to amplify the teachings of the Buddha and to pursue them to their respective consequences. The more they delved the Master and developed the idealistic sides of his doctrine, the more they be to think of his historical personality. They were more broad-minded, so to speak, and were not afraid to fly above the clouds of mythical fancies or of metaphysical speculations. On the other hand, this tendency called themselves the Mahàyahànas, in contrast to the orthodox Hinayànas (see artt. MAHAYÀNA, HINAYÀNA), though the origin and date of the former are still involved in obscurity. In this way we may say that the Mahàyañikas were more or less docetists, as their mythic fancy or idealistic speculation laid less stress on the historical Buddha.

Though a sharp demarcation can hardly be drawn between these two forms of Buddhism (the Mahàsaṅghikas, for example,
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standing midway between them, one of the characteristic differences is that the Hinayanaists believe in a single Buddha, whereas many Buddhists are recognized by the Mahayanaists. The former believe that the historical Buddha, Shakyamuni, was the sole Tathagata who is to be adored in this world-period, while the latter see in him one of the Buddhas residing in various Buddha-lands and influence the latter human beings. The Ekottara-dgama, the counterpart of the Pali Agguta, tells of Magadhyāna's visit to the land of the Buddha Sīthi. This belief is extended to the ten directions, in each of which there is a Buddha-land, where a Buddha or many Buddhas reside in the state of bliss and attract and influence the respective believers in the faith. As the faith was in this way extended to mythical Buddhas, that the concentration of belief in the actual Buddha should become more and less necessary, that the historical personality of the present Buddha should become more and more ephemeral, the faith may be termed pantheistic. Thus mythologizing and mystifying the process of Bodhisattvical speculations went on parallel or con-jointly with the metaphysical identification of all the Buddhas in their essential reality. A Buddha appeared once in this world-period, and his history is established; but the important personality of other historical Buddhas, as of all the mythical and fictitious human beings, was in the history of the Buddha-land, the so-called Dharma-kāya (see below).

Thus, doceticism, or, to speak more generally, the docetic tendency in Buddhism, made its progress in two ways: one the way of mythical fancies about the Buddha's superhuman qualities, and the other that of metaphysical speculations on his personality as a Tathagata and on its relations with the truth (dharmā). Such belief, so long and so far as the faith of Buddhists in the Master amounted to the reverence paid towards a sage who, having practised all the three branches of the Buddhist training, attained Buddhahood and led his followers in the right way, the Buddha renounced the Tathagata, who, starting from the position of a human being, attained to his superhuman (Pali manis-suttaviveka) state.1 Whatever his merits and powers, his earthly life was believed to have been as real as that of any other human being, as the pious thoughts of believers began to place him side by side with a mythical Chakravartin or to make him far superior to the highest deity Brahma, whether in his lifetime or after his death, his personality became more and more mythical and less human. Progress along this line is seen in the myth of his pre-existence in the Tuṣita heaven and also in various Jātakas and Nālānas (such as that of the king Sudassana); and the tendency reached its acme in the mythologizing biographies, like that of the Mahāyāna or Mahāvīra. Of course, these mythologizers did not all go so far as to deny the reality of the Buddha's earthly life, yet their ideas diverged on docetic and laid a close kinship with the docetic tendencies, or, at least supplied the materials to docetists.

Though the development of these ideas and their mutual relations cannot now be traced historically, it seems nearly certain that the mythologizing began soon after the Master's death, and found many adherents outside of the pale of the strictly orthodox teaching, and the resistance of the orthodox Theravādins to this stream of thought is clearly seen in the Theses (Kathāsīkā), composed in the reign of Ashoka.2 The materials and composition of the Mahāvīra, above referred to, may be earlier than, or contemporary with, this orthodox defence of the historicity of the Buddha's life.

A more powerful impetus to docetic tendencies was supplied by the philosophical speculations contained even in Buddha's own teaching. The five skandhas, under which he classified the constituents of our bodily and mental life, had been declared to possess no final reality. He also emphasized the illusiveness of the six senses and of the desires arising from them.3 In short, the Buddhist ideal of an Arhat or of a Buddha consisted in transcending the passions and turbulence of physical life, and in finally overcoming life and death. Though the Buddha was not a nihilist, he was not without reason that his doctrines were charged with being "a nihilistic wisdom" (samīdgha-bhūtā paññā). Vacuity (paññā) was one of his most important tenets, and the ideal of the final goal, that can be attained only after the cessation of the bodily life, the aim of a Buddhist sage was to realize this ideal, among others, even in this life. Thus arose the question whether the Tathagata existed or not after his death, by which the Buddhists were finally answered in the negative (or in the affirmative), and though it did not raise the question of the reality of the Master's earthly life, the solution turned inevitably in the direction of docetism. The vacuity of the phenomenal world was still more emphasized in the later 'non-mark' (alokānta) philosophy of the Mahāyāna school, and it became a decidedly docetic theory, as applied to the personality of Buddha.

Another direction taken by Buddhist philosophy had its origin in the emphasis laid on the reality of the truths, the personality and his personal life are not ignored, but he is the Master and the Tathagata, because he taught men truths according to reality (yathā-bhūtan, tathāgata). These truths are set forth, in the first place, indirectly, as dharmas (dharmā), but they are universal in their nature as truths (dharmanā), and the capacity or dignity of a Buddha is due to the realization of them. So it is said that all the Buddhas have attained their Buddhahood by the practice of these truths, according to them. Moreover, they are stable (dhamma-āsādhi) and fixed (dhamma-niyamatā),2 whether the Tathagata arises or not in this world. Buddha's own attestation that he who sees the dharmas free from passion and vice, is the Tathagata, brings out clearly the identity of his personality with the truths, and this may further be noted as implying a distinction between his transitory life and his life as the Tathagata according to truth. Here we have the clue to, and the source of, the idea of the dharma-kāya, i.e. the Buddha's personality identified with dharma and opposed to his physical life. Though the followers of this school, sometimes called the Dharmakāṣṇas, do not deny the reality of the Buddha's earthly life, they are always inclined to emphasize the metaphysical or transcendential side of the Buddha's personality, and to regard his earthly life as a mere manifestation or a condescension for the sake of common mortals. The tendency is manifested in the Mahāvīra, and is represented chiefly by the Svāmaprapābhī and the Saṁdharma-prajñādīrīka. Those who developed from this thought a systemat-ic Trinitarian theory were Asaghaṇo (q.v.), and Vasubandhu (q.v.), whose followers in this respect are the majority of Buddhists in the Far East.

2. The Mahāsaṅghikas.—While the orthodox Theravādins adhered strictly to the reality of the personality of their Master, the heterodox progressivists, or Mahāsaṅghikas, boldly proceeded to idealize the Tathagata. This tendency had long been fostered, as we have seen, and the materials for it stood. The Buddha's pre-existences both in this world and in the Tuṣita heaven. The results of the idealization,

1. Preserved in a Chinese tr. (Janjol, Célat. Ocl. 1858, no. 345).
2. The writer cannot accept the view that the Mahāvīra, (tr. Kern (Manual, Strah- burg, 1896, p. 64) in explaining Agguta, iv, 36, in a docetic sense, is a docetist, or, more correctly, a docetic tendency, though it is submitted that this sense of the word dharma is not an error. In the fourth, fifth or sixth centuries, the word dhamma was not used in this sense, and is as said in Aṣṭ. fr. 36; Sadd. 22, 94, etc., in this point other passages might be adduced.
4. See Subhuta, xxi, xvii; Udāna, 1, 10, viii, 3; Digha, 11; Kesakaputta, 12.
6. See Aṣṭ. 6, 1, 1; Aṣṭ. 21, 40.
7. See Aṣṭ. 6, 1, 1; Aṣṭ. 21, 40.
8. See Aṣṭ. 6, 1, 1; Aṣṭ. 21, 40.
9. See Aṣṭ. 6, 1, 1; Aṣṭ. 21, 40.
10. See Aṣṭ. 6, 1, 1; Aṣṭ. 21, 40.
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3. The Prajñā school.—Though the name praṇājā meant originally intellectual training in general, it became gradually restricted to the exercise of contemplation transcending all discursive and rational knowledge. The content of this kind of meditation amounts to transcending self and all actual aspects of things, and ascending to the highest region of mystic union (yogṛ). In the history of Buddha's teachings there is a gradual transition from this exercise, and it is said that his profound doctrine consisted in the teaching of vacuity (śūnyatā, Skr. śāntatā). Among his discipled Subhūti is praised by the Master as the foremost among those who practiced this Prajñā school, by one doing the contemplation among forest trees, as the man of meditation abandoning every thought of visible forms. It is he to whom are ascribed the occasional conversations on the subject, and the various texts dealing with those conversations and the admirable discourses which he was the first to formulate. These Prajñā texts are those used by Buddhists to convince man of the non-reality of what is deemed by the common mind to be reality. Thus it is quite natural that the argument should be put forward by him. A decided doctrine is represented by this group of texts and its followers, whom we would now call the Prajñā, or Alākṣaṇa, school.

Seeing the non-entity of everything phenomenal, and attaining to the height of mystic contemplation, one could realize in himself the depth of the praṇājā wisdom. Buddhisthood is the position wherein this wisdom is fully manifested and the highest illumination is seen face to face. Even when denying the reality of the world (lōka), the proper Buddhist is in reality nothing but illusion, like all other phenomena of the visible world (lōka). As the five constituents (abuddhas) of the visible world are merely manifestations of consciousness, its illusions and its teachings, in reality not the real state of illumination. Not only are a hundred thousand words and phrases used to describe this condition, but it is regarded as the most real of realities and is called the mother of all the Buddhas, the source from which they derive their enlightenment. Thus the innermost qualities of Buddhisthood can be sought nowhere else than in the profound abyss of the praṇājā. The normal consequence of this thought is that if the earthly life is illusion, and that without the name of Buddha's teachings, the nature of that is realized. Therefore, the Buddha's teachings were grounded in the self and the world, but they do not take up the successive stages of embryonic development (kālalaṁ̄ka, arūda, pāta, and āhāra) in their own bodies. They would be born in the same way. In order to give the Mahāyāna their tongues, or human beings, as told in Jātakas; but this happens not by necessity, but owing to their own decision and for the purposes of accumulating merit and of leading other beings to salvation. They are the higher teaching of the Buddha, and not the enduring part of whatever which seem to be sometimes attached, sometimes unattached, to outward objects, and appear to be nourished by the bodies. Nevertheless, the Buddhist texts do not see forms and colours by eyes, or hear sounds by ears, or smell by noses, or taste as was done by the later Mahāyānis and Tantrists (see below). Further, they taught that the Buddha neither sleeps nor dreams. He is all the time in the state of complete unification with all truths, in a deep contemplation of the truths (in this form, in order to the Adibuddha) and therefore what he preaches is expressed by no notions or names. He is omniscient, comprehending all things at once, and all that can be applied to the Buddha is his thought. It is because in his mind is always present the mystic store of the praṇājā wisdom. In his thought are constantly present at the same time the wisdom of extinction (kāya-prapaṇājā, i.e. the consciousness that all pains are extinguished) and the wisdom of non-growth (avipada-prapaṇājā, i.e. in which is assured extinction in the future for ever). In these texts we see an idealizing identification of the Buddha's person with a universal Buddhisthood, despite lines and stanzas, and the tendency to make the Buddha himself his identification with the universe.

Quite naturally from these fundamental ideas is deduced the illusiveness of the corporeal life of a Buddha or of a Bodhisattva, i.e. of one who is preparing for a Buddhahood, 'All the Mahāyāna', says the Mahāsanghikas, 'enter the mother's womb, but they do not take up the successive stages of embryonic development (kālalaṁ̄ka, arūda, pāta, and āhāra) in their own bodies. They would be born in the same way. In order to give them tongues, or human beings, as told in Jātakas; but this happens not by necessity, but owing to their own decision and for the purposes of accumulating merit and of leading other beings to salvation. They are the higher teaching of the Buddha, and not the enduring part of whatever which seem to be sometimes attached, sometimes unattached, to outward objects, and appear to be nourished by the bodies. Nevertheless, the Buddhist texts do not see forms and colours by eyes, or hear sounds by ears, or smell by noses, or taste as was done by the later Mahāyānis and Tantrists (see below). Further, they taught that the Buddha neither sleeps nor dreams. He is all the time in the state of complete unification with all truths, in a deep contemplation of the truths (in this form, in order to the Adibuddha) and therefore what he preaches is expressed by no notions or names. He is omniscient, comprehending all things at once, and all that can be applied to the Buddha is his thought. It is because in his mind is always present the mystic store of the praṇājā wisdom. In his thought are constantly present at the same time the wisdom of extinction (kāya-prapaṇājā, i.e. the consciousness that all pains are extinguished) and the wisdom of non-growth (avipada-prapaṇājā, i.e. in which is assured extinction in the future for ever). In these texts we see an idealizing identification of the Buddha's person with a universal Buddhisthood, despite lines and stanzas, and the tendency to make the Buddha himself his identification with the universe.

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sake of common men, in order to admonish (anumodana) them to similar attainments.

The final extinction (paramirajña) of his physical body was, of course, not the end of a mortal, but will be a reality of ultimate absorption into the depth of vacancy. This applies to all Buddhas, past as well as future, who are infinite in number and nothing but individualized manifestations of the mother Prajñā. The name Buddha means the one who has realized the oneness of the truth and identified himself with vacancy; and Tathāgata is a title applied to him on account of his revelation of this ultimate truth (tathātā) of vacancy. Common men see in him one who has attained this truth by the accom-
plishments of Buddhahood (i.e. tathā-gata), and who has appeared among men to reveal it to them (i.e. tathā-agata). But, just as every phenomenon leaves no trace (apada) either of when it comes or of whether it goes, so the Tathāgata in reality comes from nowhere (na āgama) and goes to nowhere (na gamana). In this respect he is like space, and his person has essentially nothing other than the ultimate quality of all things, vacancy. They who see special features attributed to him are in reality ‘non-marks’ (alaksana), and ‘non-
mrk’ is the characteristic of any Tathāgata. He teaches men and leads them to deliverance; still they are mere illusions, and the Tathāgata con-
vincing is pure reality. If this paradoxical argument be followed out, the conclusion runs as follows:

'They who saw me by form, and who they heard me by

They engaged in false endeavours, will not see me.
A Buddha is to be seen from the Law (dharma); for the Law is the body of the Buddha (dharmakaya);
And the nature of the Law cannot be understood, nor can it be made to be understood.'

4. Nāgarjuna.—We do not know where or when these Prajñā texts originated. But we have before us one of them translated into Chinese in the 2nd cent. A.D. (Nanjo, no. 5). A tradition says that the Aṣṭasahasrikā was first preserved in Southern India, and was then transmitted to the West and to the North of India.1 Whatever the authenticity of the tradition may be, we see in Nāgarjuna, who is believed to have lived in Southern India in the 2nd or 3rd cent., a conspicuous proponent of the doctrine. He was a great dialectician, and possesses a considerable dialectic acumen. Till he reached a complete denial of any definite thought about anything, especially in his Madhyamika-Sastra (Nanjo, no. 1179). In the 22nd chapter of this treatise he denies step by step every quality thinkable of the person of the Tathāgata. He has no physical body; yet, apart from physical body (which is in reality vacancy), there is no existence. He has no mind; yet, apart from mind, he is an inconceivable thing. Inconceivable and unthink-
able as he is, he is not a non-existence (asad) or non-being (asad) is never to be predicat-
ed of him, because both are illusions. He is neither a being nor a non-being, neither a non-being nor a non-non-being. In short, he has no substance (ātman-bhāva), just as every other being, both in his lifetime and after his death, has none. Any attribute, any thought of his substance, is to be denied, and thorough negations of relations could lead to the deep insight into it which is realized the contemplation of praṇājña.

Theravāda doctet as Nāgarjuna was, he did not deny the historicity of the Buddha's life, and thus was compelled to distinguish between the empirical and the transcendental standpoints in his discussion. This distinction is pointed out in his commentary2 on the Satasahasrikā, the

largest of the Prajñā texts. In this work he does not employ negative dialectics, but endeavours to state the common view, i.e. the so-called Hīnayānist standpoints, faithfully, according to its own tenets, and then to elevate it to, or explain it away from, his own transcendental Hīnayānist standpoint. Thus he admits therein the actuality of the occurrences and teachings in the Buddha's lifetime. In this respect his treatise is a kind of encyclopedia of Buddhist legends and doctrines, and the author reproduces faithfully the anti-doetic arguments, as found in the Kathavatthu (or elsewhere), enumerating the incidents of the Buddha's life and their respective scenes.

But Nāgarjuna does not deny the real existence of Buddha's body (jatokāya, i.e. 'born in flesh'), in contrast with his real substance (dharmakāya, also called atmahkāya and prajñākāya). The former view is admitted from the standpoint of the earthly principle (loka-artha), and the latter is the only true view according to the first principle (parama-

artha) of Prajñā. The thirty-two marks, etc., may be thus understood by him, till the final truth should amount to non-marks (alaksana). If the dharmakāya should be positively stated, it fills up the infinite space in all directions, being furnished with all the siddhis and other dignities. Its activities have no limit; it preaches ceaselessly, and leads all beings to enlightenment with every means and method beyond our imagina-
tions. The jatokāya may be of any number and of any kind, for the Buddha Sākyamuni belonged to them, and the most conspicuous to every eye in this world-period. Yet he was a mere manifesta-
tion of the true body, adapted to the needs of common men, who could be educated only by a phenomenal manifestation and by verbal teachings of the Tathāgata, appearing in a physical body like theirselves. The sunlight pervades everywhere in space, but it can be seen by physical eyes only when reflected from a material body.

Thus Nāgarjuna does not wholly reject the existence of an historical Buddha, but this is a concession made to the common view, just as the physical life of a Tathāgata is a condensation for the sake of ordinary men. Yet it is undeniable that Nāgarjuna regards the Prajñā texts as genuine, and he recognizes a distinct personality in Sākyamuni, as one of the innumerable Buddhas, and his descriptions of the Buddha's life and capacities are on the same lines as in the other forms of Buddhism. In short, Nāgarjuna's docetism was a necessary consequence of his philosophi-
cal standpoint; but his Buddhology is characterized by a sharp distinction between the jatokāya and the dharmakāya, in emphasizing the sole reality of the latter according to the fundamental prin-
ciple of the Prajñā doctrine, and in admitting the historicity of the Buddha's life as a concession to the common view, and also as a manifestation of the Buddha's mercy and potency for the sake of the beings to be led.

5. Eternal Buddhahood.—Just as in Christianity the dogmas of homonoia and the Trinity stood in opposition to Doectism, so we see, in Buddhist history, similar aspects of the Buddhological specu-
lations opposed to pronounced doctetism. But most Buddhist thinkers had hardly reached a clear under-
standing of the demarcation between doctism and anti-doctism, and even among those Mahāyānist who, unhesitatingly espoused the anti-doetic standpoint very few combated doetic tendencies so decidedly as the earlier Thagavaṇḍis. The truths (dharma) revealed by the Buddha con-

1 Vajracchedikā (SBE xlix. 140-141).
2 Aṣṭasahasrikā, pp. 224-245.
3 Nanjo, no. 1169.
In this way a derivation of the personal Buddha from the original undifferentiated Buddhahood by the Bodhisattvas is commonly taxed their ingenuity. Many thinkers tried to solve the problems in a way very similar to the Christian theories of the Logos and k logos, but with this difference, that their ideas generally regarded in the anti-docetic tendency in criticizing the Buddhahood a priori, thus sacrifying more or less the actuality of the Buddha’s life. Some of them laid special stress upon the eight (or four) important incidents in his life (śākya), but he never acknowledged them, and yet those signs were merged in the all-absorbing universality or monokey repeated in the career of each of the innumerable Buddhas. Even the anti-docetic Theravadins saw in Sakyamuni one of the Buddhas who appeared in the past and will appear in the future, and so his Buddhahood was made to consist in the realization of the one road (ekayana) common to all Buddhas. This capacity or dignity of a Buddha is expressed by means of the Tathāgata: in the Tantric philosophy, the question arises whether the various Buddhas, though individualized in personal distinctions, are one in substance, and whether the true personality of the present Buddha should be sought beyond his body by the Lord.

A solution of these questions was attempted in the Saṃva-rana-pu-bhā, which took the question of the duration of the Tathāgata’s life (Tathāgata-du-ta-pu-rāma) as its text. In order to escape from objection raised by anti-docetic tendenci, the Buddha manifests himself in heavenly brilliancy, surrounded by the Tathāgata’s weapons, body, Dharma, and Buddha-bhūva on four sides; the questioner utters verses in praise and admiration of the Buddha’s infinite life. Further, it is explained in the following passage that the Buddha is the all-seeing, all-hearing, all-knowing, and all-pervading one, who has the gift of omniscience.

This passage, as I have already pointed out, is contrary to the view of the common mortals (sattvinām pariprakāsha), in a way adapted to their capacities. Thus what is essential in a Tantric form of worship (purushottama) is the personification of the Tetramorph (the four characters of the Buddha, i.e. the four:泼仏, described as the sattva, bāha, dravya, and nāma), but the eternal and universal life, in full possession of the Truth, i.e. the dharmakāya (or dharmarātra), of which any particular Buddha partakes, and on account of which he becomes a Buddha. All the Buddhas are identical in their substance (anumāna) and in their centre, but the Buddha is the Buddha in the senses of all of them.

The Revered One is not a maker, nor the Tathāgata a born one. Thus the universal predominates over the particular, and a docetic tendency is manifest in this idealistic speculation in connexion with the mythologizing processes.

Another book, the ‘Lotus of the True Law’ (Saṃvatthu-pu-rāvanī), tries to answer the same question on similar lines, and on a grander scale, but in a less docetic fashion. We might call it the Fundamental Gospel of Buddhism, and the quintessence of the whole argument consists in identifying the actual Buddha with the Buddha who has just begun his career. His appearance in this world as Sakyamuni was ‘for the sole object, the sole aim, . . ., of exhibiting to all beings the sight of the Buddha and of the Tathāgata—appearance of the source of all Tathāgata knowledge.’ But for this purpose, for the sake of all beings, the Buddha adopted the expedient (opāsana-pratipattipada) of being born among the Sakyas on earth to manifest himself and to have attained Buddhahood under the Bodhi tree, near Gayḍ, and to have entered into nirvāṇa. But in reality he has neither beginning nor end. He existed from eternity, and is to live for ever. Thus the second chapter of the book, which explains the cause and purpose of the Buddha’s appearance, forms the centre of the introductory part; the fifteenth, which reveals the eternity of his essence, the centre of the middle, or main part; and the twentieth, the centre of the concluding part, shows the efficiency of the Buddha’s teaching and authority for ever in the future. Thus, instead of placing the actual appearance of the Buddha among men, as his father and the Lord of the world; then is revealed the original (ārya) essence and acting force (eternity chittāraṇa); in the conclusion we have the assurance of the endurance of his personal body (tathātā, i.e. the body of Paricarya, so to speak, who is to appear in the latter days of the world. In these statements, however mythical and fantastic they may be in many passages, the text never loses sight of the Buddha’s personality.

1. Diṅgha, 14; Mahādūrda and Saṅghita, 47, 18, 47.
2. Sūtra-pu-bhā, pp. 6-8.
3. This translation of the word varna is given on the authority of the two Chinese translators.
5. Especially in this part, chapters ii,—vi, we can trace many passages to the Pali Sūtras of the Theravāda.
DOM

Vasubandhu, together with his brother Asanga.

His standpoint is essentially that of Asvaghosa, differing from the latter only in noneucalculature and subdivision.

Vasubandhu is a theologian, or a Gaotic, in his way of thinking and in his description of the various mystic attainments. Moreover, he almost loses sight of a definite incarnation, such as that of Buddha, and becomes preoccupied in innumerable conceptions of bodies (which he calls appellations, nimiata), appearing everywhere in any form, in the visions of the Bodhisattvas. These apparitions can meet and cross one another without any hindrance, and can come and go in their own right, without any educative purposes. Thus Vasubandhu, though an ardent believer in Maitreya, the future Buddha, opposes most decidedly the view that there appears only one Buddha in one world-period. The universe is filled with all possible apparitions of Buddha, from gross matter, plants, and animals, up to the highest manifestations in the states of bliss. Mysticism, Theosophy, Gaoticism, and Pantheism are combined in his doctic Buddhism, which accounts for nothing else than Cosmology and Psychology.

Lastly, a similar doctic Buddhism is represented by a chapter entitled the 'Trikaya' in the Sanskrit, which is found only in P-ta translation, and is probably a later interpolation from the pen of a follower of Vasubandhu. This is apparently intended to be a further interpretation of the second chapter. Nevertheless, the writer makes no mention of the actual Budal Buddhism. Sakyamuni, but emphasis is laid on the substantial identity of all the Buddhas, who are considered to be mere apparitions of the sole essence, the dharmaayaa. He thinks that, if one sees in the Buddha or Buddhas this identity of substance, as well as of intention and activities, according to truth (dharmatathaaayaa), there can be no talk about life or death, sleep or dream, thirst or hunger in the Tathaaatas, because his own mind is, in reality, always transported in profound contemplation (yoga).

Thus we see Trinitarianism finally reaching a decided docticism, though it started from a standpoint different from that of the Prajna school. Asvaghosa's psychological cosmology did not decidedly deny the reality of the cosmescence body.

Nevertheless, the idea of unity in the Trinity proceeded, in Vasubandhu and his followers, to that of identity (samatva), verging on the negation of differences, as we have found in Nagarjuna. This, however, did not go to the extreme of the latter's doctrine, but developed the Mahii-sangniks' Pantheism into their own Theosophy. This theosophy is again worked up in the mysticism of the Mantra system, another form of decided docticism, at which we shall now give a glance.

7. Mantra Buddhism.—Though we know very little about the origin and history of Mantra (Jap. Shingon) Buddhism, or Buddhist Tantrism, it is a very ancient and important branch of extremely idealistic and materialistic elements. Its origin is ascribed to Nagarjuna, and it has certainly its own-idealizing idealism at its basis, but none the less, mystic interpretations of the material as well as ideal worlds, as found in Vasubandhu, play a great part. Numerous texts and formulae were produced in India and were widely prevalent there in the last centuries of Buddhist history. We see them also used by the Lamas to-day side by side with their Prajna and in Japan. The most important text of this mysticism, the Mahii-vairochana-abhiisambodhi, was brought to China by an Indian, Subhakarasinha († 755), and its final systematization was carried out in Japan by Kukai († 835).

1 See esp. ch. xx. of his Vijiiatimitered (Nanjlo, no. 1215).

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The Buddha, according to this philosophy, is nothing but the whole universe, the dharmakaya, including its constituents, the mental and the material. The former is called the Garbhakshata, the latter the Vajrakshata. In Hinduism, the individualized phenomena are, in this way, nothing but the Buddha's revelation to himself, and at the same time the methods of benediction (raasikshane) embracing all beings. The whole is called the Buddha Mahii-Vairochana. The numberless manifestations of his body, such as Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Vajrapani, Padmapani, etc., make up the whole pantheon of the religion, which is represented symbolically in the two sets of cycles or assemblages (saadada), corresponding to the above divisions of the Dhatau. We shall not here enter into the details of this symbolism, for, as we might naturally expect, the historical Buddha dwindles almost to naught in this recondite system of mysticism. The name Sakyamuni is preserved in one corner of the Garbhakshata-saadada, but his actual personality and the mystic has nothing to say of his life or teaching. A disciple of Subhakarasinha tried, in his commentary on the text named above, to explain the eternal Buddha taught in the Lotus as identical with Maha-Vairochana, and identified some Japanese Mantrists identified Sakyamuni with their supreme Buddha. But all these attempts were carried on to neglect of the historical significance of Sakyamuni. In short, the person of the Buddha is, with them, dispersed and diffused over the whole universe, and he is ranked on the same level as any other superhuman beings.

He is elevated on one side to the all-embracing dharmaayaa, and on the other is degraded to mere dust. This was a consequence of Buddhist materialism and idealism. It is only natural that, with the disintegration of the personal Buddha, the Buddhist religion, in this form, reached dissolution and all kinds of abuses and superstitions were accepted and justified.


A. ANESAKI.

DOCTRINE AND DOGMA.—See Church, Confessions, Creeds.

DOG.—See Animals.

DOLMEN.—See Death (Europe, pre-historic).

DOM.—The menial tribe of Dravidian origin, widely spread under various names in most parts of continental India. The Census returns of 1901 (Census India, ii. 1903) show their numbers to be 977,026; and of the Dominant, Domar, or Dombar, 97,456. But there must be some error in the tabulation, as none are shown in Bengal, where the Maghiala Doms of Bihar are an important tribe. The Dombar may be identified with the Dravidian, and their social position of their branches is very different. They certainly belong to a large extent to one of the non-Aryan races; but in many places they may be the descendants of the mixed race of serfs or slaves of the early conquerors. As Bisley remarks:

...
The Dom of Northern India may be divided into three territorial groups, the ethnological connection of which can be only dimly seen. The eastern branch of the tribe found in the Plains districts to the east of the United Provinces and in Bihar; (2) the Doms of the Himalayas; (3) the Dom or Démirás of the Punjab.

In the Ganges Province.—These are divided into numerous sub-tribes, such as the Bänîspûr (q. c.), the Basor, and others. They differ in social position according to the business in which they are engaged, and in particular their rank depends upon whether they do or do not practise scavenging. The most interesting of these groups is that of the Maghaïyas Doms, who take their name from the ancient kingdom of Magadh or South Bihar. They are found in the western districts of Bengal and to the east of the United Provinces. In their original state they are vagrants pure and simple, who do not possess even mud shelters or tents to protect them in the cold and rainy season, but cover under trees, or lurk in cattle-sheds. Some of the women live by burglary, petty theft, and begging, and their women are prostitutes. In Gorakhpur they have two special divinities of their own—Gândak and Sâmâyâ. Gândak is said to have been hanged for theft, and long time afterwards he was duly promised to help the Maghaïyas in times of trouble. He is worshipped by the whole sub-tribe, and is invoked on all important occasions; but he is pre-eminentely the god of theft. A successful rägalways makes amends for theft and leaves Gândak as his protecteur. Sâmâyâ is a female deity, and apparently, as is usual among the Dravidians, she is recognized in a vague way to be the consort of Gândak. She is without special history or legend, and no sharp line of distinction is drawn between her functions and those of Gândak; but she seems to be especially invoked at childbirth and in illness. Both these deities are honoured with sacrifices of young pigs, with an offering of spirits mixed with honey. Also the Dom priests have an ancestor called Paranémavar, the great god, who punishes the guilty, and of a hell; but what it is and how sinners are punished they know not. As Risley, writing of Bihar, remarks (op. cit. 1. 241):

"The religion of the Doms varies greatly in different parts of the country, and may be described generally as a chaotic mixture of survivals from the elemental or animistic cults characteristic of the short-sighted races, and of observances borrowed in a haphazard fashion from whatever Hindu sect happens to be dominant in a particular locality. The composite and chaotic nature of their belief is due partly to the great ignorance of the caste, but mainly to the fact that, as a rule, they have no Brahmins, and are without any central authority, and standard, which would tend to mould their religious usages into conformity with a uniform standard."

The Maghaïyas, apparently as a survival of the matriarchate in some form, employ a sister’s son to act as funeral priest and to recite the spells (mantra) which are intended to lay the ghost of the dead.

"If a man dies of snake-bite, say the Maghaïyas, and the Doms of the Gya district, we worship the spirit of the deceased (vi-râg); for if you [standing] lest he come back and give us bad dreams; we also worship the snake that bit him, lest the ghost may scare us in like fashion. Any man, therefore, conspicuous enough by his doings in life or for the manner of his death to stand a chance of being remembered even after death is likely in course of time to rank as a god" (ib. 1. 247).

Hence arises the worship of Syâm Singh, the defiled ancestor of the Doms of Bihar, who may have been a successful robber, or of Gândak, to whom reference has already been made. The Bihar branch, again, worship Sâmârî Mâi, whom some identify with Kâl, but who is probably, as her name implies, the Earth Mother, known to most primitive religions.

No image, not even the usual lump of clay, is set up to represent the goddess: a circle one span and four fingers in diameter, is drawn on the ground; some representative of the great goddess, a Cow-dong. Squatting in front of this the worshipper gashes his left arm with the curved Dom knife, and daubs five streaks of blood with his finger in the centre of the circle, praying in a low voice that a dark night may aid his designs; that his booty may be ample; and that he and his gang may escape detection, with which Risley (op. cit. i. 247 f.) aptly compares the prayer to Laverna:—

Da mihi fallacere, da justo sanctoque videri,
Nectem pecostris et fraudibus oblige urbem." (Horace, Ep. i. 16. 61).

Similarly in the United Provinces, the Dom, whose business it is to slay ownerless dogs, has a female deity called Kukarmari, 'slayer of dogs,' to whom a sacrifice of a young pig and an offering of spirits are made as a propitiation for the death of the animals of which she is the guardian. The Dom executioner, on the same principle, as he lets the gallows fall, calls to the Emperor, the judge, and all who are concerned in the conviction and sentence of the criminal, to take the guilt of his prisoner's death upon his own and leave the accused free from responsibility. In a still lower grade of belief are the so-called fetishistic practices of worshippers the 'jenny' with which the Dom burglar makes entry into a house. They also when encamped near a village do not push back to the side of the path, or in the stage. This branch of the Doms feels the dread of evil spirits which is found among all races in a similar stage of culture. Mari Masân, the death spirit of the cremation ground, represents the impersonated dread which his disciples have the power to invoke, and it is considered necessary to appease the ghosts of the dead by an annual celebration, if they are not to appear in dreams and afflict the living.

2. The Himalayan Dom.—These are at a much higher grade than those of Bihar and the neighbouring districts. They carry on various trades which in the Plains are each allotted to a separate caste. Their beliefs are of the same animistic type as those of the Dom of Bihar. In the first place, they worship a number of defiled ghosts who are specially commemorated on account of the tragic circumstances of their death. Gangannâth was a prince murdered on account of a sexual intrigue, and he and his paramour are worshipped. When any one is supposedly bewitched by a wicked or powerful enemy, he goes for aid to Gangannâth, who invariably punishes the wrongdoer. He sometimes possesses one of his followers, and through him describes the sufferings which he has undergone. This is a practice which, when any such person attacks the iniciates, is represented as the impersonated horror of grave-yard or forest. Masân lives at a burning-ground, is black in colour and hideous in appearance. He comes from the ashes of a funeral pyre and walks pasters by at night, some of whom die of fright, whilst others go mad and linger for a
DOMESTICATION

while. He possesses the sick, causes disease, and can be expelled by exorcism. Khabish lives in remote, dark glens, sometimes imitating the bellow of a buffalo, the cry of a goose or swan, or the grunt of a calf. A bright-eyed young male, with bunches and bells, is the traveling seller. Beside malignant ghosts of this kind they also worship Khetpal, 'protector of the land,' the male consort of the Earth Mother, and Kadbish and Chandibhi whom they believe protect the herds and flocks. More terrible is Riniyā, who rides from village to village on immense boulders, the impersonation of the avalanche or of the rocks falling from the mountain side. He attacks only females, until they fix his attention; she invariably wastes away, haunted by her demon lover, and joins him in spirit land.

3. The Dom or Dīm Mirāsī.—Quite different in occupation, at least from the Mahāgliya or Hinduīya Doms, is the Dom or Dīm Mirāsī of the Panjāb, who has been well described by lIbbon (Pānījāb Ethnography, 289). He is a minstrel and ballad-singer, plays on the little drum, cymbals, and fiddle, and his women amuse ladies in zananas by appearing as jesters and singers. It would not be difficult to show that these arts may have developed among the more savage Doms. But the Panjāb Doms are now quite distinct from the Mahāgliya and the Doms of the Himalayas, and it seems as if they have been independently Muhammadans, though they still retain many of the animistic beliefs of the other branches of the tribe.

LITERATURE.—For Bengal, see Riste, Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Calcutta, 1901, i. 280 ff.; Wiser, Races, Castes, and Trades of Eastern Bengal, London, 1853, p. 355 ff.; Gaik, Census Report Bengal, 1901, i. App. vii. p. xix. For the United Provinces, Crooke, Tribes and Castes of the North and North-East Provs. and Oudh, Calcutta, 1896, ii. 312 ff.; Atkinson, Hima-

DOMESTICATION.—The term applied to the control by human beings of the conditions under which animals and plants live and propagate their species. The extent of this control varies from case to case, and, although, logically, German authorities who include oysters and silkworms among domesticated animals are justified by the definition, the term as a rule is limited to such animals and plants as are necessary for human existence or well-being of the human race—among animals, to the dog, the horse and the ass, the cow and other ruminants, the rabbit and similar rodents; the animal of great value for transport like the camel and the Indian elephant; among plants, to cereals, roots, and tubers which have an agricultural value, various species of trees, and plants like flax and hemp which contain fibres of great use to man. The most primitive men do not possess either domesticated animals or domesticated plants. So far as at present is ascertainable, paleolithic man in Europe possessed neither, though in a stratum intermediate between paleolithic and neolithic, at Mas d'Azil in the South of France, Edouard Piette found representations of heads of horses which in the woodcut look certainly as if they were fitted with halters (though this has been denied). Piette found also a little heap of what may be red deer bones but it is generally believed that the bones came into the shelter clothed with flesh intended for food. Even in the 'kitchen-middens' of the coast of Denmark, which belong to the neolithic age, the only animal which can be identified as domesticated is the dog, so that we may imagine the state of civilization of that period to resemble in the main that of the native Australians at the present day. These animals have no estates and proceedings which can be called in any sense domesticated is the dingo—the native dog. As even the dingo in the pairing season often deserts its master, it cannot be considered entirely domesticated. Other animals are obviously not likely to be kept long as pets among savages who lay up no stores and at certain times of the year find natural products so scarce that they are driven to devouring their own children. The primitive savage has, however, undoubtedly the ability to make friends with domesticated animals, and in South America, where the conditions of life are on the whole easier than in Australia, the huts of the natives are full of animals, mostly birds, which they have tamed. The native, however, turns them to no practical use, and when he has been presented with ordinary fowls he uses neither their eggs nor their flesh. When the American Indians were given cattle, they could not imagine any other method of treatment for them than as animals to hunt.

The domestication of animals has obviously been a process continued over a long period of time, and in the case of most animals repeated at many different places by different persons. The stages in the domestication of the domestic fowl are the most important animal to man in many ways is the cow. Its flesh and milk supply food; its skin provides clothing; its sinews, bones, and horns yield primitive implements. From very early times it has also been used as a manuring agent. As an early Persian writer says in the Bathror Yashīt of the Avesta, developing the texts of an earlier Yasna, 'in the ox is our strength, in the ox is our need, in the ox is our food, in the ox is our clothing; in the ox is tillage, that makes food grow for us' (SBE xxiii. 247). In other circumstances the goat is of hardly less importance, while the sheep has been much more modified by its contact with man than these; and its bones, in Northern Europe at any rate, are found later and more rarely than those of the ox and goat. The conditions in which the horse was domesticated are also obscure. But this animal became indispensable in countries where large herds of cattle could not be controlled only by the mounted cowboy, who on the great plains of both the Old and New World has been an important political factor. The geographical conditions which brought about the domestication of the camel and the elephant were much more limited in range. In the case of the pigeon it has been shown by Darwin that all varieties have arisen, under domestication, from the 'blue rock.' The goose was early domesticated; in the Odyssey (xv. 161-2) an eagle carries off one of Helen's geese as she feeds them in the courtyard at Sparta. The goose, duck, cock, and pigeon were domesticated with a view to their use as food, but the turtle-dove was often kept simply as a pet, while the game-cock (the 'Persian bird' of the Greek poets) was kept from a sporting interest. It is impossible, therefore, to decide very clearly which have become thus domesticated in different parts of the world in modern times, e.g. the turkey, the guinea-fowl, the pheasant, and the ostrich.

The causes which produce domestication in animals were treated nearly half a century ago by Francis Galton (Trans. of the Ethnol. Soc. of London, 1865, p. 129 ff.). To his analysis, though rarely quoted in recent times, later writers have added nothing of importance. He shows that animals which become domesticated must have an
inborn liking for man, be fond of comfort, be useful to savages, be hardy, free breeding, and gregarious. The cat, it may be argued, is not gregarious; but it is fond of comfort, and, except in rare instances, is more attached to a place than to a person. The pig, on the other hand, has many of the qualities in which the cat is lacking, but it has for various obvious reasons never been domesticated in the same way, and even the crofter of the Highlands or of Western Ireland, who shares his habitation with the cattle, as a rule excludes the pig. Some animals are kept by man in captivity without their being in the proper sense domesticated. Till lately the wild elephant had to be tamed, The elephant did not breed in captivity. But the speculations to which this fact has given rise are in the main ill-founded. The tame elephant in conditions approaching his wild state does breed (Darwin, Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication, popular ed., 1905, ii, 165).

Besides the natural causes postulated by Galton, the existence of animals both domesticated and undomesticated was probably to some extent guaranteed by religious or quasi-religious sanctions. In Persia and in Germany white horses were specially sacred (Herod. l. 189; Tac. German. 9, 10). In India animal life generally is sacred, but in Persia the ox which drew the plough was not to be killed. What effect totemism had upon the maintenance of particular animals and plants will be clearer when experts have decided precisely what totemism is (see Frazer, Totemism and Taboo, 4 vols., London, 1910; and, for a different view, A. Lang, art. 'Totemism,' in E.B.), 191).

Hahn's contention (Die Haustiere, 1896) that the domestication of the kine began with animals kept in an enclosure by a temple for purposes of sacrifice, because religious evidence is in its support. The great enclosures belonging to the Persian kings, called in Avesta pari-darza, a word borrowed by Greek in the form paraparosos, had, it is true, many animals contained within them; but their religious character is not more obvious than that of an English gentleman's park. Most Greek temples stood in an enclosure (triurei), but the presence of cattle except at the time of sacrifice was not encouraged there, and in the Eoic inscription published by Reinach (see Reinach, d. oct., Arch. Inst. in Wien, v. 141) it is distinctly laid down that such animals are not to be fed in the precinct: 

\[\text{σάκος γεγονός δέ κατά κρέας καὶ μαζί φοιβούμενον εν τῇ ἢρῳ.}\]

That, however, there were several stages in the domestication of cattle, as Hahn contends, may be readily admitted. Some people, like the Chinese, who have domesticated cattle, look with disgust upon the use of their milk; others, who use both their flesh and their milk, have never employed them as draught animals. But Hahn probably exaggerates the length of time that it took to acclimatize the cow to yield her milk to a milkman or milkmaid instead of to her calf—a difficulty which is present to a modern farmer with a cow that has been once allowed to suckle her calf as it was in early times. Probably milking began in the case of cows which had lost their calves, and to which milking was a relief, if they were otherwise in the Latin phrase, mononecte, 'acustomed to handling.' The careful selection, through untold ages of animals which were 'good milkers' has no doubt increased the size of the cow's udder, but from the beginning the cow and the more dire in this respect that the foal accompanies its mother from the first, while the cow in her native state when she goes to pasture leaves her calf in a brake and often does not return to it for a long time. The domestication of plants is not exactly parallel with the domestication of animals. While savage herdsmen like the Bechuanaas object strongly to the women interfering with their animals, a woman is undoubtedly the first gardener and agriculturist. As Lamholtz says (Among Cannibals, 1889, p. 169), a savage woman 'must do all the hard work, go out with her basket and her stick to gather fruits, dig roots, or chop laren out of the tremendous earth. The stick which she only employs, is indispensable to her on her expeditions after food. It is made of hard tough wood four or five feet long, and has a sharp point at one end made by alternately burning it in the fire and rubbing it with a stone. Even at dances and festivals the savage women carry this stick as an emblem of dignity, as the provider of the family. This stick survives as an agricultural implement even among civilized peoples. The next step, and a long one, is to plant seeds the produce of which will be at hand when it is wanted. But for this several conditions are necessary which do not exist among the lowest savages even now: (1) the family must be either settled in a special place or wandering in a very circumscribed area; (2) the planter of the seeds must be able to keep them in some kind of sanction that they will not be injured by other persons; and (3) the planter herself must have more foresight than the lowest savages, so as to wait for the ripening of the fruit. At present there are harder data by which we can judge how this was accomplished, but we may guess that the dibbling of seeds began with persons who found movement from place to place difficult, e.g. through the encumbrance of infant children, or through unhealthiness or physical inferiority. The protection of the plants, as it seems, could be secured only by superstitious dread. A precinct must be made which it would not be safe for other persons to invade. In other words, a tabu protected them.

Here we are faced once more with the problem which arose in connection with the domestication of animals. Is this protective tabu totemism? F. B. Jevons (Intro. to History of Religion, London, 1904, pp. 114 ff., 156, 230 ff.), who is followed by S. Reinach (Cultes, myths et religions, l. (Paris, 1909) 367.), would attribute domestication of both animals and plants entirely to totemism; van Genmersch (Tabou et totemisme a Madagascar, Paris, 1904) (Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, sciences sociales, Paris, 1903, vol. vi., p. 267, for the existence of other cases (pp. 251 ff., 307 ff., and passim). From the gathering of grass seeds, as still practised, e.g. in Australia, among the Hottentots, and among the lowest nations of the Pacific there was doubt a gradual progress (which we cannot trace) to the planting of cereals. The Hindu writer who says that barley was the first of plants is from the point of view of food-grains probably right, but wheat in its many varieties speedily became of equal, if not greater, importance. It is on the different forms of grain that domestication has had more influence than anywhere else. Hence, for wheat, at any rate, the only species for which a wild type is likely to be found is the Triticum monococcum, of which the origin is said to be Triticum agiloides. This is found wild from Servia through Asia Minor to Mesopotamia and Antilibanus.
DONATISTS.—‘Donatists’ is the name given to the adherents of a schismatic Church which was formed in N. Africa at the beginning of the 4th cent., and continued, in spite of severe persecution, for more than a hundred years. Within the area which it affected, Donatism was for the greater part of the 5th cent. numerically the preponderating form of Christianity, but its influence was practically confined to the dioceses of Numidia and Mauretania. While in the origins it was largely due to personal and provincial rivalries, the schism came rapidly to involve serious problems concerning the nature and the functions of the Church, and it was crushed only by a combination of force applied to the State and the diocesal ability of Augustine.

The persecution under Diocletian had revived the question whether a priest or a bishop who had shown weakness or unfaithfulness could continue in his office. The matter had been answered with an unhesitating negative by Cyprian:

‘They who have brought grievous sin upon them, that is, who by fleeing to idols have offered sacrifices, cannot claim to themselves the priesthood of God, or offer any prayers in His sight for their brethren’ (Ep. Ixx. 2; cf. liv. ii. 2, 5).

When, on the death of Mensarius, bishop of Carthage (A.D. 311), the deacon Cecilian was elected as consecrated successor to Felix, bishop of Aptunga, objection was at once raised to the election, on the threefold ground that Cecilian himself was unworthy of the office; that he had been elected only by the bishops in the district of Carthage, and not by those of the whole province of Numidia; and that his consecration was invalid, having been conferred by one who was himself a traditor. The opposition was led and organized, in the first place, by Secundus, bishop of Tigitis and consecrated by Felix, bishop of Aptunga; objection was also raised to Felix, bishop of Carthage, attended by seventy other bishops, excommunicated Cecilian and those who adhered to him, and consecrated in his place Majorinus, a ‘reader’ who belonged to the opposite party. The Church of N. Africa were rent in twain. Each side excommunicated the other. Both appealed to the Emperor Constantine, ignoring thereby Tertullian’s principle, ‘Quid Imperatori cum ecclesia?’, and setting an evil precedent for the future. The Emperor, having heard the case of Hosius, bishop of Cordoba, had already shown favour to Cecilian, yielded to the request of Majorinus, and called on Miltiades, bishop of Rome, with the assistance of the bishops of Arles, Autun, and Constantine the Great, to arbitrate in the conflict. Whether Felix was indeed a traditor. Their decision cleared the reputation of Felix and confirmed the consecration of Cecilian, and also condemned Donatus of Casae Nigrae, a leader of the opposite party, on the ground that he had re-baptized Christians and re-ordained bishops who adhered to the schism. As the principles at issue were thus brought to the surface, the Donatists were only confirmed in their resolve to separate from the Church, and Constantine remitted the whole matter to a Synod which he convoked to meet at Arles (A.D. 314). This Synod, which, though described by Augustine as ‘plemarum universae ecclesiae concilium,’ cannot claim to be more than a General Synod of the Latin West, condemned the Donatists on all points of their contention.

The schism, nevertheless, continuing to spread, and Majorinus having been succeeded by Donatus Magnus, from whom the schismatic Church probably derived its name, Constance remodelled the whole system of ecclesiastical rules. Issuing a decretal threatening to deprive the schismatics of their churches and to banish their bishops (A.D. 316). The policy of forcible suppression was pursued with great severity by Ursacius, the Imperial commissioner, but with little success; and in 321 Constantine instructed both Ursacius and Cecilian to adopt a policy of moderation.

Under his successor, Constans, the history of the schism followed much the same course. Both the persecution and the resistance were more determined. It was a period of much social distress and disturbance in Africa. The Donatists, as ecclesiastical rebels, provided a rallying point for all the discontented and seditious elements in the population. There was a breakdown of social order. Bands of dispossessed peasants and escaped slaves infested the country, committing abominable outrages, and exposed to fanaticism. They sought to make common cause with the Donatists, and called themselves militis Christi agnostici, but are better known as circuncidati, ‘hut-hunters.’ The Donatists were discredited by these excesses, and suffered in their suppression. Many of them were put to death, many others were banished, and their churches were closed or confiscate. The accession of Julian brought a temporary relaxation to them, as to other schismatics and heretics, but under Gratian and Honorius the persecution was renewed. The schism continued, however, to flourish. Donatus Magnus, who died in exile, was succeeded by his unwanted successor, Majorinus. The situation which Augustine found at Hippo was probably characteristic of many districts: the Catholics were in a minority, and the Donatists refused to supply them with bread.

Towards the end of the 4th cent. the movement was seriously weakened by internal dissension. Tychonius, the celebrated grammarian, was condemned by a Donatist Synod in 390 for having acknowledged that there were saints in the Catholic Church. A Synod at Carthage passed sentences to the exclusion of the Eucharist. Moreover, the continued and vigorous polemic undertaken by Augustine began to tell. A conference between the two parties was arranged by him at Carthage in 411, and was attended by 286 Catholic and 279 Donatist bishops. It led to no satisfactory conclusion, but provided an excuse for again putting the civil law in motion. Augustine himself provided the first reasoned defence of the persecution of the Church by the State, and opposed the policy of thebones to the infliction of the death penalty. Fines, imprisonment, and confiscation followed, and in 415 the Donatists were prohibited from meeting for worship. Along with the Catholics they suffered grievances, and especially in the provinces, where were still traces of their existence as late as the 7th cent., when they are referred to by Gregory the Great.

Donatism was not a heresy; neither did it develop any heretical teaching. It was not a dispute as to the organization of the Church, or even one concerning discipline merely, which underlay the schism. Both parties held by the episcopal, as both held to the Creeds. Donatism represents an attempt—the final one for a thousand years—to resist the process of secularization by which the Church was gradually transformed from a community of holy persons into an institution of mixed character, offering to secure salvation for its members by means of grace over which it had sole control. It belongs, therefore, to the same series of movements as is represented by the Encratites (g.e.), Montanists (g.e.), followers of Hippolytus, and Novatians (g.e.). Insistence on a minimum of grace, Constatine’s measures, at least was ‘the last remnant of a much more earnest conception’ of the Church. It was met by the defenders of Catholocism with a new emphasis on the objective character of the sacraments, and upon
the holiness of the Church apart from the holiness or otherwise of its members and clergy. It was in the controversy with the Donatists, therefore, that the Catholic doctrine of the Church was completely developed. To the foundation principles of Donatism ('qui fideem perpero sumerit, non fideum per- cipiet sed restamt') Optatus of Mileve opposes an equally fundamental position, 'sacramenta per se esse sancta, non per homines.' It was not difficult for Augustine to show how his spiritual services were involved in the Donatist contention, chief among them the difficulty, amounting to impossibility, of knowing the true character of the officiating priest. But he went further, and, by asserting the indefinable character of its function, whereby an ordained priest retains the power to celebrate a valid sacrament, whatever he views or his conduct, and the mixed composition of the Church as it were making only 'vessels for honour' but 'vessels for dishonour,' stamped its final seal on the Catholic doctrine of the Catholic Church. It is true that in doing so he had to abandon the position taken by Cyprian, and assert the validity of all baptisms, performed by heretics, provided that it was in the presence of the Trine. It is true also that baptism in this way came to lose some of its significance and to represent only a 'marking' of the recipient, the beginning of a process already high in the church anywhere, could be consummated only within the Catholic Church and by the addition of 'charity' to faith. Moreover, in the theory of the Church thus developed in opposition to the Donatists, Augustine at last propounds the way in which the definition distinction between the Church visible and the Church invisible.

LITERATURE.—Optatus Milev., de Schismate Donatistarum [PL. 148]; Augustine, De civitate Dei, vols. I., II.; E. Völker, Ursprung des Donatismus, Freiburg, 1882; L. Duchesne, Histoire des Donatistes, Paris, 1890; A. Harnack, History of Dogma, 1895, esp. vol. v.; N. BOUWETSCH, De Donatismus, in FKB's, iv. 785-798. A. Scott, DOOM, DOOM MYTHS (Teutonic).—The belief in supernatural powers who preside over the destinies of mankind is met by among all the Teutonic peoples. These powers have more especially the end of life in their control, and they are accepted and obeyed and then identified with the spirit of death. They are believed to become incarnate in female form, now coalescing in a single being, now appearing as three sisters, or even in whole multitudes. According as they dispense good or evil fortune to men, they are distinguished as friendly or hostile. To the individual they frequently reveal his fate in dreams, and this explains why dreams hold so important a place, not only in the common life, but also in the literature, of the Teutonic race (cf. W. HENZEN, Über die Trumme in der altnord. Sogalliteratur, Leipzig, 1890).

The ancient Teutonic dialects possess several designations for the powers of destiny, and in not a few cases the terms have already acquired an abstract sense. All the tribes had the word meaning fate or events which appears in O.H.G. wéhr, A.S. wæra, wyr, and which sometimes signifies the spirit of death or destiny, and sometimes death or destiny itself. In the older forms of the Teutonic languages we find O.S. wætra, wætra, O.N. mjötéra, the power which 'mates out' or 'orders,' was in current use; while among the Southern Teutons we find O.H.G. geest, O.S. geyst, O.N. geisp, the spirit who creates ('shapes'), which is given in German-Latin glossaries as the equivalent ofparsed. In works of the 13th century, the geister sind es are still referred to as the power who best, life upon man and order its course (Völter, Bühne der Tugend, ii. 280).

The belief in the powers of destiny has assumed an altogether peculiar form in northern Scandinavia. Here they are known for the most part by the name norr. Norr is a word of obscure etymology, but appears to be connected with Swed. norm, nyrm, 'to tell secretly,' to warn,' and Mid. Eng. nurmen, 'to recite.' The fate of man is the work of the Norns (skop norræ), and none can evade their decree. Even the destiny of the gods appears in their control. Hence they may make their appearance at the birth of human beings, and support the mother in the pains of labour. People seek to win their favour by offerings. In the Faroe Islands it is still the custom for mothers to eat the 'Norn-grains' (nogar), and the prayers of men for success in their work. They are the Norns who determine the token of the predestined, and who, in battle, stand on either side of a man, wishing that he may receive wounds. The blows of fate are supposed to be the work of angry Norns, and defeats in war are also traced to their dictates. A person's death is likewise due to their decree. We thus see the hostile and beneficent aspects of the Norns, sometimes pronounced, and hence, as is stated in the Volsung (8 CE.), they were believed to have sprung originally from the race of giants, and the golden age of the gods when the Norns came into being. From their leading representative, Urðr, is taken the name of the only fountain in the under world, the Urðr fountain; here, according to Snorri, lay their abode, and from this retreat they exercised their sway over their inhabitants of the earth.

The Norns are often found in a group of three, or in three companies. It is possible that in this point the classical myths of the Parcae may have and there have had an influence upon the sagas of the Norns. The story of the gods' death and the prevention of their death. The three sisters were of the name of the gods' youngest daughter, and the youngest of the three, who became the wife of the giant Bragi, was called the youngest of the three, who became the wife of the giant Bragi, was called

DOOR.—Doors, whether of dwellings or of temples, play an important part in ritual and belief over a very wide area. Often the dwelling-place of a spirit or divinity, the door has almost invariably a sacred character. The latter is perhaps best sought in the conception of the door as separating between two worlds—the outside world, where are innumerable hostile influences and powers, and the region within the limits of the household, the influence of the powers of which are friendly. The door is at once the barrier against those hostile influences, and that which gives entrance to those who have a right to pass to the sacred region within. Hence those who pass through the door—the limits of the sacred region, and therefore itself sacred—must do so with care and often with certain ritual acts. Thus the sacredness of the door was probably at first independent of its connexion with a god or spirit. But that connexion, once established, could only add to its sacred character. Again, being the dividing line between hostile and friendly spheres, the doorway was supposed to be a place where evil influences clustered, or sometimes even dwelt. Hence certain powers dwelt near the door and protect it. These are generally connected with the hearth, it is not clear why they should also be associated with the door. But two reasons may be suggested. The door is the exterior line of the demarcation of the hearth or hearth-house, and would first be met with, and where they might reasonably be supposed to dwell. And when men dwelt in rock-shelters, caves, or half-open huts, the fire would be at or near the entrance, as it still is now before voyages and at sea. It was taken into the house, the connexion of ancestral ghosts with the hearth would be shared with the entrance, their former exclusive domain. In some cases burial takes place at the doorway.

Besides being sacred as a whole, the door has special sanctity in its more important parts—threshold, side-posts, and lintel—as will be seen in the course of this article. But it is impossible, with Trumbull, to regard the sacredness of the threshold as originating in its having been the primitive altar—first of the house, then of the temple. The many rites connected with threshold or door by no means bear out this theory, though, where sacrifice is performed at the door, the threshold becomes sacred—either with the threshold (see above) or the altar. But more probably the sacrifice is not slain on the threshold, just as the fire at the entrance would not have the threshold for a hearth, while the altar of primitive tribes is an extension of the threshold. The sacredness of the door as the passage to a different domain is seen in many folk-tales of the Forbidden, or Tabooed, Door, through which certain persons must not pass, and beyond which lie matters into which they must not penetrate. To do so is generally followed by fatal consequences (cf. SBE vi. 306 ff.). Similarly the stranger must not, without due preparation, pass the family door, nor may the profane cross the temple threshold.

1. Ritual acts at doors.—The sacredness of the door as a means of passage from one state to another appears in numerous rites connected with the threshold.

(a) The bride must step across the threshold of her husband's house with the right foot foremost, the bridegroom in the ancient Vedic ceremonial insteading the left (cf. H. Morier, Trades, pp. 192-193). This custom is also found in more modern times elsewhere. Or, again, an animal is sacrificed at the threshold, and the bride must step across the outpoured blood—a custom existing among the Socotrians, as Armin in Egypt (F.L. vi. [1888] 121; Trumbull, Threshold Covenant, 1896, p. 26; Garnett, Women of Turkey, 1890, p. 239; Lane, Modern Egyptians, 1846, iii. 324). Cf. ERE ii. 556 for instances among the Hereros.

(b) Or an offering is made, the materials being often presented to the bride, while she snears the door-posts with them, before crossing the threshold (see Trumbull, 29 f.). Even more widespread is the custom—probably the origin of the latter—is perhaps best sought in the conception of the door as separating between two worlds—the outside world, where are innumerable hostile influences and powers, and the region within the limits of the household, the influence of the powers of which are friendly. The door is at once the barrier against those hostile influences, and that which gives entrance to those who have a right to pass to the sacred region within. Hence those who pass through the door—the limits of the sacred region, and therefore itself sacred—must do so with care and often with certain ritual acts. Thus the sacredness of the door was probably at first independent of its connexion with a god or spirit. But that connexion, once established, could only add to its sacred character. Again, being the dividing line between hostile and friendly spheres, the doorway was supposed to be a place where evil influences clustered, or sometimes even dwelt. Hence certain powers dwelt near the door and protect it. These are generally connected with the hearth, it is not clear why they should also be associated with the door. But two reasons may be suggested. The door is the exterior line of the demarcation of the hearth or hearth-house, and would first be met with, and where they might reasonably be supposed to dwell. And when men dwelt in rock-shelters, caves, or half-open huts, the fire would be at or near the entrance, as it still is now before voyages and at sea. It was taken into the house, the connexion of ancestral ghosts with the hearth would be shared with the entrance, their former exclusive domain. In some cases burial takes place at the doorway.

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for women to suckle their children there (Hindus, Slavs, Syrians, etc. [Crooke, _PI_ ii. 241; Trumbull, 11-12; _FL_ xvi. [1904] 208) negroes of Jamaica believe that 'duppies' will take those who sit at thresholds; _FL_ xviii. 39).

(c) Examples of the use of the door, and especially of the threshold, demands also that _acts of reverence be paid there_. The threshold is to be closed with the right foot first. Or a charm or prayer or sacred formula should be said ('Bismillah' ['Arabs]. Psalms 23, 31. 115; Trumbull, 11, 123; Morier, 254; _Fog. Phil. Grec_. i. 510; Ralston, _Songs of the Russian People_, 1872, p. 137; Layard, _Nineveh_, i. 69.)

1. The sacredness of the door makes it a place to deposit objects which are to be preserved in safety. In Icedand the caul, in which the child's guardian spirit or a part of its soul resides, was buried under the threshold, possibly with a view to re-born in the spirit of the child dying. The spirit would pass into the mother by way of the threshold (Green, _Tent. Myth_. 854). Among the Baganda, at the monthly ceremony connected with the king's plaque, to ensure his life and health, it is deemed requisite to feed the earth right and a day (Roscoe, _JAI_ xxxix. [1902] 63, 76). The door is a usual place at which to offer sacrifices, either to propitiate the household spirit or god, and so to unite the 'house' with him, or to propitiate evil influences, or to remove the contagion of uncleanness from all in the house.

In Zinder two human victims were sacrificed, one at the threshold, which was smeared with the blood, before a new king entered the royal hut (Bruce, _Travels_, i. 514). In W. Africa, 16 cases of smallpox or expected trouble, gateways are sprinkled with blood and honey, or a bundle of leaves is smeared with blood before the entrance (Ezekiel's, _Zimmer_, Beitrage z. Kénntnis der bab. Rel., Leipzig, 1901, p. 127; cf. Layard, i. 202). In Muslim houses it is usual to dip the hand in water to sprinkle the threshold of sacrifices offered on special occasions, and to mark the surface near the door in order to repel the jinn (Parker, _Rel._ of other Greco-Roman, Persianian, Hindus, see _E.R._ 569, iii. 445). The same rite of sprinkling the doorway with blood occurs as a survival in European folk-custom, e.g. in Greece at Easter, and in Ireland on St. Martin's eve, to keep out evil spirits during the year ( _FL_ i. 275; _Mason, Stat. Account_, 1814-9, iii. 75). It can hardly be doubted that the Hebrew Passover rite goes back to a sacrifice by which the household divinity dwelling at the doorway was propitiated and his protective power secured against the evil powers (the 'destroyer'). The blood was smeared on doorposts and lintel, and was perhaps first poured on the threshold ( _Ex_ 12:22).

1 The Collo-Iberian custom of dancing at the doors at the time of full moon may be noted (Strabo, iii. 4. 16),

guest (cf. Trumbull, 3 ii., where the importance of the covenant aspect is perhaps over-emphasized).

Other offerings occur at the door. In ancient Vedic law the householder had to place an offering on the threshold, at the same time reciting a _Puja_. The _Voynatsa_ ( _ST_ 107, 205) mentions an offering of cannabis on the N.W. India a cup-shaped cake of cow-dung filled with corn, and water poured over it, is placed on the threshold ( _F.L.R._ [1882] 34). The first bundle of corn is placed near the threshold, and between it and the threshold a line of _sacredness_ is formed, the offering of first-fruits to the household god (id.; Trumbull, 16). In the north of Scotland, part of the first load of sea-'wa'd used for manure was placed on New Year's day at each door of the farm to bring good fortune ( _F.L.R._ [1884] 331). In Babylonia, libations of oil, honey, and wine were poured over the thresholds of temples, and honey and wine over bolts (Jastrow, _ED._ _Bab._., 1889, p. 684 l.).

(f) The use of sacrifice at or near doors of temples is seen from the fact that in many temples _an altar stands beside the door or entrance_. Among the Hebrews the altar of burnt-offering stood at the entrance of the tabernacle or temple ( _Ex_ 9:18; 22), of the door of the tent of meeting and slain, and the blood sprinkled on the altar ( _Lv_ 5:1-5; 13:1-15, etc., cf. _17:32_). Similarly, in the temple the altar of burnt-offering stood at the entrance of the Holy Place, like the large altar of the outer court of Bab. temples. The greater Greek and Roman altars frequently stood before the entrance to the _rodes_ or _cella_. Trumbull notes other instances from Assyrina and Asia Minor, Polynesia, etc. (115, 121, 144, 150; cf. Ellis, _Pol. Researches_, 1832-6, iv. 89). In Dabomey little mounds of earth are often found at doorways, and on them offerings are laid (Schnieder, _Ed. of drak. Naturvorderk_, Münster, 1897). Other examples, in Bab., etc., often placed at gateways or doors. The sanctity of the door or threshold is also emphasized in the OT. At the door of the tent of meeting took place the consecration of Aaron and his sons ( _Ex_ 29:30). In Ezekiel's ideal temple the 'Prince' is to worship at the threshold of the gate of the inner court ( _46:25_). When Moses spoke to Jahweh, the pillar of cloud descended and stood over the door of entrance to the tent of meeting; and in Ezekiel's temple the glory of Jehovah is according to the door of entrance ( _Ex_ 33:7; _Dj_. 31:4, Ezk 9:9, 10), and stands over the threshold of the house ( _Ex_ 33:7). When the thresholds of the tent of meeting had their guardians (1 _Ch_ 25:2), and later those of the temple (2 _K_ 25:23, 23:25, 70:3; _Jer_ 33:5; _Ps_ 89:36), the office of doorkeeper ( _pyloros_ ) soon came into existence in the Christian Church (Cornelius, _ap. Eus._ _HE_ vi. 43; Bingham, _Antiq._, i. 259, iii. 257). The ancient custom of baptistery and font being outside the church ( _Eus._ _HE_ x. 4; _Or._ _Catech._, _Myst._ x. 2), preceded by the custom of baptizing in any place where there was water ( _Vert._ of _40_; _Just._, _Ap._ i. 61), is connected with the idea that the containing element water can also sanctify, and also with the ritual of purification before sacrificing, entering a temple, and so on. For which reason sacrifices were offered at the entrance—the _exvrepourph_ , or fonts, at the entrance from the Greek νυμφαῖς, the fountains at which the divinity lived and the lavers and bronzes seen in the temple of Solomon's temple ( _JASTR._ 653-3; _Sayce, Rel. of Anc. Egypt and Bab._., 1902, p. 458; 2 _Ch_ 3:9).

2. Guardian spirits and divinities of doors. The sacredness of the door was connected with its spirit or Divine guardianship. In many cases we find elaborate methods resorted to in order to secure a spirit guardian, in the first instance, of the door of a house, and later, of the gates of a city. One of these is to house burial, or to invite wide occurrence, and is probably primitive. It usually takes place under the floor, but there are occasional instances of its occurrence under the threshold
DOOR

(Ralston, 326 [Slav];) Jastrow, 599 [Bab.]; ERE iii. 34 [Burna]). Burial at gates is also found in Greece—Etolia was buried in a tomb in the gate leading to Olympia, and, from his grave over the Syrian gate at Troy, Laomedon was believed to guard the city. Neoptolemus was also buried under the threshold of the temple at Delphi (Pausanias, ed. Frazer, v. 4. 4 and notes). The ashes of Belinus, a British god, were said to have been preserved in the gate of the city on the Thames (= Billinge gate [Geoff. Mon. iii. 1])—a myth founded on gate-burial and Divine guardianship of the gate. In other cases, sacrifice was resorted to. That at the building of a hut or house a human victim is often placed under the roof-post, or near corners, a threshold, or the foundation, whatever that may be, or the walls; and the same is true of the building of a gate. There is no proof, however, that (as Trumbull supposes [op. cit. 21]) the threshold stone was originally the foundation stone. The victims may be intended to propitiate the earth-spirits whose domain is disturbed by the digging, but they are also expected to act as guardians of the house, door, or gate. In old Cannaite and in the domestic aspects of the divine being sacrifices were buried in the door, doors, or threshold—a custom later commented on buried to a lamp or bowls in these places (PEFSt. 1903, pp. 16 ff., 36 ff.). The passages in the Pali Canon (Av. 41) have turned the custom into this custom. In Phoenicia, men were buried beneath gates to make the town secure (Movers, Die Phönizier, Berlin, 1840, ii. 46). Instances of sacrifices at the building of a city gate are cited from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries (Atlas Theophrastae, 1571, p. 212 [Siam]; Tylor, Prin. Cult. 1903, i. 106; ERE iii. 274 [Tenasserim, Mandalay]), and in Senegambia it was formerly the custom to bury alive a boy and girl before the chief door of the enclosed house, or near thresholds (Wright, Anthrop., Leipzig, 1869, ii. 197). The coins placed under the door in China and Syria at the building of a house are probably surrogates for such sacrifices, like the Cannaite lamps. In Syria a cock is sacrificed, and its blood poured over the lintel and steps of a new house (Doolittle, Social Life of the Chinese, 1866, ii. 75; FL xviii. [1907] 59).


In all such cases it is evident that the spirit of the door is connected with the household spirit, and that both are ultimately ghosts of the dead. In the burial of the house or burial took place there because the door or threshold was an important part of the house. Souls were supposed to dwell under the threshold in ancient India (Oblenherg, Ast. des Vedas, Berlin, 1894, p. 553). Among the Slavs the domovoi, or house-spirit, associated with the hearth, is propitiated at certain times by offerings buried beneath the threshold (Trumbull, 19). Similarly the household penates of the Moravians receive offerings at the door, which is their (FL. i. 422 ff.). In Germany a spirt sits between door and doorstep; hence the door must not be banded, and other precautions must be taken lest he leave and take the luck with him (Grimm, 1820; FL xiii. [1902] 238 ff.). In Irish and Norwegian houses, the Leshans reside at the threshold (Crooke, PR i. 241). In Samoa the tutelary spirit is also associated with the doorway, and is angry when water is spilt on the threshold (Turner, Samoan, 1854, p. 57).

In many regions the door or gate is put under the protection of special divinities, or is called by the name of a god. The Ainu have a god of door-posts, and, to him, as to the gods of other parts of the hut, worship is paid at its construction, and offerings of inora are made at other times (FL. vi. 1888] 49; Batchelor, Ainu and their Folk-lore, 1901, p. 129). The Japanese have gods of doors and gates who guard against 'unfriendly things from below and above,' and are in some cases personifications of the gates, since these were conceived as living things exercising protective powers. Small prints of the Ni-o, guardians of holy places, are set on the doors for protection (Yevon, EHR ii. [1905] 589 f.; Aston, Siamto, 1893, pp. 108, 280). In China the gods of the thresholds are Shun-Shu and Ju-La, though other divinities or guardians occur. They guard the house and other buildings; and images of them, larger or smaller, or pictures of them, or simply offerings, are found at the door, with similar objects on the left hand (de Groot, Les Fetes annuellement celebrees a Eusou., tr. Chavannes, Paris, 1886, p. 597 ff.; Williams, The Middle Kingdom, New York, 1918, i. 731). In India, Vattam is the threshold god, dwelling there, to whom offerings are made when the door-way is set up. Or, as among the Mulers of Chotah Nagpur, Dwari Ganas is lord of the house door, and is propitiated with rites and offerings, in time of calamity, at the doorway. Images and pictures of gods are also placed round doors (Trumbull, 93; Crooke, PR i. 104). In Egypt each building had its protecting deity, as doorway inscriptions prove, while sphinxes guarded the entrances, and references to this custom run: 'I protect thy sepulchral chamber. I keep away the stranger, I overthrow the foes with their weapons.' In other cases a royal statue, wearing the magic headpiece of the god of the threshold, was set at the door (FRE 1880, p. 50; Wilkinson, i. 362 ff.; Maspero, Etudes de mythe., Paris, 1893, i. 79). The gates of Thebes were each dedicated to a planet, and connected with planetary worship (Nommos, Dionys. v. 64). In Babylonian Assyrian, Egyptian, etc., were often dedicated to gods or named after them, and each part of a house doorway was associated with the great divinities to whom appeal was made (Maspero, Life in Anc. Eg. assy. 1891, p. 233; Jastrow, 257). But, besides this, human-headed winged bulls, lions, and other monstrous forms stood at the entrances of temples and palaces to guard them against the approach of the demons, the brood of Tiamat, with their composite forms (Maspero, 257; Jastrow, 292). In Guatemala, Chahalka was the god of houses, and his protection was assured by sprinkling the doors with sacrificial blood. The great doorways of Central American temples were also guarded by human masks and images, and the demons were associated with them (FL, 98, 146). In Rome, Janus was the primitive numen of the doorway of the house and the city-gate, preventing the passage of all evil things into the house, and so one of the Penates. He was god of the janus, gates in the form of arches on the roads, etc., the most ancient of which was that of the Forum, originally a temple in the form of a gateway. But Janus, as god of doors and gates, was rather god of the entry and departure through the gate or threshold. This is seen by the fact that each part of the door had its numen—Limentinus, of the threshold; Forenhus, of the leaves of the door; Cardela, of the hinges (Wissowa, Rel. u. Kunst. der alt. Welten, Berlin, 1899, p. 175 ff.; Tert. de Corone, 13). In Greece, Apollo Agnus or Thyrax and the Antelii were concerned with entrances and doors. Images of Icicate stood at doors, to prevent the entrance of evil spirits and ghosts, and she was also invoked before the threshold for protection against them. At doors and gates stood also the epital, protecive images or symbols of Hermes (CGB ii. 509, 516; Brunck, Aulaxe, 1772-76, iii. 107; Tert. de Cor. 15). See ERE iii.
The belief in Divine guardians of the doorway among the Hebrews is suggested by the Ex 21:10, where the bondman who does not wish to leave his door or doorpost, whose ear is pierced with an awl (cf. EEE i. 445)

The presence of the household spirit or god makes the doorway sacred. In many instances, illustrations in which sacred persons confer sacredness on the door. In Polynesia, when the king or queen entered a temple, the door was shut up as being Thrice Holy. The same in India, one of smallpox. if possessing by the smallpox deity, makes the entrance to certain persons. or must only be crossed with a due ritual (Crooke, PR I.1: cf. EEE iii. 3129). In the South Sea Islands, the first to enter a temple may pass only if the door is shut, which he enters his father's house (Gill, Life in S. Isles, 1576, p. 46). Cf. also Ex 44:4 (the door by which Jehovah enters the temple is to be shut, and none but the 'Princes' can enter it).

The gates and doors of temples are always peculiarly sacred, since the temple is the abode of a god. The outer courts of Buddhist temples in China, as in Africa, are roofed gateways, mon, coloured a dull red, with figures on either side. In front are the 'heavenly doors,' and under the gateway in some instances is the figure of Buddha, and the £i-£, the two kings of the Mutilian, or the two figures guarding the gate. Other hideous forms of the thunder and wind gods are set on niches in the gates. Petitions are made to the £i-£, written on paper pellets, which are chewed and hung against them. Before the gate numerous other such gates must first be passed (Curzon, Problems of the Far East, 1894, p. 190; Bird, Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, 1893, pp. 211, 59).

Not only in the temple door sacred, and therefore highly decorated with carving or precious metals, but an isolated gateway or entrance arch is often found in front of it. This is a duplicate of the door, serving the same purpose, but acting as a preliminary protection to the sacred precincts and against evil influences. It may be derived originally from the barriers or porticoes hung with charms which are often stretched across roads and entrances to villages to prevent the invasion of all malevolent things, e.g. in Africa (Kingsley, 450-1; van Gennep, 22). Such isolated doorways are placed in front of other buildings than temples, or they occur in other isolated situations, for particular purposes, e.g. monumental buildings. This随处可见 is Japan, and in front of all Shinto and many Buddhist temples and shrines. It consists of two uprights and two or more cross-beams painted red, the upper projecting and curving upwards at both ends. Though now more generally used as other sacred objects are given to the gods, its original purpose is unmistakable (Aston, 231-2; Chamberlain, Things Japanese, 1899, p. 556; Bird, 148). In Korea the isolated gateway, hong-an-man, is a symbol of majesty and government, and is erected in front of palaces, government buildings, temples, and monasteries under royal patronage. The primitive purpose of the hong-an-man as a doorway is seen in the geo-man, an archway outside the western gate of the capital on the road to Peking, where the king goes to meet the Imperial envoys (Curzon, 142). In China these arches, pao'-oo, are of a commemorative nature. Similarly, the triumphal arch of the Romans suggests its principal theme. It through which the triumphal soldier returned from a hostile country into his own district. The propylon, or towered gateway, of Egyptian temples, with its flanking towers, obelisks, or statues, and tall masts, all led up to by a series of sphinxes forms another example of such gateways. In Babylonia, before the gateway of the great court of the temple, stood two detached pillars, like the Egyptian gate obelisks. They correspond to the pillars Jachin and Boaz in front of Solomon's temple (1 K 7:2), and were doubtless the originals of these. Such pillars were commonly placed before Semitic temples, e.g. at Paphos and Hierapolis (Lucian, de Dea Syria, 16; W. L. Smith, 457, 483).

Says the Bab. pillars as representing Nin-gis-zi (Lord of the uprightness, Elul, Eluhim) and Tannum, guardians of heaven, just as the flanking towers of the Egyptian gate were said to represent Isid and Sphynx. In his opinion, Yahwah is a translation of Nin-gis-zi, and Boaz perhaps a reminiscence of Tannum (Says, op. cit. 356, 459-60; Jastrow, 424). Amulets at doorways.—Images of divinities and monstrous figures at doors and gates are intended to repel evil influences and powers, and to guarantee the protection of the doorway gods. The process is largely a magical one. At the demonic figure keep off demons, so also the Medusa head, represented on door-knobs, has the same effect, or repels the evil eye. Such door-knobs or handles were used in ancient Italy, and are still common in modern Japan. The door-knobs, while the female face on English door-knockers is derivative from these (FL xiv. (1903) 217). The same purpose was served by the small images of protective divinities, often with invocations printed on them, and little figures and images of Assyrian houses, palaces, or temples, or placed at the doors to keep the house from the entrance and mischief of fiends or enemies (Jastrow, 269). But, since amulets of all kinds are placed on the roofs, gables, window-frames, and walls, the doors are warded off evil influences, they are naturally also fixed on doorways through which their entrance might so easily be effected. The custom is found from the lowest up to the highest levels of civilization. It is also very ancient. This is proved by the fact that, on the entrances of Neo-lithic cave-dwellings in Palestine, cup-markings which undoubtedly were religious symbols or served a magical purpose are found (see EEE iii. 178).

Africa, charms hung on the doors to prevent evil spirits from entering; and in civilized Greece, doors and gates of all kinds were similarly protected (King-Jey, 490; Mackay, Mackay of Uganda, 1896, p. 112; EEE iii. 438). The door-amulets used among all peoples of are of various kinds, and only the principal varieties need be alluded to here.

(a) Sacred plants, flowers, or branches are commonly used, especially on particular occasions when evil forces are most to be dreaded, e.g. at a birth.

In Iub. incantations against demons, various plants are mentioned as having been hung on the lintel and door (and Red Spirits and Evil Spirits of the high hills, 1953, 4.1, 137). In India, at a birth, leaves and flowers along with a sibble, edge outwards, are placed outside the door to bar the demons (Ballington, Women in India, 1906, p. 2). The Greek and Roman practice of crowning the door with sacred garlands on various occasions (see EEE ii. 190, 191, 400) had more than a festal purpose. In Attica, at the birth of a boy, an olive-branch was hung on the door (Herod., s. e. arbores sacrae). In Rome, doorpost and threshold were touched with an arbustus branch, and water was sprinkled at the entrance, at a birth, to keep off witches. Branches and wreaths were hung up at the Falata (Ovid, Fasti, iv. 712 ff., vi. 155). In modern Greece, a piece of wild onion is placed under the lintel to keep off the evil demons, who are hung up on Monday as the same day (FL xii. 1890, 1801). In 260, in India, at a birth, pummelo-leaves and slips of a fragrant thorn are suspended over the door to keep off evil spirits (FL x. (1887) 222). In Japan, on New Year's day and on other occasions, branches, etc., are fixed up as averters, or a type of rice straw with feathers, or the leaves of the peach are hung up (Aston, 191, 312'.) The Ameone place into doorways as charms against evil (Battcher, 91). In India, on May-eve, the threshold is strewn with march magic to keep out fairies and to bring luck (FL vul. (1904) 457). For similar practices in European folklore, see Prater, Q.6:47; Orison, 1200, 1200, 1211; and for additional instances, see EEE iii. 354:494: Lane, Mod. Egyptians, 1848, 47. 177. The threshold is blessed or holy to bring out ghosts (Campbell, Witchcraft and Second Sight, 1902, pp. 105, 173).

(b) Stil is sometimes strung on the threshold, on account of its supposed prophetic properties, as in Syria (FL xvii. (1907) 70). In Aberdeenshire it was placed
with fire on the threshold of a byre, before a cow after calving left the byre (FLJ ii. [1884] 330). Pebbles and grains are sprinkled on the doorstep to keep out ghosts, who must count them and cannot get beyond three (FL xvi. 214). Iron is also a powerful charm against evil spirits, as in other places, especially near the birth, when an iron weapon or utensil is placed at the door (India [Campbell, Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom, Bombay, 1885, p. 387], and very commonly in European folk-custom at birth, after a funeral to keep the ghost out (JAJ xv. 69), and on other occasions). Both because it is made of iron and also because of other reasons connected either with the former sacred nature of the horse or with its supposed resemblance to the form of the devil (as in India), horse-dooj is a very common door charm in most countries. Usually the charm is effective only when the ends are placed upwards. It keeps out fairies, witches, ghosts, and other evil powers, and keeps in or brings about the opposite effect (Loki, Thor and Fenris Wolf, 2, p. 292; Crooke, PR ii. 15 [India]; ERE ii. 451 [Japan]; FL xi. [1900] 108, FLxvi. [1881] 189 [England]; FL xiv. 102, FL xvi. [1905] 70 [Jamaica]; Campbell, 12, 13, 15 [Hebridies]; FLJ ii. 43 [Turkomen, the Book of the Magician, 1867, p. 367 ff.]). This charm is also very common on houses in the West Highlands.

(c) A hand with the fingers extended is represented on or above doors. Sometimes it is formed by slipping the hand in the blood of an animal slain at the door, and then making an impression of it on the door. Or the hand is painted—usually in vermilion—or carved. The custom is very common in the East among both Jews and Muhammadans (e.g., in Palestine, Trumbull, 70). This charm is supposed to repel or anathematize the evil eye, and it also directs and repels evil spirits (see Elworthy, Evil Eye, 1885, p. 233 ff.). Used to make an impression of blood, its purpose as the sign of a covenant between persons was in the case of Hebrews and Damascus (so Trumbull, 66 ff.), if it exists at all, is secondary, as, wherever the hand is used, it is believed to be apotropaic, like the blood sprinkled on the doorposts. It is then, in fact, a double charm, both hand and blood having repellent powers. Analogous to the use of blood in this way is the touching of the doorposts with menstrual blood or urine, to dissolve spells of witchcraft or to keep off fairies, ghosts, or the evil eye (Pliny, NH xxviii. 24; Campbell, Superstitions of the Highlands and islands of Scotland, Glasgow, 1900, p. 36, Witchcraft, 11, 137).

(d) Sacred symbols are affixed to doors as a powerful means of protection, like the Divine images at doors and gates. In Christian lands no symbol is more effective than the cross marked on the door or simply signed upon it or some particular part of it, or signed on oneself when entering or going out. It keeps off ghosts, witches, and all powers of evil (FL x. [1886] 178, 290, xxvi. [1905] 50, 70; Grimn. iv. 1781; Trumbull, 18; cf. Tert. de Cor. 3). The annwitu symbol is commonly marked on doors in the East for the same purpose (Hindus, Buddhists, etc. [Crooke, PR i. 12, 190; ERE iii. 47]). In India the figures of the doors of Solomon's temple served the same end (1 K 6:23), as well as figures of the Paschal lamb, and other symbols on ancient synagogue lintels in Palestine (Trumbull, 70). For a door charm composed of dust from Muhammad's tomb, see Lane, ii. 76. Over the doors of Egyptian temples was placed the winged disk of the sun, to drive off demons from the building (Erman, Life in Ancient Egypt, 11). Over the doors of Egyptian temples was placed the winged disk of the sun, to drive off demons from the building (Erman, Life in Ancient Egypt, 11). Sacred formula written on doors have also a powerful apotropaic virtue, and are of very great occurrence. In Babylonian tablets with sentences from the sacred texts were hung up to protect against demons (Jastrow, 299). In ancient Egypt, names and sentences of a lucky or favourable import were written over the doors or on the doorposts to secure a good dwelling (Wilkinson, I, 246, 301). In modern Egypt, and among all Muhammadans elsewhere, invocations to God, declarations of the might, or praises of the Lord were inscribed on doors (Lane, i. 76; 74; Porter, Travels, 1821-2, 210). The charm and sacred inscription is a blessing over their doorways. Similar usages are found in India and China (Crooke, PR i. 169; Williams, Middle Kingdom, I, 731), while the Iranian prayer poles and flags outside doors are analogous to door inscriptions. These usages show that the command to write the words of law on 'the doors of thy house, and upon thy gates' (Ex 20 11) was intended to take the place of some analogous heathen custom, though by the Hebrews was supposed must have been rendered powerless. If the household gods had been associated with doors, this dedication of the door to Jehovah showed that He was intended to keep the gates, and accordingly to guide the doorposts in the form of an amulet with sacred words and Name. This is so closely linked with a finger of the thumb hooked in the door as the door was going out, while a sacred formula is repeated. For the use of sacred writings or pictures affixed to doors among Christians see ERE i. 450, 451. Texts carried on door-frames are commonly found on old houses, and this custom is undoubtedly derived from the older practices.

The wide-spread use of these door charms shows that the attack of ghosts, evil spirits, witches, or fairies was chiefly dreaded at the door, through which they sought to enter and do harm to those in the house. Throughout the ancient world, houses were hung up efficacies of all in the household, hoping that the ghosts coming to the door would be satisfied with these and not enter to take the living. But a closed door is not sufficient to keep out ghosts and evil spirits, as the latter would take the house through bolts, doorposts, and sockets (Jastrow, 305); hence the value of charms to prevent this. But in some cases the evil powers actually dwell at the door or in its vicinity.

In Germany they were baulked of between the door and doorpost (Grimm, iv. 1815). In Jerusalem the powers of evil are supposed to attach itself to the threshold, doors, and entrances (FL xvii. [1867] 80). Among the Bisrors of Bengal the spirits lurk at the door (Crooke, PR ii. 50), and in Burma different evil spirits reside at doors and doorposts (ERE iii. 39). There is an ancient curse of Allatas to Uddhavn-namir, 'the threshold be thy dwelling,' suggesting that in Babylonia it was the abode of dangerous demons who would torment mankind.

But even against such door-dwelling spirits charms were efficacious, since they could keep them in check.

4. Magic uses at doors.—Many magical rites are performed at the door, either (1) to transfer evil to those who enter or pass out; or (2) to secure the assistance of the spirits, good or bad, dwelling or dwelling or lurking there; or (3) simply because the doorway is a sacred place.

For examples of (1), see FL xvi. [1904] 69; Crooke, PR i. 164; Lane, ii. 80; Grimn. 1895; i. (2); Jastrow, 258; of (3), Trumbull, 18, 50; of (4) Procopius, H. G. 61; FL x. 1905; Crooke, PR ii. 50; Coll. and Camp.

Witchcraft, 257.

Other magical rites take place at the door, to keep off and get rid of ghosts and evil spirits. Of this class was the Roman birth-rite, in which three men struck the thresholds with an axe and a pestle, and swept them with a broom. The iron axe and the pestle tipped with iron had apotropaic virtues; the action of the axe was to keep off all evil. It was held, though all three, being connected with vegetation and agricultural usages, may have had magical virtues, and are charms against spirits and witches. In this case they were supposed to keep out the god Silvan, the Roman counterpart of the three protecting spirits—Intercedona, Pilumnus, and Derverr (Aug. de Civ. Dei, vi. 9). Among the Latins, at the feast of souls, the ghosts were got
rid of by taking the staff which served as a poker, cutting it in two with an axe on the threshold, and bidding them go (Frazer, *Adonis*, 1907, p. 312). See also § 1.

5. Gate as seat of judgment.—On the account of the sacred gate, the sanctuary of the gods, the gate is a spirit or god, it is often a place of judgment, especially in the East. Kings, chiefs, and judges hear complaints, try causes, and decree judgments at the gates of the palace, house, or city. Examples of this are found in ancient Babylonia, Persopolis, Egypt, and among the Hebrews (Trumbull, 601; Dn 2, Ex 32, Dt 16, 21, Ru 4, 2 S 15, 19, Pr 24; cf. Am 5, Zee 8). Probably connected with this custom of administering justice at the gate is that of a person fasting at the door of another against whom he has a claim or provokes a request. In cases where this is refused the claimant starves to death at the door ([Celts] *Auc. Laws of Ireland*, Dublin, 1860-70; Joyce, *Soc. Hist. of Anc. Ireland*, 1905, i. 204; [India] Crooke, PR i. 191-2).

6. The door and death-rites.—In many regions it is not customary to carry a dead body, especially that of a suicide or criminal, through the door of a house, but the dead are exhumed and resorted to in order to avoid this. Thus the body is taken through the window of the house, or through a special entrance made in the roof or wall. This is a widespread custom, found, e.g., in W. and S. Africa, Siam, Indonesia, India, China, Tibet, among the Ostkann and Eskimo in Fiji, with the Maidu of California and the Comanches (Society of German Studies). See Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde, Heilbronn*, 1879, p. 573; Trowbridge, *Ans. of Jour. of Folk-Lore*, 1893, p. 262; Trowbridge, *AI* 537; Ramseyer and Kuhn, *Four Years in Ahschat*, 1875, p. 60; Duhoux, *Histoire Manners*, Oxford, 1840, ii. 27; Williams, *Fiji*, 1860, i. 397; Gregory, *Folklore of the S. E. of Scotland*, 1850, p. 206; Wutkier, *Ber. d. deut. Volkskundeb und*, Berlin, 1900, § 736; Lippe, *Die Siedelsucht*, Berlin, 1884, p. 119. Or the body is placed in a hole opening made under the threshold (Hylten-Cavallius, *Wuend och Wird*, Stockholm, 1853-4, i. 473 [Swedish Coefficients of Social Biology, 1803-4, § 211; [Swedish] Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtskunde*, Leipzig, 1869, p. 72 [German]). Raisko, *Etudes Folk-tales*, 1873, p. 318 [Slavo]).

The usual reason assigned for these customs is that they are used to confuse the ghost and hindern its finding its way back into the house (Liebrecht, 414; Frazer, *JAF* xv. [1886] 69 ff.). The special aperture is afterwards closed up, or the window is kept shut after the burial (it is often opened to allow entrance to the soul when a person is dying, and again closed to prevent the soul's return); or often both windows and doors are closed when a funeral is passing, lest the soul should enter the house (Liebrecht, 414; Frazer, *JAF* xi. 218, vi. 243; Wutkier, *Ber. d. deut. Volkskundeb und*, § 250). Or, again, when the body is taken through a hole in the roof, this may be an archaic survival of a time when entrance and egress were obtained through the roof of the hut, as among the Eskimos and Alants (Liebrecht, 423). Hence, in some cases, one supposed dead must not, when he returns, enter by the door, but by the roof (Philes. *Quart. Rom.*, no. 5; Brusich, *Aus dem Orient*, Berlin, 1884, ii. 116 [Persians]). Here the thought of death is enough to suggest its contagion, and entrance must not be first made by the sacred door. But, whatever be the origin of the customs referred to, they are certainly connected with the sacredness of the door, which is polluting by the passage of the dead body. If it were merely the return of the ghost that was feared, that could be prevented by door charms (§ 3), and it should be remembered that ghosts at the yealy feast enter the gate of the sacred body by the door and then pass out by it. That it is the pollution of death which is feared for the sacred doorway may be established by other rites of mourning and by analogous tabus.

The natives of England move the bough, and make a new entrance after a funeral, as the door has been polluted by the passage of the corpse (Crooke, *PR* ii. 56). Propitiatory rites are often performed on the door, whether a corpse has or has not been carried out by it (the threshold is sprinkled with salt [Japan: Grifis, *Mikado's Empire*, New York, 1876, pp. 467, 470, or with wine [Greece; *PLJ* i. 213]). Among the Kwaikuitl Indians, mourners must not use the door house, as they are unclean; a separate door is cut for them (Webster, *Germ.* ii. 357); and in China a messenger who brings news of a death must not pass through the door (Grosse, *Japan*, 1894, i. 144). In various regions a special door or gate in house or city wall is used for the passage of a corpse and for no other purpose (Bowman and Renn), *Turopolje*, 845; [Korea] Landor, *Cyclopedia*, 1880, p. 315; Italy, Holland, *Neue Zcitung*, 1809, p. 459; Trinity, 24, 253; the "sacred gate" at Athens, used for funerals ([Theophr. Ch. 14]).

Analogous cases are those in which women at puberty, or during menstruation and childbirth, must leave the house by the door, but by the usual door without special rites; or, again, the flesh of animals slain in hunting is carried in by a special opening ([Frei], *Philos.* ii. 648; [Webster], *Germ.* ii. 357; [Fiji], *Fiji*. The woman connected with the danger of female pollution is the superstition that a male, not a female, should be the last person to cross the threshold at New Year; but he must not come empty-handed ([PLJ* id. 262, v. 53; Campbell, *Witchcraft*, 220).

7. Doors and gates of the Other-world.—The eschatological beliefs of many peoples show that they consider heaven and the under world to be regions and abodes with doors or gates, bars and bolts, and guardians. The doors of heaven shut out those who have no right to enter there; the doors of the under world enclose those who would fain leave it. In Bab. writings, reference is made to gates of heaven, especially from the land of Anum and Gish-zida. In the account of creation, the great gates attached to both sides of the heavens by Marduk are mentioned. They are secured by bolts, and guarded by scorpion men. Through them the gods pass, and in seven divisions and as many fortified pylons with closed doors and sergeant guardians, or gates with other keepers. The gates opened at the repetition of magic formulae, and thus entry was fully obtained. Each gate had its own name. The heaven of Osiris was also entered by a gate in the mountain of the West, and this domain in the fields of Aalst had numerous gates, with porters, warders, and heralds. But all these open to those who knew the true formulae and names of gates and guardians (Maspero, *Études*, Paris, 1883, i. 371, 381, ii. 27 ff., 105 ff.; *Budge*, *Tomb of the Egyptian Pharaohs*, 1893, p. 70; [Egypt], *Mode de la D. div.*, ch. 147 ff.). The classical Hades and Tartarus had also their gates, those of Tartarus being of iron with a bronze threshold. Cerberus guarded the gate of Hades, a hydra with 50 gapping mouths that of Tartarus (Il. viii. 15; Virgil, *En* vi. 570). The Scandinnavian Valhalla had 640 gates, and Hel had also its portals (Grimm, *Text. Myth.* 818). In Mandean mythology, the seven lower worlds of the dark powers have doors which can be made secure by magic spells and talismans (Brandes, *Mand., Schriften*, Göttingen, 1893, p. 147 ff.). The Hebrew Shool had gates and bars (Job 17, 28, Ps 107, Is 38, Mt 16). It had divisions, and in later belief these (of hell) were 7 in number, guarded with as many bolts as doors, which were open by hundert der Heils, Stuttgart, 1888, ii. 45-6). The 'gate of heaven' is already spoken of in Gn 287 (cf. Ps 78, and the seven heavens of later Jewish theology had gates. Serpent-like guardians of the gates of hell, open by the breath of fire and bolted by the hand of God, and bolted by the hand of God (with bolts, keys, [Rev 118], and warders; but they are burst open by Christ as He descends there (Gospel of

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Nicoideus, § 5, and many other writers referring to the descent; cf. Rev 118). Paradise is often described as a city with walls and gates guarded by angels (e.g. Passio Perpetui, § 11). The analogy is that of the heavenly Jerusalem with its twelve gates and angelic guardians (Rev 21). In the documents which unfold the old idea of several heavens, each has its gate or door (Apoc. of Paul, § 19 if.; Test. of Abraham, § 11), while Ps 47 was frequently applied either to Christ's bursting the gates of Hades to defeat Satan. His ascension through the heavens, e.g. by Hippolytus, who speaks of Christ passing through the heavenly gates (Hippol. in Theod. Diad. 1: Comm. on Prov. [Mai, Bibl. nova Prov. 2, Rome, 1851, p. 72]), was opened in heaven. Those Gnostic groups which taught the existence of seven or more heavens-spheres ruled by the Demiurge and Archons, assigned to these heavens doors guarded carefully. This is found, e.g., among various Ophite groups and the followers of Bardesanes. The gates were themselves dangerous in some cases—a fiery gate-way—and the Archons or door-keepers would have kept them closed against souls ascending to the Pleiad, but the transmigration into a succession of mysteries and mysteries, possession of the names of the Archons and of the true magic formula, or of symbols and amulets, caused the doors to be opened (see Hippol. v. 8, 9, 28; Wright, Apoc. Acts, 1878, p. 146; Origen, c. Celsi, bk. i. § 20.1). These ideas of the magical opening of the gates are derived from Egyptian beliefs, and also, perhaps, from Mithraic teachings of the ascent of the soul through the planetary heavens with their gates (Orig., Origen, c. Celsi, bk. i. § 20.1). Mystico-magical cults having affinity to Mithraism knew also of the fiery gates of the upper spheres, which opened at the utterance of the names of the gods (Wessely, "Griech. Zauberpapyrus", Denk. d. Kais. Ak. d. Wiss., xxviii [1888], 56 ff.).

8. The door being regarded as a means of passage from one state to another, it was easy to apply the word in a metaphorical sense. Christ speaks of Himself as the 'door.' By me if any man enter in, he shall be saved (the 10, cph. Eph 288). This idea is repeated in Christian theology. Ignatius calls Christ 'the door of the Father by which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets enter in, as well as the apostles and the Church' (ad. Polycarp, 9), and the author of the Apocalypse of Baruch speaks of the heavenly Christ as the Son of God (Sim. ix. 12); and in the Clementine Recognitions (ii. 22) the gate through which men enter the city, the kingdom of the Father, is 'the true Prophet.' The same ideas were current in Gnosticism. The heavenly Christ is the true gate, through which the Gnostic ascends to the Plei-roma (Hippol. v. 8, 9). In the hymn used by the Priscillianists, but which was Gnostic in origin, Christ says: 'Janau sun tib, quieneque ne pulsas' (Ang. Ec. cxxxvii, 88). Among the Baha'is, the name Baha', assumed by the first preacher of this new religion in 1844, means 'gate,' and was formerly the title given to these intermediaries through whom, as through a gate, communication was made by the Imam to his followers (see art. Baha, Baha'is).


J. A. MACCULLOCH.

DOSÁD, DUSÁD.—A menial tribe in Northern India, of Dravidian origin, which at the Census of 1901 numbered 1,258,125, of whom the vast majority are found in Bengal and the United Provinces.

1. Religion in Bengal.—In Bengal they profess to be orthodox Hindus, and it is true that in some districts they employ in their religious rites Brahmins of a degraded class, while some belong to the Srimārāṇayi sect, or follow the doctrines (pānth) of Kāhār, Taḥū Dās, Goraknāth, or Nānāk (for which see BENGAL). These beliefs, however, seem to be of comparatively recent origin, and the basis of their religion is, possibly, Brahmanism. The Dosadh or Dusadh is, in order to avert disease and in fulfillment of vows, offer to him annual sacrifices and the fruits of the earth through a tribesman who is chiefly also Rev 41.1. In special occasions a stranger form of worship is resorted to, parallels to which may be found in the rustic cult of the Roman villagers and the votaries of the Phœnician deities. A ladkin, laden with sides of green bamboo and rungs of sword-blades, is raised in the midst of a pile of burning mango wood, through which the Bhakat walks barefooted and ascends the ladder without injury. Swine of all ages, a ram, wheat flour, and rice-milk are offered up; after which the worshippers partake of a feast and drink enormous quantities of ardent spirits (Risley, i. 265).

In another form of this rite, the man who has vowed to perform the sacrifice众所周知 finds, in the middle of the day, a thatched hut, in which the Bhakat or priest, himself a Dusadh, must spend the night, sleeping on the sacred kāhār grass with which the floor is strewn. In front of the hut a bamboo frame (sa gần) is raised. The trench is dug, which on the feast day is filled with mango wood soaked in butter, while two earthen vessels of milk are placed close to the platform. The Bhakat bathes and dons a new cloth dyed with the umbilical cord of a buffalo, garlands of mango leaves (muntra), and worships Rāhu on both sides of the trench. The fire is then kindled, and the Bhakat solemnly walks three times round it in the course of the sun, keeping his right hand always towards the east. The end of the third round brings him to the east end of the trench, where he takes by the hand a Brahman retained for this purpose with a fee of two new wrappers, and calls on him to lead the way through the fire. The Brahman walks along the trench from east to west followed by the Bhakat. Both are supposed to tread with their bare feet on the fire and to escape unharmed. Risley supposes that this is the result of optical illusion, because by the time they start the flames have sunk lower, and the active man may walk along it resting his feet on either edge, without touching the smouldering ashes at the bottom. Meanwhile the milk has been boiled, and it appears that in some cases the Bhakat pours the boiling liquid over his body, being, it is said, uninjured.

"By passing through the fire the Bhakat is believed to have been inspired with the spirit of Rāhu, who has become incarnated in him. Filled with the divine or demonic afflatus, and also, it may be surmised, excited by drink and gemon (hemp), he implores the bhoomi platform, chants mystic hymns, and distributes to the crowd tuzī (basil) leaves, which heal diseases otherwise incurable, and flowers which have the virtue of purifying him and cleaning his women to conceive. The proceedings end with a feast, and religious excitement soon passes into drunken revelry lasting long into the night" (Risley, i. 265).

The ritual is a good illustration of Dravidian shamanism. Accounts of fire-walking among the S. Indian Dravidians will be found in Thurston ('Ethnographic Notes in S. India, Madras, 1906, pp. 471 ff.). Frazier (Adonis, Aliss, Osiris, London, 1907, pp. 156 ff.) regards it as a resurrection of an original human sacrifice by means of fire.

(b) Worship of defiled robbers.—The Bengal Dosadh worship a host of defiled heroes, in honour of whom luks are erected in various parts of the country. Among many of these are the ghosts of great chiefs, such as Goraiy, Salesh, Chūhar, or Clear Mal, and others. In none of these shrines are there any idols, and the officiating priests are
always drawn from the Doshdah tribe, who minister to the Sadra or menial castes which frequent them. The offerings usually are appropriated by the priest or by the head of the Doshdah household performing the worship; but, where this worship has adopted some of the principles of Islam, the fowls sacrificed to the Saint Miran and the Paish Pîr (see PÂCHIRPâRA) are given to local Moslems.

2. Religion in the United Provinces.—Here also the cult of Râhu prevails, and it is carried out in a manner much resembling that of Bengal. In one form of the sacrifice the priest clings to the rings of sword-blades with his naked feet, and from some mud or earth on the ground in honour of Râhu, sacrifices a cock tied to the summit of the ladder, or, descending, slays a young pig with repeated blows of a spear. Some spirits are poured on the ground, and the meat and the remainder of the offerings are consumed then and there by the worshippers (Crooke, Pop. Ind., 1856, i. 18 ff., Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, ii. 355, where one of the songs in honour of Râhu will be found).

They also worship Chlâth or Chlthin, the impersonated sixth day after birth, when, owing to lack of sanitary precautions at childbirth, the child is likely to be attacked by infantile lockjaw. On the day of its birth the young creature punishes itself to fast, and goes singing to the river side. Here they strip and walk into the water, remaining facing the east till the sun rises, when they stand with folded hands and bow in reverence. Their offerings include cakes and other kinds of food, which are consumed by the worshipper and his friends. Their other tribal deities are Gandi, a female, and Mannakh Deva, the deliet ghost of some tribal worthy, who is propitiated by the sacrifice of a pig and an oblation of spirits. Seven cups of milk and seven pairs of cakes are also offered round the earthen mound which is the common abiding place of the tribal gods. They observe most of the Hindu holidays, particularly those like the Holli or fire festival and the Kajari of the autumn season, which are the occasion of coarse orgies accompanied by drinking and sensuality.


W. CROOKE.

DOUBLES.—The beliefs to which the term 'doubles' may be traced back to two psychological sources. In the first place, they may result from elementary speculation on the category of duplication; in the second place, the phenomena on which the notion of the divisibility or duality of personality is based are such that a potentially duplicate existence was inevitably ascribed to every concrete object of thought. The two sources constantly mingle. The main characteristic of the former is that a double or counterpart arises by multiplication; of the latter, that it arises by division. In the first case the counterpart tends to be of a different substance, though of the same accidents—the so-called 'spiritual double.' Again, the connected categories of duality, substitution, representation, impersonation, and so forth, coincide with such results of the category of duplication as identity, original and copy, idea and reality, to elaborate the general conception of doubleness in pre-scientific speculation; and the whole combination binds together a number of categories, some of which are apparently widely dissimilar in origin, though all, psychologically speaking, are based on the mathematical ideas of multiplication and division.

We shall refer to these subsidiary forms of the notion only for the purpose of illustrating what sociologically the main connotation of the term, namely, the double in the sense of Doppelgänger, second self, visible or invisible counterpart, spiritual or material double.

1. Duplications in general.—It is not surprising that in early thought two became a sacred number, when we consider the mystery so often connected with duplication. Conversely, in the creation of certain abnormal mythical beings, the mind frequently unites a nature of duality, as in the case of the Cyclopes, and the combination of horse and rider in the Centaurs, and, most notably, in androgynous ancestors and deities. Duplicity in nature is still enough of an abnormality to warrant its inclusion in the list of magical or sacred centres of mystery.

Thus, in Samoa all double things were sacred. Among the native deities were two household gods, represented as 'Siamese Twins,' Taema and Fiti. They appear to have been regarded as a sort of gods of doubleness. Similar ideas were connected in Roman religion with the deity Janus, and in Greek with the Dioscuri. The images of many Mexican idols are faces, back and front, like the Roman Janus bifrons.

'The reason,' E. J. Payne observes, 'why the features were duplicated is obvious. The figure was carried in the midst of a large crowd; the double at the back was for the benefit of those who followed. Probably it was considered to be an evil omen if the idol turned its back away from its worshippers. Thus the double obviated. . . . This duplication of the features, a characteristic of the very oldest gods, appears to be indicated when the numeral one (1) is prefixed to the title of the deity. Thus the two ancestors and preservers of the race were called Omemuthli and Omemuchali (=two-chief, two-woman).'

A close connexion is constantly maintained between diet and conception or the nature of the offspring. A frequent belief is that if a woman eats double—double cherry or a double banana, for example—her child will be double.

Twins themselves are a striking example of the mystery attached to double objects. See, further, TWINS.

Various miscellaneous applications of the double idea may be grouped together here. The law of equivalence, as illustrated by the lex tolonium, is often superseded by the enforcement of a double penalty. Among the Baslaw the family of a man may marry the twin of the wife of another. In this case the feud continues. If they slay but one, it is ended.

The Hebrews condemned a thief taken flagrante delicto to restore double. Hence the moral principle of receiving double as a form of pardon.

'The Lord gave Job twice as much as he had before.' 'For thy sonne ye shall have double. . . . in their hand they shall possess double: everlasting joy shall be unto them.' 'She hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins.' 'Even today do I declare that I will render double unto thee.' Similarly in moral retribution: 'Render unto her even as she rendered unto thee, and double unto her the double according to her works: in the cup which she mingled, mingle unto her double.'

A double share may be either an honour or a security. 'Eliezer said, I pray thee, that thou wouldest show kindness unto me, and shew me a sign of thy kindness for my master, &c.'

The idea of corroboration and finality belongs to repetition.

'The dream of Pharaoh,' Joseph says, 'is one: what God is about to do he hath shewed unto Pharaoh. Seven years shall be seven years; and the dream is one. . . . For dream was doubled unto Pharaoh twice; it is the interpretation of things established by God, and God shall bring it to pass.'

1 G. Turner, Sanscrit, London, 1884, p. 56.
2 Hist. of America, Oxford, 1859-99, l. 244.
5 Ex 25:4-7.
A similar principle is reached from a different origin in such beliefs as that an echo is a con-
formation.

Many cases of mock kings may be resolved into duplication by way of disguise or impersonation.
In Siun and Cambodia the king’s temporary representative impersonates him in function, per-
foming a ceremony, and dressed in the king’s robes. The ‘king’ of the Babylonian festival Sasan was dressed in the king’s robes. In the evolution of the monarchy a frequent stage is the division of the office into temporal and sacred. But such duplication of the king may persist, the act being the movement of a piece of imitation magic. When the substitution is practised in sacrifice, the vicarious sufferer tends to become a spiritual double or unreal phantom. A case in point is the belief found in early Christian speculation that a phan-
tom of Jesus was substituted for him at his death. When no substitute is used, the drink and clothes are made. They eat and drink and wear the clothes ‘on behalf of the ghosts.’ A case which may be compared with the Kaffir and Abyssinian royal customs is from Fiji.

The art of the actor is essentially representation. He is a duplicate of the character, its ‘person.’ Similarly, his understudy or substitute is, both in English and French terminology, a ‘double.’

In Dutch East Indies it is commonly believed that male and female evil spirits, nias, can assume the form and personality of lovers and friends. A man or woman keeping an assignation in the forest is liable to be duped in this way. A person who has intercourse with a nia dies in a few days. The nia is supposed to take away the soul. In some islands an ancestral spirit, named Bobig, is the bogy of women working in the forest. He assumes the form and appearance of their husbands. The occurrence is proved later when the victim suffers from haemorrhage. The practice is followed even by human magic-workers. The Bahr Islanders believe that a male mawanggi is able to take the shape of a young woman’s husband and cause her to conceive.

When a double, either visible or invisible, does not impersonate, but attends as a helper or enemy, it is not clear whether this can be traced back to beliefs about the soul. Primitive psychology succeeded in dividing human personality into two more or less identical duplicates, and there are many cases where the derivation of the guardian angel from the separable soul is explicit. Of course, when developed, the two notions easily pass into one another, and the soul itself is con-

2 Fraser, G.E., 1867, ii. 356 ff.
3 E. W. Lane, Modern Egyptians, London, 1830, i. 322.
4 W. G. Harris, Highlands of Ethiopia, London, 1844, ii. 325.
stantly regarded as a protecting spirit. The illustration of this belongs to another inquiry, but a typical case may be cited, where the guardian is actually the "god". Alphonso lived in a house at which every child there is born a jinn companion, which acts as a guardian angel, but sometimes evilly entrants its possessor. It is termed korina, and is exactly like the person it attends. In this case the spirit, passing into another form leaves behind it, automatically, a double of itself. It is as if a man, when leaving a place, automatically left a duplicate in his stead. The example which follows comprises this naive instinct by having once take as well as eating it, together with other ideas. In Central Australia, 'when a spirit individual goes into a woman' (who thereby conceives), 'there still remains the Aranum-barung, which may be regarded as its double.' Spencer-Gillen also speak of the as the double of the person himself, and as his guardian spirit. A man may be regarded as a dual person because he is attended by an invisible protector. Such a conception is implicit in the European folk-belief about the guardian angel. This belief is extremely vague in its form, but it shows a tendency to regard the angel as a double of the person, his eternal counterpart, which after his death is likely to be a likeness of the individual who 'changeless and lives for ever.' The following example is a case of duplication by apposition, distinct in origin from other forms. The Japanese pilgrim to the Thirty-three Holy Places, or to the Eighty-eight Holy Places of Shikoku, wears a special hat with this inscription—'Two pilgrims travelling in company to such and such a shrine.' This reference to two persons is explained by the idea that the pilgrim is not alone, but is accompanied by the great saint Kobo Daishi, or the Goddess of Mercy, who 'travels with him along the stony path, supporting his footsteps, encouraging his religious fervour, guarding him from evil all along the way. Therefore not one only but two walk under that broad-brimmed hat on the road to Paradise.' Similar ideas of the invisible Divine helper are found in most of the organized religions; and, where it is part of the general teaching that the worshipper may become a sort of incarnation of the god by following in his footsteps, we have an interesting case of duplication in the form of the individual and god and the god as macrocosm, the latter being indefinitely multiple or indefinitely ubiquitous.

Thaumaturge persons are sometimes credited with a similar ubiquity or power of self-multiplication, which would be no implication that the duplicate in such cases is a spiritual replica, or an entity of different substance. It is simple multiplication, without any question of the method or the vehicle. The ordinary limitations of ordinary humanity are merely suspended. The legends of many Christian saints refer to this power of being in two places at once—bilocate. Thus, it is recorded of St. Alfonso di Liguori, that on the occasion of a sermon at the house at which Alphonso lived he found him there at the very time for beginning the sermon in the church. After he had finished his confession, he went straight to the church, and found Alphonso a good way advanced in his sermon.

2. The spiritual double.—The special meaning of this is that the so-called 'spiritual double,' is the 'wraith' or visible counterpart of the person, seen just before or just after, or at the moment of, his death. This belief is derived directly from the theory of the soul. Hallucination, persecution, or possession seems to be better attested than the subjective perception of a *phantasm of the living' in the circumstances mentioned. It is a remarkable agreement between psychological fact and primitive psychological theory, but it is also an instance of how much is quite sufficient reason for the genesis of the belief. The soul itself constantly tends to be a counterpart or duplicate, a spiritual-materi al double of the person. The reason for this tendency is to be found in the adaptation of the soul to the life of the body. This is the mental percept and the memory-image of an object, which is inevitably a replica of the sensational percept (though possibly not technically identical in its physiological causation), somewhat resembling it in form and function. It is set up most vividly in dreams, but also in waking memory. It may include roughly the whole personality, or be confined to one aspect of it; but its general foundation is visual. Some cases may be cited where the soul shows this tendency to be, or actually is, a double. It is to be premised that speculation frequently draws a distinction between this form of the soul and a later transcendental conception. The keolah or la of the Karens 'cannot be distinguished from the person himself, when, as sometimes happens, it appears after death. It is described as 'the individuality, or general idea, of a man; the product of his ideas and of the whole animated being. It, in fact, personates the varied phenomena of life.' It is distinct from the body, and 'its absence from the body is death,' yet it is not regarded as the soul proper, which is the thoh. The la is 'the double of the spirit and matter and spirit, yet materiality belongs to the la.' It is also described as a guardian spirit, walking by a man's side or 'wandering away in search of dreamy adventures. If it is absent too long, it must be called back with offerings. When the la is absent in our waking hours, we become weak or fearful or sick, and, if this influence be protracted, we may die of it, for it is matter of the deepest interest with a Karen to keep his la with him. He is ever and anon making offerings of food to it, beseeching a bamboo to gain its attention, calling it back, and tying his wrist with a bit of thread, which is supposed to have the power to return the la.'

Not only every living creature, but also every inanimate thing—axes and knives, for instance, as well as all trees and plants—has its la, which is 'liable to wander away from the individual.' When, thus wandering, it is 'interfered with by an enemy of any kind, death ensues to the individual' to whom it belongs. If a man drops his axe while up a tree, he looks down and calls out, 'la of the axe, come, come!'

'When the rice-keolah presents an unproportioning appearance, it is supposed that the rice-keolah is detained in some way from the house. In many rice-keolah cases, it accounts for the failure of a rice field. On account of that it languishes into a sort of an invocation—"O come, rice-keolah, come! Come to the field. Come to the rice. With seed of each gender, come. Come from the river Kio, come from the river Kow, from the place where they meet, come. Come from the West, come from the East; from the throat of the bird, from the nose of the ape, from the throat of the elephant. Come from the sources of rivers and their mouths. Come from the country of the Shan and Burman. From the distant kingdom come. From all granaries come. O rice-keolah, come to the rice.'"

As distinguished from the thoh, the la or keolah is not regarded as the responsible agent for human action. "... When we sin, it is the thoh, or "soul," which sins." 'By some the keolah is represented as the inner man, and with others the inner man is the thoh.' It may leave the body in sleep. Such an absent la may be caught by a spell as a wiz ard, and transferred to a dead man, who is thereby resurrected. In this case the friends of the robbed man procure another la from another sleeping man, and so on. The same Karens hold that the world is not the same as that inhabited by apparitions, than with man, and that the 'future world' is a counterpart of this. Lastly, every organ of the body has its la counterpart. Blindness is due to an evil spirit having devoured the la of the eye.
The *la* in all cases, though not immortal, ‘exists after man, and lives after him. It is neither gone nor dead, but merely gives life. In analogous cases this last detail is neglected, and it is precisely a mystic unrealized element that is supposed to produce the phenomena of life.

The *Lushai* term *thla* is possibly connected with this. It is a sort of double.

The Chinese hold that the soul may exist outside the body, ‘as a duplicate having the form of the body, as well as its solid consistency.’ De Groot describes it also as ‘the invisible duplicate’ of the soul and speaks of ‘conviction which calls up the body immediately before their eyes whenever they think of the soul.’

Some striking examples apply the principle so as to form a double creation. Thus, the Asabas of the Niger hold the following opinion:

*Every one is considered to be created in duplicate, and the representative, or, as it were, the reflection in the spirit world of the body and of its possessions, is the *ch*, and its possessions.*

A man’s *ch* carries the *ch* of the woman the man marries, and so on. In addition, the *ch* . . . acts as a guardian spirit . . . *Ch* . . . *ch*. *My ch has the same body,* it inhabits the man’s body.

The *Brahmans believe in a soul, *bun*, and a double, *doshi*. Only huts have *buses*; animals and fetishes have *doshis*, but not *buns*. The *doshi* appears in dreams. The *bun* of a dead man may be seen only at night; it is in human form, white and misty. The *doshi* appears in the European form, and is seen by those who have been in contact with decaying bodies.

The phenomena of dreams are thus explained. The Zapoteces regarded the soul as a ‘second self.’

The tribes living in the southern end of Lake Nyassa believe that the *mizimu*, or soul, has the form of the owner, but is intangible and unsubstantial, though it can talk and act as well as the real man. It is visible only in dreams, and the shadow is a ‘part of it.’

The Delawares used for ‘soul’ a word indicating repulsion, and equivalent to a double or counterpart. The Iroquois soul was ‘an exceedingly subtle and refined image,’ yet material, ‘possessing the form of the body, with a head, teeth, arms, legs, etc. The spectre or shadow was animated into the body.’

The Ahir soul was ‘a being of human shape and of human mode of acting.’

The Eskimo say that the soul ‘exhibits the same shape as the body it belongs to, but is more subtle and ethereal nature.’

Andamanese souls ‘partake of the form of the person to whom they belong,’ the Siuanak hold that the mirage is the soul of the reflected scene.

The soul is regarded by the East Indian asders as the person in every respect, with all his qualities and defects; it is a copy or abstract of him, but is always ‘material.’ In Java the term for soul is ‘refined body;’ in Celebes, ‘image;’ in Toumbulun, ‘companion;’ in Sangir, ‘duplicate.’
the size, sometimes as full size. After death it became the man's personality proper, being incorporated with the mummy. In the everlastingly passing it down through the centuries it was there. It might go in and out of the tomb and refresh itself with meat and drink, but it never failed to go back to the mummy, 'with the name of which it seems to have been closely connected. In hieroglyph it was 'represented by two upraised arms, the acting parts of the person,' with a depression in the centre of the horizontal bar which joins them, to suggest the head. 2

Before discussing the relation between the full-sized and the miniature double, it is as well to repeat the fact that early thought insists very strongly on the principle of duplication, and extends the application very widely. It serves as a theory of the soul and of a future existence. It also serves as a theory of the propagation and of physical evolution generally. Without going into the subject of pre-scientific psychology, it is necessary to note the connexion between the belief in the miniature double and certain widely spread notions about the soul. Corresponding with the percept is the fact that the soul is invisible when its owner is visible, unless, as we shall see, there are special limiting circumstances. The comparative permanence and generalized nature of the memory-image of individuals corresponds with the generalized idea of species, as an ideal of which individuals are copies. A belief which may almost be regarded as universal is that children are re-incarnations of the souls of parents or of ancestors. A common belief where contemporary and is tantamount to a germ-plasm theory of the soul. Parallel with this is the notion that reproduction can be effected, even in the human species, by fission or budding. All these various beliefs are causes of duplication. They include good reasons why the soul should be regarded as a miniature, whether as germ or embryo, or as a child. A full-grown man develops from a smaller copy of himself, and this from an infinitesimally minute replica which has proceeded from another individual. The theory is applied in early thought far more than in a scientific age which professes practically the same theory. Thus, an Australian, rebuking his son, will say to him 'There you stand in my body, and yet you won't do what I tell you.' 3

The minute size of the soul is explained by the Australians as depending upon the necessity that it must be small to enter a woman's body. But there is also the widely spread notion that there is a fact that it leaves the body, both in sleep and illness, and at death. The body remains. Two views are possible, and both are found. Firstly, the duplicate may be a child, easily reproducible and of the body; this would correspond to an outer soul, the soul of the outer man. Or, secondly, the duplicate may be an inset, and therefore an eject. Small enough to leave the body by the mouth, or even by the fontanel, it is often regarded as expansible, filling the body as an inner shape, the soul of the inner man, or the 'inner man' himself. Its flimsy and insubstantial nature, whether in dreams, memory, or hallucinations, agrees well with the latter view. 4

The link between the soul as shape and the soul as inner movement may be found here, even if we do not identify the soul as germ and the soul as inner man. Each of the latter applies to its own peculiar circumstances, and neither is inconsistent with the theory of fission. This last theory, in its passage into a theory of physical reproduction, has been elevated into a theory of vision and sensation generally. In the former application the flimsy duplicate of savage thought becomes the transcendental Form, or átós, which is impressed upon Matter, or òg. Similarly, the savage theory of species and individual was canonized in the Ideal Theory of Plato. The átorn or the Iroquois 5 is paralleled in many rude philosophies. It is a permanent ideal duplicate of each individual of the species. When it is regarded as a reality, the difficulty of bifurcation recurs, not to speak of the problem, which is the essence of the original or the copy? or, in other words, Which is the original? The Iroquois believed that the átorn, the type or model, was 'larger and more perfect' than any single member of the species. It was sometimes called 'the old one.' Thus, converting type into prototype, the Indian was perhaps more scientific than metaphysical.

The problem of personal identity (similar to that of original and copy in the case of duplicates) is raised in the case of young children and is solved by the duplication theory of reproduction. When the soul of a dead man is re-incarnated in a child, there is no practical embarrassment. But, according to Mann, the father is conceived in the body of his wife and is himself re-born as his child. 6 A man is thus his own father and his own son simultaneously. Some analogous notion, combined with a fear of personal insecurity or loss of power caused by this division of personality, seems a not impossible factor in the superstition of infanticide. 7 A Kafir will frequently kill one of his twin children, the belief being that otherwise 'he will lose his strength.' 8

In some psychologies each part of the person has its spiritual duplicate. The theory of homoeo-meria is foreshadowed so frequently in early speculation that we may fairly suppose it to be implicit in early atomic philosophy. When Chinese doctors speak as if the soul were breakable and divisible in its molecules, 9 and when we read of Malay tin-magie that 'each grain of ore appears to be considered as endowed with a separate entity or individuality,' and that it possesses the power of reproduction, it may well be that each atom is implicitly viewed as a minute replica of the whole.

Duplication by a process of fission or of budding (gemmation) is occasionally hinted at in early philosophy. The Central Australians tell how in the time of the ancestors a man would shake himself, and spirit-children would then drop from his muscles. An ancestor suddenly found a duplicate of himself appearing at his side, and exclaimed, 'Hello! that is me.' 10

The development of dual personality by a process of division may be illustrated from Hindu theology. 'The One Being was not happy, being alone.' He wished for a second. He caused his own nature to fall in twain, and thus became husband and wife. 11 This duality is rather that of mirror-images; this (second) was only a half

1 Hewitt, loc. cit.
3 See Westermarck, MfL 461.
6 A. W. Howitt, in JAI xiv. (1885) 145.
7 See, on the whole subject, Crawley, op. cit. p. 200 ff.
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of himself, as the half of a split pea is. Combination produces completeness, as a split pea is (completed) by being joined with its other half.  

Modern psychology has studied many cases where the mind of one personality is subdivided. The so-called double personality of such cases adds one more apparent confirmation of the ancient theory of duplication by division of what may be described as a two-layered unity. In the ethereal sphere the ancient distinction of 'dual-mindness' implies more than a mere tendency to deceit and treachery. It implies the existence of two souls, or a double soul, in one person. Cf. 1 Ch 12:20 'that were not of double heart' (Lit. 'without a heart and a heart'); 1 Par. 12:22 'with a double heart' (Lit. with a heart and heart) do they speak.' Duplication involves not only duplicity but instability; 'a double-minded man, unstable in all his ways.' It is possible that one factor in the general desire for sincerity is the sensations notion of the danger of uncertainty. If a man professes non-unity, he may become non-real himself.  

There is,' says Westernmarck, 'something uncanny in the untrue word itself.' Cicero observed: 'Nothing that is false can be true.' Dr. Westernmarck remarks which to a stage might express a legal law. It is a curious fact that in civilization a sort of specific insincerity or double-mindedness is popularly ascribed to the artistic temperament, particularly in the case of an artist as a double, abstractly placed on the stage, so is he regarded in his own character. Cf. art. DOUBLE-MINDEDNESS.  

The analogy of the soul to the portrait, reflexion, shadow has led to certain curious examples of the piece of portrait. The method of making a double is by similars, and early thought seems to have noted identity far more than difference. This tendency is well exemplified in Chinese psychology, and has to be taken into account in estimating many cases of spiritual identification.  

When a Chinese sees a plant, for example, 'reminding him, by its shape, of a man or some animal, ... he is influenced immediately by an association between it and that being. This brings him to the soul of the plant, anthropomorphously, or shaped as a beast. ... Thus, association of images with beings actually becomes identification, both materially and psychically. An image, especially if pictorial or sculptured, and thus approaching close to the reality, is an alter ego of the living soul as precisely as the soul, nay, it is that reality itself. ... This kind of association is the backbone of Chinese religious faith.'  

The soul of the Yaos, we saw, bears to the body 'the relation which a picture has to the reality.' But the Chinese go much farther. For all practical purposes the life-sized picture of a dead man is a duplicate of the body. It enables the deceased to live among his descendants. There are stories of statues and portraits acting for the persons they represent, and even beggaring children. There once existed also an art, Khendi shuk, by which life could be infused into a statue or portrait. The living image was then made use of, as Frankenstein employed his monster.  

Animal-souls or fetish-souls, external souls generally, are frequently described by observers under the term alter ego. Tribes of the Ngeri believe that each person has an alter ego in the form of some animal, such as a crocodile or higgin.' It is believed that such a person's life is bound up with that of the animal to such an extent that whatever affects one produces a corresponding impression upon the other, and that if one of the other must specially do so too. It happened not very long ago that an Englishman shot a hippopotamus, who was a native animal friend of a woman who died the same night in the village demanded and eventually obtained five pounds as compensation for the murder of the woman.  

In the Euahlayi tribe of Australia the yunbeai, or individual totem, is an 'animal familiar,' a sort of alter ego. A man's spirit is in his yunbeai.  

2. 3. Monier-Williams, loc. cit., p. 163.
3. 4. Odéh, ib. ii. 116.
5. 6. Dodd, iv. 339 f.
8. 9. C. G. Myers, Man Manifestations of the Spirit, 1887.
himself go past him, thrust open the church door, which he knew was locked, pass inside, and shut the door after him. He could not be allowed to escape. He must go on his knees and look him full in the face, and he knew himself as surely as when his glimmering, indistinct, and agitated features met the visualizing of mternal images) records his having seen 'an exact counterpart of himself coming towards him.' 12 Robert Percival, second son of the late Sir Percival, saw his own apparition, 'bloody and ghastly, whereat he was astonished the sight. He was afraid, but, recovering, he saw the spectre depart.' Soon afterwards he was found dead, under mysterious circumstances, in the Strand. 13 In 1868, Mrs. Milman, with Mrs. Howitt, and Miss dean, assistant clerk, to the House of Commons, declared that her room in the Speaker's Court was haunted, and that her body and her husband, by many years, for a spiritual double of herself, which had been seen by many people when she was elsewhere, though she herself had never seen it. 14 A well-known M.P. died suddenly when away from the House. It was stated that he was seen by several members in the lobby at the time he died. 15 In Alsace the belief is marked; eac soim- malists, and such families as can trace them in a line, or meet one's double, portends one's death. A Strasburg man returning home saw himself, and soon after died. It is noted that in Alsace the occurrence is rare compared with the appearance of a man to others. An interesting detail, recurring elsewhere, is that, after seeing his double, a man has no re- pose. 16 A question implying the same belief was put to Shelley by a Jesuit; and he had seen his double. Art and literature are full of examples which might well be founded on fact. D. G. Rossetti's How they met themselves, and Gotch's account of St. Peter's is only a specimen. Walter Scott observed that increasing civilization had 'blotted out the belief in apparitions.' This was to reckon without the phenomenon of view which they deplored as they grew in the power of the soul to be away from the body just before, or at, or after death, or even in illness, and also why it is then visible both to the owner and to others. The double which appears after death might be supposed to be a duplicate of the soul, as its marks of death upon him. And so it is sometimes in early belief. Thus, among the Fijians the ghost is decomposed; it is the corpse 'walking.' But, with natural inconsistency, it 'can eat fruit, drink coconut water, throw stones, speak the poetry, and dance.' 17 So difficult is it for the mind to get away from the complete idea of the man. In a case already cited, the double appearing after death had the marks of the owner's violent end impressed upon it. As a rule, the 'spiritual' double is the exact counterpart of the owner as he was when last seen. Thus, by the natives of Paraguay 18 the souls (aparangues) of the departed are supposed, in the Monks' belief, to appear in the other world in the exact charac- teristics with the bodies they have left. A tall man and a short man remain tall and short as spirits; but, in death, a body is deformed. A kindly-natured man continues so in shade-land. . . . The spirit of a child remains a child and does not develop, and for this reason is not feared. No punishment follows the murder of an infant, nor is its murder attended by the ordinary superstitions. The Polynesians were familiar with appearances of the dead. These appeared also in dreams, and their 'shape or form resembled that of the human body. 19 The natives of the Panjab believe that 'the little entire man or woman inside the body retains after death the tattoo marks of the person whom it has left.' 20 Among the Nagas the ghost is 'an exact image of the deceased as he was at the moment of death, with scars, tattoo marks, mutilations, and all—and as able to enjoy and to need food and other sustenance.' 21 In some cases, it is believed that 'soul' after death is distinguished from the dead man himself, who is believed to 'walk.' The Aus- tralians speak of the ghost returning to the grave to contemplate its mortal remains. 22 But there are cases where it is practically the man himself, re- vivified and as he was in life. The Ovaheere believe

3 Evening News, 30 June 1899.
4 A. Barth, in Fl. l. (1890) 272 fl.
6 De Grook, 1. 245.
7 Good health,' but wandered away when he was sick or dying. 1 This account is very apt to the point. It explains how the spiritual counterpart of a man is seen when he is swelling up. 2 It is stated as visible. It is invisible, in other words, when it is united with its owner. It may be visible, to himself or others, when it is no longer united. On this line of thought, combined with doubtless the combined expression of the soul when it has developed the notion that health and strength are the soul, or at least an outward show of it. The Minangkabau people of Sumatra regard the sumpruge as

1 Another cause of the impression a man makes on others: . . . it gives strength, splendour, and vitality to a man's appearance; it is expressed in his look and carriage. A man whose external appearance is weak or sickly, or who has little expression in his face, is said to have a feeble soul. 2

Similarly, the natives of the Conservancy identify health with the word moyo, and in 'cases of wasting sickness the moyo is supposed to have wandered away from the sufferer.' 3 The Malayans supply a complete case. The ambiorou or onemery, the apparition' of a man, is, when seen, an omen of his approaching death. 4 It has been applied to the soul of a man when there is no actual question of death; for instance, if a man is thin and does not thrive well on his food. 5

It is clear from the above instances that the soul should be away from the body just before, or at, or after death, or even in illness, and also why it is then visible both to the owner and to others.

The double which appears after death might be supposed to be a duplicate of the soul, as its marks of death upon him. And so it is sometimes in early belief. Thus, among the Fijians the ghost is decomposed; it is the corpse 'walking.' But, with natural inconsistency, it 'can eat fruit, drink coconut water, throw stones, speak the poetry, and dance.' 6 So difficult is it for the mind to get away from the complete idea of the man. In a case already cited, the double appearing after death had the marks of the owner's violent end impressed upon it. As a rule, the 'spiritual' double is the exact counterpart of the owner as he was when last seen. Thus, by the natives of Paraguay 7 the souls (aparangues) of the departed are supposed, in the Monks' belief, to appear in the other world in the exact charac- teristics with the bodies they have left. A tall man and a short man remain tall and short as spirits; but, in death, a body is deformed. A kindly-natured man continues so in shade-land. . . . The spirit of a child remains a child and does not develop, and for this reason is not feared. No punishment follows the murder of an infant, nor is its murder attended by the ordinary superstitions. The Polynesians were familiar with appearances of the dead. These appeared also in dreams, and their 'shape or form resembled that of the human body. 8 The natives of the Panjab believe that 'the little entire man or woman inside the body retains after death the tattoo marks of the person whom it has left.' 9 Among the Nagas the ghost is 'an exact image of the deceased as he was at the moment of death, with scars, tattoo marks, mutilations, and all—and as able to enjoy and to need food and other sustenance.' 10 In some cases, it is believed that 'soul' after death is distinguished from the dead man himself, who is believed to 'walk.' The Aus- tralians speak of the ghost returning to the grave to contemplate its mortal remains. 11 But there are cases where it is practically the man himself, re- vivified and as he was in life. The Ovaheere believe 12 A. G. Mericke, loc. cit.,
13 J. van der Merwe, loc. cit. v. 451.
14 H. Ward, in J A. xxv. (1884) 287.
15 E. Ellis, loc. cit.
17 W. E. Ellis, The Unknown People in an Unknown Land, London, 1913, p. 120.
18 W. Ellis, Polyg. Rev. 1. 361, 370.
21 A. W. Howitt, in J A. xii. (1884) 187.
that the ghost speaks to people, drinks their milk, and takes their food; also that he is apt to seduce women and girls, and can even marry and live with a wife; without her being aware that her husband is a ghost.\footnote{1}

In the Gospel narratives of the appearances of the risen Jesus it is remarkable that various tests are employed to prove that the form was no ghost or phantasm, but the Lord himself (cf. Lk 24:44). A test frequently employed in cases of the double is to ascertain whether the form casts a shadow or reflection. For the 'spiritual' double, being itself a sort of reflection, a visible but 'immaterial' copy, obviously cannot produce a reflection itself. Hence stories are found, the point of which is either that a supposed real person is unreal, or that a real person, casting no shadow, has \textit{ipsa facta} lost his soul. We are thus led to the principle that the 'spiritual' duplicate, while supplying life to its owner, is 'real,' but in a different genus from the body or from the complete person. More precisely, the difference is a question of degree; the dead or sick body is negatively, the life-double is positively, real, and their union is that of double unity.

Most significant, perhaps, of the phenomena of doublehood is the fact that they are seen just before death, and by their owners in particular. A usual endowment of the medicine-man is that he can see a soul, and at any time. But this capacity is often limited by the accepted principles of the doctrine of the soul. Thus the shamans of the Thompson Indians are able to see the soul before and shortly after it leaves the body, but lose sight of it when the latter is awakened to the world of sounds. When a shaman sees a soul in the shape of a fog, it is a sign that the owner will die.\footnote{2}

The rescue and restoration of the straying duplicate is universally, in early culture, the business of the soul-doctor, as in civilization restoration of health is the business of the physician. The fact that, though ordinarily invisible, it is seen away from its place of location is the best proof that its owner is threatened with its permanent absence. This contingency receives the strongest confirmation when the apparition is seen by the threatened person himself. The inconsistency of the fact that he himself is still alive is one of those which cause no difficulty to the unscientific mind. The soul is separated from the body; that is enough for an absolute proof.

The persistence of the belief in the apparition of the double is evidently one of those cases which cannot be explained by any theory of survival or tradition. The belief is kept alive by hallucinations, and in uncultivated minds by the normal phenomena of visualization.

\textbf{Literature.—}This is fully given in the article.

\textbf{A. E. Crawley.}

\textbf{DOUBLE-MINDEDNESS.—}It is clear that many things in morality and religion which are censured as insincerity and hypocrisy are more accurately describable in terms of double-mindedness. The difference is that in double-mindedness a certain fraction of the entire complex personality—a special set of related states and processes—is so 'split off' from the rest of the self that it acts on its own and also affects its relation to the full round of diverse elements of the ego. In cases of hypocrisy, if such exist, during the inconsistent act or attitude which has momentarily taken possession of the field of consciousness there is a haunting sense that it is not in harmony with the deeper-lying currents of the selfhood of double personality, in which two fairly defined selves in turn struggle for the possession of the field of consciousness, or may exist side by side, each more or less ignorant of the other; multiple personality, with the condition just described, existing among more than two split-off parts illustrated in the work of a skillful hypnotist, who can call up in turn as many selves as he chooses; and alternating personality, in which the two or more selves, like Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde, take turns at ruling the field of consciousness.

Among the remarkable cases that have been studied are: Lucie, Louise, and Leonie, described by Englez in \textit{Les apparitions psychologiques}, 1889; Félida, studied by Anan, Hypnotism, double conscience et alternations de la personnalité, 1897; Mary Reynolds and Ethel Bourne, cited by Ford in \textit{The Psychology of Phychic Life,} 2, 1905, 1. 383 ff.; the case of Sergeant F., described by Monnot and quoted by Binet, \textit{Alternations of Personality} (Eng. tr.), 1896; 'Miss Beauchamp' with her four personalities, the subject of Prince's exhaustive study, \textit{The Dissociation of a Personality,} 1906; the case of the Indian, in which the element of the sub-conscious consists in the sum of partially lapsed memories, plus the sum of dimly appreciated instinct feelings and organic experiences, past and present. The elements of the self are sometimes so closely knit together, and at best become organized in spots and sections, as determined, for example, by harmonious instinct reactions or a relatively consistent set of emotional experiences, personal habits, and intellectual interest.

The conscious self really consists in the drifting to the surface, out of the submerged selfhood, of certain fairly well organized cores or nuclei of related states and processes. The conscious self-consciousness is a potential bound up in in and all of the elements of the personality. The ego is not a fixed entity that stands apart and watches the life-processes go on. The self-feeling, on the contrary, is latent in every psychoses, and emerges when any group of processes is sufficiently organized and/or intensified as to form a warm spot in the usually somewhat diffuse group of experiences that cohere in the single organism. Whenever such a warm spot is formed, the self-feeling about it and about everything else is sharply severed from it and stands as object. There are in the normal personality certain deep-going lines of organization that are fairly constant, and give some stability to the selfhood. It is shown, however, by the use of hypnotic suggestion, that there is no part of the personality that may not in turn be made subject and object. The same subject may seem to himself to be in turn king and peasant, preacher and humorist, saint and sinner, and is entirely oblivious to the existence of other selves.

Now, the condition underlying double-mindedness is that two or more centres of related processes, or selves, may drift above the consciousness, in a rapid succession, while each is imperfectly cognizant of the other. Indeed, it is certain that one set of central processes can be 'thrown out of gear' with the rest, 'so that the processes in one system give rise to one consciou-
ness, and those of another system to another simul-
taneously existing consciousness (J. W. James, Prin.
of Psych., chs. ix. and x.; Bradley, Appearance and Reality, 2, 1857, ch. ix.). In any normal individual we have the alternative associa-
tions and re-combinations of the elements of the self in response to the situations that call them into activity. Each person is in turn, especi-
ally and for the moment, a bodily self, a social self, a social self of the B, a morose, an ambitious, an affectionate, a logical self, and so on through a long list. There are conditions which tend to fix these various selves and perpetuate them. In the first place, it is the fate of states of consciousness to be self-limited in proportion to their intensity. To see with rapt interest a bit of colour harmony in a landscape is for the moment to be blind to all else. To feel the thrill of a heroic encounter creates a soldier whose heart is closed to every other "calling." The faxes of habit get in their work, while vocational activities and the fixity of social customs assist in building the texture of the personality into a seemingly con-
tinuous and consistent type. The twists and strains of split personality now arise through

the irruption into the individual's life of some new stimulus or passion, such as love, ambition, tardy, revenge, or patriotic devotion (W. James, Var. of Rel. Exp., 1892, p. 150).

It may arise from the enforced change of occupation when the cross currents are aggravated by a psychopathic temperament. The condition existing in mild and severe terms is best seen in

A young woman, early abandoned to a life of shame, and later placed in a convent, would pass, as the result of nervous disorders, through two periods, believing herself to be alter-
nately prostitute and nun; and in each her tone, manner, dress, and speech were radically different and appropriate (Baldwin, D.T.P., p. 280).

One of the chief sources of split personality is the difficulty of a smooth readjustment, during the growth periods from childhood to maturity, to the new situations and to the new needs of the self which is most marked during the age of most rapid readjustment in the early teens. The old habitual self of child-
hood persists with great tenacity. The instinctive uprush of new life floods the youth with a feeling of new power, and a sense of awakening, though dimly appreciated, ideals. The struggle between the old self and the new is the crisis long

known as 'storm and stress.' The period is well characterized by W. James as that of the 'divided will,' that of the split personality, the partial self, either too callous or too sensitive, loses its connexion with, and setting in, the full round of life. Treacheries, for example, are the reverse side of little loyalties, just as are foolish loves and misguided philanthropies. It would appear, too, from the stress which moral codes and precepts place upon such virtues as integrity, sin-
cerity, consistency, temperance, and the like, that the normal evolution of character is a unity of the straightening out and unification of the inner self.

As a flyer makes straight his arrow, says the Eommann-
podis (32). 'Stability is the last acute-
tness, that touch of explosive intensity that enables them to burst their shell, and make irruptions horizontally into life and quell the lower tendencies for ever' (W. James, Rel. Exp., p. 170).

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religion. To heal up its ruptures and knit the excised parts together, has been the
heroic task. Two extreme methods of unification have been advocated, with many gradations of the intermingle of both. At one extreme is the Stoical method of renunciation of everything which can be disturbed, and clear assent to the self, so that the soul stands undisturbed in the midst of a changing universe, superior to all things in life or death. The opposite method is to extend the self until it is at one with all things in heaven and earth. Since the whole universe is all-real, there is nothing that can mar its serenity. One can distinguish at least four types of this latter method of unification: the mystical or baptismal or psychopathic, which would bathe in a limitless ocean of 'blessedness'; the rational or Socratic, which would rise to higher definition and sink to profounder insight until the deeper wisdom catches up all virtue into itself; the aesthetic, as illustrated, for example, in Jesus, which is guided by a warm, refined sense of eternal values; and the practical or 'tough-minded,' represented by those who gird up their loins and preach and practise a doctrine of utmost consistency in thought and deed.

The value to morality of double-mindedness. — It is an inductive fact that the biography of so many moral and religious geniuses betrays a struggle between the cross currents of the self in the direction of good and evil. Like St. Paul and St. John the Baptist, they argue and, when the impulses lead towards the higher life, there is a stubborn inner resistance that is hardly overcome. It is probable that, just as an act of clear thought is bought of necessity at the price of moral renunciation, so of clean-cut moral values can exist only in the midst of conflicting inner impulses. It is 'when the struggle begins within himself' that 'man's worth something. It is only then that 'the soul awakes and grows' (Browning, _Furlo at the Feet_).

'Of necessity every distinctly moral choice involves the previous presence of a certain tendency to choose the wrong. Yes, moral choice is essentially a combination of the neglected motive, as well as an approval of the accepted motive. Otherwise it could be no moral choice. Being possessed of but one motive could have no conscience. ... You might as well try to define a king without his subjects as to define a moral conscience unless the presence of the agent of some evil motive' (Royce, in _JES_ fr. [1890-1957]).

If, now, in the midst of the struggle the agent conquers the lesser motive, he may issue forth into a complex of the two, or into the conflict and corresponding moral values, and so come to live victoriously in a 'two-storey universe' instead of floating along in a misty stream of indefinite experiences into whose gloom the light of a bedimmed conscience can scarcely shed its radiance. The value of the conflicts, too, in the social order has long been recognized by students of ethics.

'The means which Nature uses to bring about the development of all the capacities she has given man,' says Kant, 'are a kind of amonization in society in so far as this antagonism becomes in the end a cause of social order. ... Men have a great propensity to isolate themselves, for they find in themselves at the same time this unsocial characteristic, and each wishes to do something so as to please according to his own notion, and expects resistance just as he knows that he is inclined to resist others. It is just this resistance which awakens all man's powers' (quoted in Dewey-Tute, _Ethics, 1908_, p. 87). It is the universal, and from this it follows that, the greater the number of antagonisms and oppositions that play against each other, the more is the personality enriched, if only they can be so nearly balanced against each other as not to waste the energies, and if the central stream of life is so directed that the habit of conquering becomes the habit of growth. Luther, e.g., is an instructive instance of a person containing what Riihle ([122-125] ff.) designates 'successively' and 'even simultaneously contradictory characters.' He was jocose and serious, jovious and melancholy, submissive and independent, active and meditative, stoical and sentimental, self-centered and hard-headed organizer, scholar and poet, and many things besides. The intimate relation between the presence, in such minds, of various cross existents and their moral strength is probably not an accidental one.


EDWIN D. STARBUCK.

DOUBT.—1. Definition and scope. — Doubt is the negation of belief, the condition of not having reached a positive conclusion for or against any proposition. In this negative nature doubt differs from disbelief, which is a positive conviction of falsity. Disbelief is a form of belief, as a belief in some proposition which involves the failure of another, with reference to which the attitude of mind is called ‘disbelief.’ We disbelieve the Ptolemaic theory because we believe the Copernican. Doubt is, on the other hand, implication of such contrary belief. It implies suspension of judgment rather than a positive judgment to the contrary. It is the state of being unconvinced. In this sense an agnosticism should be the attitude of doubt, lacking knowledge (see art. AGNOSTICISM). Whether there is ever an absolute suspense of judgment may be questioned, but in the doubting attitude there is at least the absence of a categorical or of a settled judgment with reference to the idea in question. There may be the dispassionate Warrant of McCoub, and Coriat, _Relig. and Med._, N.Y. 1908; H. Munsterberg, _Psychotherapy_, N.Y. 1909, pt. iii.

As to the objects of doubt it is customary to distinguish between theoretical doubt and doubt as to values. The former may concern either (1) the complex evidence supporting any of the moral values, and (2) the latter may be doubt as to the validity of our (3) aesthetic or (4) moral judgments. Since religion, as commonly understood, involves judgment as to both facts and values, religious doubt may be either of the two main kinds. The distinction sometimes drawn between _universal_ and _particular_ doubt is a verbal rather than a real one, the former being incompatible with sanity in things theoretical, and with life in things practical. The conscious life is essentially a narrative, assertive process by which objects are either assimilated, or neglected for those capable of assimilation. This limitation of doubt in the field of knowledge was shown by Descartes, and in the sphere of practice by Hume (see art. DOUBT).

The temporal relation of doubt to belief depends upon the conception of the nature of belief. If belief be taken as identical with the instinctive or immediate reality sense, doubt is a subsequent state arising only when things have suggested that, especially as involving the disappointment of expectation and the checking of motor impulse. If belief be conceived as a reflective result dependent upon evidence, it is subsequent to doubt, and its legitimate outcome. The condition of doubt lasts as long as the idea in question fails to ind its
faith is demanded within the range of the firm foundation of the system, while doubt may in all other matters prevail. There are many also, among Catholics, Protestants, and non-Christian devotees, who accept the finality of both reason and authority and insist upon their oneness. An instructive instance in point is the case of Cardinal Newman. He says (Gram. of Assent, pp. 214, 146):

‘Now truth cannot change; what is once truth is always true; and the human mind is made for truth. . . . once certitude, always certitude. If certitude in any matter be the termination of all doubt or fear about its truth, it carries with it an inward sentiment of finality. Itself shall not, in the nature of things, be removed by the dogma of the Church’s infallibility. The “One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church” is an article of the Creed. It stands in the present history of all abstruse problem, the one mind, for to believe in her word is virtually to believe in them all. Even what he cannot understand he can believe to be true; and he believes it to be true because he believes in the Church.’

(2) Types of idealism with a dynamic or developmental conception of reality. — This philosophical position, somewhat older than Aristotelianism, has arisen with new life during the last century and a half. It has been steadily undermining dogmatism and certitude, and not only accepting doubt as a wholesome mental regimen, but interpreting it as a necessary and unavoidable part of the process of life. Its representatives may be separated into two groups: (a) rationalists, who, like Hegel, abandon the law of identity and contradiction and posit a rational world-consciousness in a process of becoming or evolution, and (b) pragmatists, voluntarists, and affectionists, whom reality seems to be of a plastic, non-rational sort, which the thought-processes, since they are its products, can only symbolize, not reveal.

(a) Hegelian rationalism. Hegel is the representative of the idealists who hold a dynamic and teleological conception of reality, and insist that the cosmic spirit unfolds in a strict and vigorous logic, whose consumption is thought or thought. (Chushman, Hist. of Phil., 1911, ii. 251.) This absolute reason proceeds everywhere and always according to a law of negativity—passes over into its other or opposite only to return to itself enriched by the contradiction. There is always the thirdfold set, whether in the personal life or in history—affirmation, contradiction, and return-to-itself (the thesis, antithesis, and synthesis of Fichte and Schelling). The law of contradiction which formal logic and static rationalism respect is not the truth, only reduces the stage, in an endless process, to coming. The unfolding of the Absolute must of necessity, and by its very nature, have contradictions within it, as the condition of passing on to a higher synthesis, more intimate, individual, therefore, and scepticism in history (see, e.g., Hegel’s discussion of the Sceptics, in his Hist. of Philos., 1892-96) are not simply justifiable on account of their stimulating and intensifying power, but are wholly essential parts of the evolution of spirit and

(b) Non-rational idealism. Hegel’s philosophical justification of negation was but the formulating of a world-attitude towards the value of doubt that had been developing during the Renaissance and has been gaining momentum to the present time. No reference is here made to its value in the way of mental clarification and as a means of arriving at certainty as in the Yes and No procedure of Abaelard and Aquinas, or to the method by which Descartes and its latter class of Cartesianism endeavored in order to arrive at clear and distinct ideas and therefore dogmatic certainty; what we have in view is rather a growing conception that reality is of a non-rational kind which cannot be truly represented by the cognitive processes. The thought-life is one (among others) of the ways in which the world of being manifests itself. It is epiphenomenal. Its reports are suggestive and
symbolical, not final. Dogmatism is, from this point of view, no longer possible, and the _tentative_ reliance upon a 'truth' so far forth apprehended, of which doubt is the wholesome sign, is fundamentally justifiable. Following upon the acute scepticism and criticism which culminated in Hume and Kant respectively, confidence in the power of pure reason to transcend itself and report objective reality must have vanished, and the belief went displaced that the universe was constructed on logical principles. The conviction grew insistent that reality is plastic or dynamic, and is of the nature of feeling or will. Being so, its meaning is not to be read out in terms of feeling or symbolizing through ideation. Illustrative of the affectiveness may be mentioned: Kant's faculty of taste and aesthetic judgment as the synthesizing principle behind reason and judgment; Schelling's notion that ideas have not _legitim point, but are God's _intuitions of Himself, and that esthetics and religion contain the deeper wisdoms which will resolve all contradictions; Schleiermacher's doctrine that religious ideas are forms of the manifestation of reality feeling and Schelinger's conception of the 'Beautiful Soul' revealed through 'disinterested contemplation.' The volitionists are equally numerous and commanding. Illustrations of them are the 'God-will' of Kant, the 'Deed-act' of Fichte and the 'World-will' of Schopenhauer, with his teaching that Reason and Idea are indeed distorted expressions of this fundamental world-will. The doctrine of biological evolution is a concrete form of the prevailing passion (which was possessed theodolit half a century before it was formulated by Darwin) for a developmental account of reality, and in turn has given vast impetus to the conception. Some of the modern forms into which it has become crystallized are empiricism, natural empiricism, vitalism, and voluntarism. All these give up the possibility of the dogmatic certainty of a unified system of beliefs. As summarized by A. J. Balfour:

'No philosophy or theory of knowledge can be satisfactory which does not find room within it for the quite obvious but not sufficiently considered fact that, so far as empirical science can tell us anything about the matter, most of the proximate causes of belief and all its ultimate causes are non-rational in the sense of being non-rational in their origin.'

The attitude of all these towards doubt and certainty may be typified by the following from W. James:

'The sane thing is surely to recognize that all the insights of creative imagination are provisional, that a wisest critic is an altering being, subject to the better insight of the morrow, and right at any moment, only "up to date" and "on the whole." . . . Heartily know, when half-gods go, the gods arrive. . . . I do indeed disbelieve that we or any other mortal men can attain on a given day to absolutely incorrigible and unprovable truth about such matters of fact as those with which religious deal' (Varieties of Religious Experience, 1902, p. 331.)

3. Doubt for its own sake.—Most writers make a distinction between doubt as an end and its use in the growth of knowledge. Even those who justify it most unqualifiedly within its proper limits condemn it just as cordially as a chronic obsession.

James goes so far as to observe: "It is often practically impossible to distinguish the doubt from the mere negation. . . Skepticism in moral matters is an ally of immorality. Who is not for against. . . in theory as in practice, dodec, or dodge, or talk as we like about a wise skepticism, we are really doing volunteer service for one side or the other" (The Will to Believe, 1899, p. 109.)

Sir William Hamilton, who believes that "doubt is the first step in philosophy, steps of Doubt, an important state of mind, would be, in fact, little better than an intellectual suicide, and still worse,—it lives in the affirmation of itself, and of God; a doubt upon any of those would be a diminution of its life—a doubt upon the three, were it possible, would be tantamount to a mental annihilation (Lect. on Met. I. 91.) The danger of doubting is not only that it may become a fixed habit, but that interest may centre in the process itself as severed from the complex of normal mental activities and healthy enthusiasms and become a mania (doubting-madness; folie du doute; Grubstrudel). Pathologists have accepted this as a special type of insanity (see, for example, B. Ball's art. "Doubt, Insanity of," in Tuke's Dict. of Psychol. Medicine, 1892.) Its symptoms are a state of persistent intellectual unrest, a devouring mental and physical anxiety, a morbid anxiety for mental satisfaction, accompanied not infrequently by a Hamlet-like paralysis of the will.

4. Doubt as the condition of knowledge and of its growth.—The dictum of Hamilton, 'we doubt in order that we may believe' is confirmed by the result of modern psychological analysis of the nature of the thought-processes, settling into a truism. According to James, 'belief and disbelief are but two aspects of one psychological state . . . we never doubt anything except for the reason that we believe something else which contradicts the first thing' (Prize of Psych., 1890, ii. 294.) Such a conception becomes self-evident through an analysis of the mental conditions involved in certitude. This is shown even by certain processes of the mind.

No act of perception would be possible without selective attention, a narrowing of the field of consciousness, and a more or less sharp discrimination of the object perceived from related objects. Such an act often is not, generally, a simple act cutting away of the object from its setting, as hand from arm, leaf from branch, child from adult, day from night, and the like. Further perceptual processes almost invariably make cross-cutttings of these cuttungs for more than half a century before it was formulated by Darwin)

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such a consideration it is evident that doubt is bound up necessarily with any act of faith. As expressed by Ladd:

'Skepticism and agnosticism remain legitimate and valuable even among the cultivated classes. . . . But doubt and inquiry, to refuse to affirm, and to deny, whether applied in the interests of science or religion, is an essential to the process of conception as are faith and affirmation of the most positive and undisturbed kind' (Phil. of Knowledge, p. 569).

The necessity of doubt to knowledge arises also from the retarding effect of a native inertia which causes ideas to be passed over without thought or action; and this condition is aggravated by the deadening effect of habit and custom, which must constantly be transcended and replaced by a habit of growth, or, in other words, the habit of justifiability. Foster has compared doubt to the molting of a bird by which it accommodates itself to the rotation of the seasons, and to the process of elimination in digestion. Doubt is therefore the 'purgative, eliminative, excretive side of religious experient to faith as faith is the normative side of duties, if we are saved by doubt as well as by faith' (The Funct. of Relig. in Man's Struggle for Existence, p. 1581.)

5. The development of doubt in the personal life. — A valuable suggestion as to the place of doubt in the constructive life of morality and religion is found in the fact that it is the rule rather than the exception, in the growth from childhood credulity, innate trust in external authority, into a personal grasp of spiritual verities, that men and women pass through, usually in the late teens, a stage of mental perturbation, and of inquiry into the groundwork of faith. The youth 'turns logician and Graves everything and accepts that only which seems to possess a reason.' A study of biographies and autobiographies seems to show that 'the higher life purposes develop and intensify simultaneously with the higher growth of doubt; . . . Doubt is a process of mental clarification; it is a step in the process of self-mastery; it is an indication that all the latent powers are beginning to be realized' (Starbuck, Psychology of Religion, p. 121).

6. The cultivation of the science and art of doubting judiciously and constructively. — The number of recent sympathetic discussions by psychologists and theologians of the meaning of doubt would indicate that leaders of thought have come rather generally to accept a constructive interpretation of it when kept within certain limits. The art of judicious doubting was first formulated by Hume in the he golden mean between the scepticism of the Sophists and the dogmatism of the popular mind: 'It will contribute towards one's object, who wishes to acquire the basis of existing doubt judiciously, for a subsequent acquisition in the way of knowledge is the solution of previous doubts. . . . They who carry on an investigation without doubting first are similar to persons ignorant where they ought to walk. . . . There is a necessity that a person should be better qualified for forming a judgment who has heard all the reasons, as it were, of adversaries and opposing disputants' (Met. ii. 1).

It has been an advance over even that great thinker in the necessary application of doubt to the acts of knowledge and belief, and so to find the element of faith which lies embedded in 'honest doubt', provided one 'clings ever to its sunnier side.' In this view doubt is an index of the direction in which life's deeper problems lie. This has been tersely formulated by Royce:

'In these matters the truly philosophic doubt is no external opacity to the perception of the essence of thought. . . . The doubt is inherent in the subject-matter. This doubt is to be accepted as it comes and then to be developed, modified, and in all its intensities. For the intensity of the matter is concealed in that doubt, as the fire is concealed in the coal. . . . We can no more doubt the object and keep the innermost truth than you can toss about the coal and hope to retain the fire. This doubt is the insight partially attained' (Religion in the Making, p. 294.)

LITERATURE.—E. Zeller, Stones, Epicureans, and Sceptics, tr. Reichel, new ed. 1850; M. M. Patrick, Sextus Empiricus

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doubt, and Greek Skeptics, Cambridge, 1889; J. Owen, Stylites of the Italian Renaissance, London, 1893; J. Cairns, Unbelief in the 18th Century, Edinburgh, 1881; Descartes, Discourse on Method, Béatrice Hame, Translated and all the objections, both of knowledge and of so-called faith. . . . To doubt and inquiring, to refuse to affirm, and to deny, whether applied in the interests of science or religion, is an essential to the process of conception as are faith and affirmation of the most positive and undisturbed kind' (Phil. of Knowledge, p. 569).

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DOUKHOBORS, [pronunciation the k is scarcely heard, and the accent is on the last syllable; there are other forms of the name, but this is the form now usually employed].—The name Doukhobors was first used at least as early as the year 1755, and means 'spirit-wrestlers,' as the Doukhobors claim to fight not with carnal weapons, but armed with the Spirit of Truth. They regard as the founder of their sect a retired Prussian soldier, of the name of Starbuck, who was taught in a village of the Kharkof Government about the year 1749, and who, it is thought, was a Quaker. There is every reason to believe this anonymous leader to have been a man of high character, and devoted to the service of his fellow men. Towards the close of the 18th century, the Doukhobors were scattered from the Volga southward and westward over Southern Russia, with adherents in various other parts of the Empire. The Czar Paul I, on his accession adopted a policy of toleration towards them, but changed his mind when, in 1799, some Doukhobors openly preached that rulers were not needed. Alexander I allowed many of the Doukhobors to come together from various parts of Russia and to form a settlement of their own at the 'Milky Waters,' near the sea of Azof (1801-1824). This was a turning-point in their history. From being a religious sect held together by unity of beliefs, anxious to propagate their views, they become adherents of the Russian Government, and in 1830, the Doukhobors became a community, and ceased to be propagandists. During the same period, moreover, their leader, Savely Kapoustin, gained such power over his followers that he could demand of himself to be an incarnation of Christ, and could claim for himself and his successors Divine honors; while, on the other hand, his adherents were forbidden to acknowledge that they recognized any earthly leader, so that, even to the present, they endeavour to confound any outsider who may wish to study their beliefs. It would also appear that the successors of Kapoustin, all of whom gained control of great wealth by the introduction of communism among the Doukhobors, were the assassins of those who opposed them. At all events, the Russian Government made a thorough investigation of these charges, and in 1841 the Doukhobors were banished from the Milky Waters in all its forms, and all Doukhobors, with the exception of a few scattered tribes who were later removed to the Caucasus, came the last crisis in their history. Not even the power of the whole Russian Empire

EDWIN D. STARBUCK.

DOUKHOBORS
could induce them to join the army once they were persuaded that it was wrong for men to kill one another. Even when they endured it, the Doukhobors had regarded military service as a tyrannical and selfish luxury. Meanwhile Tolstoi and his friends, intentionally kept in ignorance of the theocratic claims of the Doukhobor leader, and believing the sect to be merely harmless Anarchists of the Tolstoi type, became interested on their behalf. In 1893, in protest permission was given them to leave Russia. Far removed and destitute, they suffered much until rescued by the united efforts of Russian, English, and American philanthropists, who came to their assistance in defraying expenses. The sect was aided by the Canadian Government, 7,365 Doukhobors were in 1899 established in Canada, leaving in the Caucasus about 12,000 who did not wish to emigrate. At present their number in Canada exceeds 9,000. The welcome given to them in Canada was overwhelming, and its power in its cordiality. A salute of artillery greeted them at the port, and the railway journey was a triumphal procession. They were in Canada three years before their leader, Piotr Verigin, was liberated by the Russian Government after sixteen years of exile. The Doukhobor settlements are situated in N.E. Assiniboia, about a day's drive from Yorkton; they stretch still farther to the N. Seakestrovia on the north, and thence slightly on Manitoba in the east.

The first known leader of the sect was Sylvan Kolesnikof (1750-1775). He was succeeded by Iliarion Pobirohin (1775-1785), and he by Savely Kaponstn (1790-1817), the founder of a Doukhobor dynasty, and the most remarkable of all the leaders. By him communism was also introduced among the Doukhobors. He was succeeded by his son Vassily Kalmikoff (1817-1832), and he by Iliarion Kalmikoff (1832-1841) and Peter Kalmikoff (1833-1864). Peter Kalmikoff was succeeded by his wife Lunjeriya, who proved an exceptionally able leader. She died in 1886, and was succeeded by Piotr Verigin, the present (1911) leader. But his accession was preceded such hostility on the part of an important minority that the Government was forced to intervene and to send him into banishment. From his exile he issued mandates, influenced by Tolstoi's teachings, which seemed to the Doukhobors both that and a new path. In consequence this body of the Doukhobors scattered throughout Russia, the ex-tant accounts of whom are so fragmentary that it is difficult to present a consecutive history of them.

Their history shows that, unfortunately, theirills were not always such that they did not always hold their faith with the same amount of zeal, and it is a history of constant backsliding and revivals. That these revivals were due to the advent of some worthy leader of men seems clearly demonstrated. Recognizing the Doukhobors as a morally a race of giants, we must in speaking about them acknowledge the clearness of their perception of certain fundamental formal principles and the heroic tenacity with which they have upheld them. The sect has erred and split in pieces in the past, but the validity of certain principles to which they have testified will remain. The Doukhobor statement of truth is sometimes calm, moderate, persuasive, imparting a philosophic truth to conventional ideas, and at all times defensive and as refuge in mysticism. At times, on the other hand, it is clear, resolute, radical, and contemptuous of all authority.

The tenets of these men, who will not acknowledge an earthly rulership, may be stated as far as possible to the following effect. There is one God. Their leader Pobirohin in the 18th cent. is said to have explicitly taught that God does not exist by Himself, but is inseparable from man. It is for the righteous in a way to give Him life—a curious doctrine, perhaps, but one which seems to be the mainspring of their innate character. They explain away rather than assert the doctrine of the Trinity. Jesus Christ is the spirit of piety, purity, etc., incarnate. He is born, preaches, suffers, dies, and rises again spiritually in the heart of each believer. He is the Son of God; but for the same reason we also are sons of God. The inward word reveals Him in the depths of our souls. It existed in all ages, and enlightens all who are ready to receive it, whether they are nominally Christians or belong to some other religious community. Our souls existed and fell before the creation of the material universe. The Church is a society selected by God Himself. It is invisible and scattered over the whole world; it is not externally marked by any common creed. Not Christians only, but Jews, Muhammadans, and others may be members of it, if only they hearken to the inward word. The Scriptures must be understood figuratively to represent things that are inward and spiritual; and the Bible has less authority than Jacob's ladder in the east. It implies either an 'Inner Light' or the oral teachings of the head of the Doukhobors. The Christ within is the only true Hierarch and Priest. Therefore no external priest is necessary. The sons of God should not be governed by the laws of a state. The external sacraments have no efficacy. To baptize a child with water is unbecoming; but an adult baptizes himself with the word of truth by the true priest, Christ, with spirit and with fire. Confession is the only sacrifice to the spirit; the external sacraments are offensive to God, for Christ desires not signs but realities. The forms of worship of all Churches in the world are in themselves but dead signs, mere figures. To pray in temples made with hands is contrary to the injunction of the Saviour. Yet a son of God need not fear to enter a temple of any religious community. Icons are regarded as idols; the saints should not be prayed to; fasting should consist in abstaining from a considerable portion of food. There are many who do not receive military service, which was the cause of their persecution in Russia and the reason of their emigration to Canada. Taxation, law courts, and all police regulations are condemned. Commerce is despised, and agriculture should be the great source of livelihood. All men are equal, and all rank and power is unnatural and mere usurpation. They believe that men gifted with reason should not use violence against others, but should influence one another by the appeal of mind to mind. Less violence, crime, vice, poverty (apart from the effects of persecution), superstition, luxury, or wickedness is to be found among the Doukhobors than among their neighbours. They are sober, laborious, and frugal; chaste, and at all dangerous points taking refuge in mysticism. At times, on the other hand, it is clear, resolute, radical, and contemptuous of all authority.

Under their present leader, Piotr Verigin, the
commune in Canada appears to be a financial success. He arrived there immediately upon his release from the Siberian mines, and has proved himself to be an eminently practical man. The Doukhobors adopted improved agricultural machinery, and established various mills, such as flour mills, oatmeal mills, saw mills, flax mills, etc. They also acquired a brick- and tile-making plant. The communism of their villages in Canada is centralized so that the communal funds of both the Doukhobor North and South Colonies are now all under control of the Doukhobor Council of Three. A large warehouse for the distribution of goods among the villages is situated in a convenient position on the Canadian Pacific Railway. The Doukhobor community is the largest experiment in pure co-operative life that has ever been attempted. The Doukhobors of the Prince Albert Colony are more individualistic; they do not hold their land in common, and only to a small extent co-operate with the North and South Colonies.

In Canada, there was much confusion among the Doukhobors, who were too ignorant, under new conditions, to arrange their plans; and even after he had come there was some friction between Verigin and the Doukhobor reluctance to recognize any allegiance except to Verigin. It is about this question, indeed, that all the trouble of the Canadian Government with the sect has centred, and in consequence more than a thousand Doukhobors, forming the Prince Albert Colony, have formed a sub-sect, marked chiefly by their refusal to render to Verigin the honours to which he lays claim.


A. A. STAMOULL

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DRAMA.

Introductory (L. H. Gray), p. 867.

American (L. H. Gray), p. 871.

Arabic (C. PRUFEER), p. 872.


Greek (H. ROBINSON), p. 879.

Indian (E. J. RAISON), p. 883.

DRAMA (Introductory).—1. Definition and affinities.—In the most primitive sense of the term, the word 'drama' denotes simply 'deed,' 'action,' as in Jn. 4:15, 5:21, etc.; but before the application of this word was thought of, the signification which it had then received was: 'to represent by persons (less frequently by puppets and the like), usually suitably disguised by dress, masks, etc., of acts believed to have been performed, or supposed to be performed, by other beings, the effect often enhanced by appropriate scenery, etc.' That this is true was perceived centuries ago by the most rigidly analytic of all thinkers, Aristotle, in whose Poetics tragedy and comedy are among the forms 'which are all in their general conception modes of imitation' (παρα τεχνηνων οινον μιμησιν τα συνολα [i. 2]); hence, some say, the name of "drama." is given to such poems, as representing action (θεωρ και δραματα καλεδωτα τοις αυτα φασιν, ου ιδεωσι τα δεικνυται [iii. 2]); for the Aristotelian meaning of 'imitation' ('an idealized representation of human life—of character, emotion, action—and under forms manifest to the sense'), see Butler's discussion in his Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art, London, 1902, ch. ii.

Whether the idealization implied by Aristotle may fairly be sought in primitive drama, or in comedy as a whole at any period, or in certain specimens of modern tragedy, is not beyond question; but there still remains the fact that 'imitation'—and imitation only—accounts for the rise of drama and for the attraction which it holds to-day, as in the remote past when it originated. To-day, too, its primitive force is not lost: drama is designed to reproduce events which already have happened or which are supposed to be happening; and, since such reproduction normally requires the spoken word, it is obvious, as Aristotle already saw, that the drama is closely connected with the epic and the lyric, the difference being that the epic and the lyric require only the spoken word, while the drama always requires action and, except in rare instances, words as well. These exceptions are formed chiefly by the puppet plays, or marionettes (on which see Pischel, Heimat der Puppenspiels, Halle, 1900 [Eng. tr., London, 1902]; Magnin, Hist, des marionettes, Paris, 1862; Maindrun, Marionettes et guignols, Paris, 1890; Rehm, Buch der Marionetten, Berlin, 1905), which, doubtless originating in India, have spread thence throughout Europe (finally degenerating into the 'Punch-and-Judy show') and also far into the East (cf. the interesting varieties discussed below in the 'Javanese and further Indian' section). Another exception might possibly be considered to be formed by the modern 'moving pictures,' but these have no right to come under the dramatic category at all.

Drama is also linked to yet another art, the pictorial; but the imitation by means of pictorial art, besides lacking the spoken word, is static, whereas dramatic art is continuous throughout the time which the production may consume. For otherwise is the case with two more of the fine arts—music (whether instrumental or vocal, or both together) and the dance (using this term in its widest connotation). Indeed, so closely connected with the drama is the dance that the Skr. term for 'drama' is nataras, which literally means 'dancing'; and even on the modern stage an entire drama may be performed by pantomimic dance, without the utterance of a single word.

2. Origin.—By the Aristotelian definition of drama, which is neatly epitomized by Suidas and the Etymologicon Magnus as 'a doing, an action . . . and also those things mimetically performed by actors, as in a role' (περαμα, περαμα, δραμα, δραμα, περαμα, περαμα, δραμα, δραμα, περαμα, περαμα, δραμα, δραμα, περαμα, περαμα, δραμα, δραμα, περαμα, περαμα, δραμα, δραμα, περαμα, περαμα, δρα−


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a drama may be represented by the Icarus or by the Ulysses of Stephen Phillips. Or we may have an acted imitation of a purely fanciful series of events, as in the case of the greater number of Ibsen's plays. Yet it may well be questioned whether such a drama is not merely any merely imaginary themes. This is, of course, a subject upon which it is extremely dangerous to dogmatize, and our knowledge of the mental processes of primitive man is by no means sufficient to warrant hasty and false conclusions.

The problem with regard to the origin of the drama is here precisely that which confronts us with regard to the folk-tales. It is perfectly true that at a relatively early period many folk-tales may be told as entertainment, which they afford, and in like manner a primitive drama, because it chances to give pleasure to its spectators, may come to be regarded as pleasure-giving, and may conceivably be produced once and for all the purpose of pleasure. In spite of all this, it seems to the writer highly problematical whether any notion of pleasure, either to actors or to spectators, was intended by drama at its inception. The acting process at an early stage seems to show that for primitive man life was by no means simple delight or poetic outlook upon the beauties of Nature, but rather a matter of deadly earnest, a struggle for existence, and a terror of mishap with which the rhythm by which modern drama can adequately conception. If such was the case, there can have been scant opportunity for amusement for amusement's sake. We have no right even to assume that the few writings of primitive European marathons which have been preserved were made by him for his own delight; for aught we know they may have been magical in purpose—the figure of a reinder, for example, being drawn to gain power over reinder; or they may have been historical—a picture of a reinder that the particular artist had either tamed or killed (cf., for example, the American Indian 'winter counts'). This is a conjecture, but it is one that must be reckoned with. Again, in the popular stories told as fairy tales to children to-day there is unquestionably present an element—and that element the essential one—which was once believed to be no mere tale to amuse an idle moment, but a fact of grim and terrible reality. The story of Bluebeard, though it may be common among peoples where the most simple child knows was never really and truly so; but there was undoubtedly a period when it was regarded as an historic and awful instance of the peril of broken talk (see CF, ch. xi.). Throughout their history the drama and the folk-tales have been interlinked; and in India this was also true (cf. Gray, 'The Sanskrit Novel and the Sanskrit Drama,' in WZKM xviii. [1904] pp. 48-54). Perhaps the 'dramatized novel' really reproduces at least a portion of the process by which the primitive drama passed. The same principle receives another exemplification from children's games. Without citing the mass of American Indian games to which Culín (23 EBEW [1907]) attributes a purely religious origin, it may here be sufficient simply to allude to the basal idea of the English and American game of 'London Bridge' (see EBEW II. 802).

If stories, games, and the like were thus profoundly serious in their origin, may not the drama be? It must not, of course, be forgotten that early man, like all his succeeding generations, was an imitative creature, and that within the sphere of everyday life he may have seen and known to his fellows things which awed or con-
Lyric poetry, on the other hand, is produced under stress of some sort of emotion. The outworking of this dramatic use of epic and lyric may be seen at its best in the Greek tragedians; but in the Sanskrit drama, on the other hand, although the Hindus were well acquainted with the epic, and made use of the primitive epic type as the Gruppe, and Tibull, for; for Leipzig, and of the Buddhist jātakas, in which the essential teachings of the tales are in verse, the prose being a mere expansion of them; and the same holds true of the gathas in the northern Buddhist Lālita-viṣṇua-tara. There is, therefore, much to be said for the theory of Oldenberg (ZDMG xxxvii. [1889] 78–82; cf. von Schröder, p. 4 ff., and Gehner, GRIP ii. 29 f.) that certain hymns of the Rigveda and the Iranian gāthas originally contained a framework of prose, although some parts as well as the most essential portion, has survived.

We have seen that drama is an imitation of the acts of worshipful beings; and this implies that, to the actor, these life-time beings, the deity whom he represents. It is for this reason that only those deities can be represented with whom the actor believes that he can become identified. In the most primitive stage of belief probably we may well included, but later, with the development of religion some Divine beings assume a character which no human being can hope to possess. It is universally recognized that the Greek drama was closely connected with the cult of Dionysus, and Miss Harrison is doubtless correct when she writes (Proleg. to the Study of Gr. Rel., Cambridge, 1908, p. 568):

"Surely it is at least possible that the real impulse to the development was wholly in "goat-songs" and "circular dancing places," but also in the cardinal, essentially dramatic conviction of the religion of Dionysos, that the worshipper can not only worship, but become, can, be, his god. Athene and Zeus and Poseidon have no dramas, because no one, in his wildest moments, believed he could become and be Athene or Zeus or Poseidon. It is indeed only in the orgiastic religions that these splendid moments of conviction could come, and, for Greece at least, only in an orgiastic religion did the drama take its rise."

The drama falls into two main types, which we conventionally term comedy and tragedy. In the very beginning there was probably no such division, for the acts of Divine beings are in themselves now comic or tragic according to events, either desirable or undesirable, and consequently to be deprecated or sought; just as in life itself grave alternates with gay—all blended in one whole. Yet certain events, being more important than others, naturally receive emphasis, and certain seasons when the primitive dramas were presented lent their colour to the mimick action. It was particularly in the spring and at the harvest that the more joyous element was predominant. Many Sanskrit plays playly study that they were produced at the spring festival, and we know that the harvest feast was the time in ancient Italy when the Pescinni and other rude folk-dramas were enacted. (Von Georg. iii. 265 f.; Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 139 f.; Tibull. iii. 35 f.; Aristot. Rhet. v. 1351 a. 32, 33.) Of which connexion it is noteworthy that the Pescinni were also sung at weddings (Catull. xxi. 122 f.; for further refs. see Tenniel-Schwabe, Gesch. der rom. Lit., Leipzig, 1886, p. 581; Th. Farnell, Greece, 1898, p. 71.) The Greek word κατάρα, which signifies a song, but indicates simply a revel song (Meyer, Handbuch der griech. Etymol., Leipzig, 1901-2, ii. 345), and Aristotle was, therefore, right when he said that comedy originated from the leaders of parties in Athens. (v. 125.) Every trait of echoes points to the conclusion that it was a manifestation of happiness at the re-creation and rebirth of Nature, and an expression of joy that Nature had given birth to the crops; but, by the wanton and even indelent spirit which has often excited, it was doubtless believed that, through the principle of sympathetic magic, a genealcny energy would be inspired in the Divine wellspring of heaven and earth, that similar, and even richer, fertility might be expected. The matter, however, was so well understood that we must confess that in the primitive Greek tragedy, the salacity which had at first been a mere incident, and designed (from the point of view of primitive man) for a good and desirable end, came to be the dominating element. The comedy that accounts for many of the protests which, from the days of Tertullian to the present time, have been levelled with only too much justice against the entire drama.

Far different, in all probability, was the origin of the second great type of the drama—tragedy. It is true that this, as well as comedy, has been derived by more than one classical scholar from the same source, the worship of Dionysus (Harrison, p. 568 f.; Gruppe, Gr. Mythologie und Religionsgesch., Munich, 1906, p. 1456; Farnell, "CGS v. 229 f."); but this theory rests on slender evidence. It is far more probable to suppose, with Crusius (Preuss. Jahrbucher, lxiv. [1893] 294), Hirt (Joh. germen. Kunstw. Strassburg, 1905-7, pp. 477 f., 727), and Ridgeway (address before the Hellenic Society, 3rd May 1904 [cf. Athen. novum, no. 3995, p. 660], and especially in his Origin of Tragedy, Cambridge, 1910) that the ultimate source of tragedy was in the funeral songs and funeral games celebrated in honour of deceased heroes, the whole being performed to honour and appease the dead. A noteworthy instance here was the case of Adrastos, a hero-king of Sikyon, where his son was killed in the market-place. Regarding him, Horodotus (v. 67) writes that:

"The Sikyonians were wont especially to honour Adrastos... Both in other respects the Sikyonians honoured Adrastos, and in addition they celebrated his misfortunes by tragic choruses (τα μῆνες αὐτὸς οἰδούς ὀξυρίζων υπαργύρους εὐμετάκτους), not honouring Dionysus as Adrastos. But the Choruses gave the Kobol, which he had been in the choruses to Dionysus, and the rest of the sacrifice to Melanippus."

This theory finds a support in the hypothesis of Hazen, to be cited below (p. 896), that the Javanese wayang was originally a form of ancestor-worship; and Forster (Reise um die Welt, ed. Leipzig, 1845, i. 359 f.) saw primitive dramas produced at funeral feasts on the Society Islands.

Here, at a funeral, two young girls danced to the music of three drums, and between them danced three masked actors in pantomimic drama on stone stele. A further confirmation of the theory here advanced appears to lie in the essentially epic movement of the action of the Greek tragedy, and there may be more meaning than is commonly supposed in Plato's characterization of Homer (Thetet. 152 E) as the foremost poet of tragedy. In fact, there seems to the writer to be scant reason for connecting the rise of Greek tragedy with the worship of Dionysus; for the Greek word κατάρα, instead of being properly a revel god, can, with any other specific Greek deity. Primarily the son of Semele, an ancient Thracian goddess of Mother Earth, Dionysus was, it is true, later identified with Attis, Adonis, and Osiris, and in an oblique sense of the word became a Thracian deity and as releasing from the under world (see the full discussions in Harrison, ch. viii.; Gruppe, pp. 1407-1440; "CGS v. e. v."); but
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all this seems scarcely sufficient to account for the rise of tragedy from this cult, whereas, on the principles set forth above, his connexion with comedy is readily explicable. At most his association with tragedy rests on the slender footing that, since comedy was, in his view, a nature-likeness (through) connected with his cult as a nature-deity, and since tragedy, like comedy, was a division of drama, therefore tragedy also must be associated with him. Cf. and ct. the 'Greek' art. below.

In this connexion it may not be out of place to consider the original meaning of the word 'tragedy,' which the writer hopes to discuss in fuller detail in the more appropriate pages of a technical philological journal, giving such arguments as he can summarise by way of conclusions here. The conventional derivation of ἡγεμόν from ἥγεμος in the sense of 'leader,' while it is a mere guess, does happen to be satisfactory on any of the theories (1) that a goat was the prize for the best performance; (2) that a goat was sacred at or during the performance of the play; or (3) that the actors were dressed in goat-skins. It has accordingly been suggested by Miss Harrison (most recently in Proeoff, p. 420 l.) that tragedy really means 'spleen-song' (from ἤγεμος in its meaning of 'leader,' cf. τραγούδα), and this, in the earlier part of the play, where the mood of the occasion is distinctly a sort of transcendental anger, does appear to be an answer, possibly added by Miss Harrison's own hand, to what has been set down as the natural derivation. The 'lesser tragedy,' ἡγεμόν, is, however, but a variant of the 'greater;' and the shorter form would have been a mere 'lesser' of the song, 'less' in meaning, duly, 'spleen-song.'

The original functions of the drama, as here outlined, were soon obscured among all those peoples, as the Greeks and Hindus, with whom it became a distinct form of literature and amusement. The two features which now became prevalent, and which have remained the most important ever since, were the light vein of comedy and the heavy vein of tragedy, while the religious foundation survived only in isolated and obscure fragments. The two types of performance, comedy and tragedy, meant satire, whether of the 'suffragettes' of his day (as in the Ecclesiasticus) or of the radicalism of Euripides, whom he lashed, and with very good reason. With the rise of the New Comedy, partly represented in the fragments of Menander and, most fully, by Plautus and Terence, we have a comedy of manners which finds its analogues in many of the better-class comedies of the present day. India is conspicuous for having no tragedy, though there are scenes, as in Nāgānanda and the Malatimadhava, which closely approach the tragic, just as in our melodrama.

3. Divisions.—It seems scarcely necessary to elucidate the discussion of the possible subdivisions of the drama, whether of Polonius's tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragic-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, of the minute Skr. forms, namely the ten 'sub-forms' (svarapātas; see Lévi, Théâtre indien, Paris, 1890, i. 140 f.), or of the more technical division into classic and romantic tragedy, romantic drama, melodrama, emotional drama, spectacle—without this classification, the modern classifications, classical, romantic comedy, comedy of manners, farce, burlesque, barletta, comedietta, and vaudeville (Hennequin, Art of Playwriting, New York, 1890, chs. vii.-ix.); nor is it needful to consider the problems of the unities, climaxses, catastrophes, scenery, 'business,' and the like. It is, however, worth while to note two forms of drama—a opera, and the morality. The opera, which is a drama accompanied by instrumental music and ballet, is a survival of the very primitive type in which the dialogue was regularly associated with instrumental and vocal music and with dancing; and the writer has elsewhere ventured to suggest that the whole Sanskrit drama is to be considered with an opera rather than with a play (J.A.O.S. xxvii. [1906] 5). The other type of play, the morality, is, of particular value for the student of religion, for in it there is a deliberate effort to present, under as nearly as possible religious teaching. This form of play, to which more special attention will be given in art. Miracle Plays, is found not only in Europe, but also in India, as is evinced by the Skr. Prabhaikasana-introd, Rajastra (Rise of the Moral Drama) (T. J. Taylor, Bombay, 1812, 4th ed. 1853); and that the morality has not ceased to charm in our own day is shown by the welcome accorded, both in Britain and America, to the charming production of Everyman. Finally, it may be noted that, as Brander Matthews say in a lecture, the most primitive form of drama to be found at the present day is that in the lowest type of music hall, with its rough jests and horseplay, its dances (all often of a somewhat questionable character), and its scantly plot.

4. Actors.—The position of the actor in the primitive drama is, of course, a most honourable one; for, where the play was enacting the roles of the gods themselves, he cannot be other than a most highly respected person; the esteem accorded him is precisely what is accorded, e.g., to the actors in the Passion Play of Oberammergau. But this position of honour does not last distant and in China, Japan, India (cf. the Skr. proverbs given by Böhtlingk in his Ind. Sprachke, St. Petersburg, 1870-73, nos. 1503, 2255, 2278, 3165, 5315, 6284), and Rome the actor was regarded as an outcast, this, doubtless, being due to the writer's fear of his rival and his own personality. For example, when the rôles which he was to play robbed him of respect in the eyes of the spectators. In consequence, the actors suffered certain civic disabilities, as when they were debarred from being witnesses in courts of law, or from marrying, or that their descendants were forbidden to compete in public examinations for three generations (cf. also Post, Afrikan. Jurisprudenz, Oldenburg, 1887, i. 171 f.). Equal contempt was manifested towards actresses, so that in India they were classed among courtesans and bawds (Schmidt, Beitr. zur ind. Erotik, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 283, 778 f.) and, as in India and China, many peoples have forbidden women to appear upon the stage, their rôles being enlivened by boys. The same reasons, as the writer has elsewhere touched on, militate against the use of the ordinary actor, too; the only reason for disfavour. To the peculiar temptations of stage life, increased greatly by the wanderings to which the actor is normally doomed, only allusion is necessary. Yet it must not be forgotten that the actor's position is one of extreme difficulty and an unhappy incident; only the faults are generally known, and the brighter and nobler side of the actor's life is too little recognized. Accurate statistics of the moral and intellectual standard of the
acting profession would, doubtless, compare favourably with similar standards of many other professions.

5. The ethical aspect of the drama.—Outside the Christian world this problem seems to have received slight consideration. The Buddhist "Ten Public Nonyms" form the basis of the "Art of Life," but it is rather with the sight of dancing, singing, music, and shows (naccagata-sadavivaha-sana) that we are concerned (Kukko-kojyaha, 3; cf. the citations in Lévi, i. 643); but the history of Buddhism proves that this interdict was ill obeyed (Lévi, i. 319-23).

The ethical position of Jainism against the theatre was the same (Ayiragangattu, xii. xi. 14), with the same disregard of it in actual life; and we have not only the fine Buddhist drama Nagamanda, but also such Jain plays as the Räjämatrakotta (Lévi, i. 323 f., ii. 57).

The chief objection to the drama from the ethical standpoint has arisen from Christianity. In the case of the pagan dramas this can readily be understood. They were pagan, and countenanced idolatry (Tertullian’s first objection to them in his de Spectaculis): they were frankly immoral; and the ascetic tendency of Christianity was against all and against the Roman drama (see below). With the decay of paganism and the creation of a purer sentiment the first two objections disappeared, while the value of the stage as an educational factor led the Church to encourage the theatre. Indeed, in the belief that the theatre was a powerful agent in bringing the less educated to a knowledge of Bible history and in enforcing the Church’s moral teachings (see MIRACLE PLAYS), the whole tradition of the Catholic Church, whether Protestant or Roman, of the elevation of Lutheranism in Protestantism, distinctly favourable to a pure and lofty drama. Far different was the position of Reformed Protestantism. The most fervent admirers of Calvin, Zwingli, Knox, and their followers would be the most reluctant to deny that these men, one and all, set their faces against everything that they deemed folly; nor can the warmest advocate of the theatre deny that much had come into the drama to arouse antagonisms even from men of more compromising type. But, unfortunately, they, as the German proverb has it, “shook out the child with the bath,” and condemned the theatre utterly. In England, attacks on the stage have come almost entirely from Anglicans, as the editor of the Directory for the Reformed Church (1579) wrote, “in Dicing, Daunting, voine Plays or Enter- tuds . . . are reproved (1577-79, ed. Collier, for the Shakespeare Society, 1843), Gosson’s School of Abuse (1579, ed. Collier, 1843), Stubbs’s Anatomie of Abuses (1658, ed. Furnivall, New Shakespeare Soc., ser. vi., 1876-82), and especially Pyne’s Histrio-Mastriz (1832; on all these see Ward, Hist. of Eng. Dramatic Lit., London, 1899, i. 450-461, iii. 230-235). But suppression of the theatre was hopeless, and has ever since remained hopeless. The Reformed Church has, nevertheless, maintained its position; and in this it has been followed by the Wesleyans and, on the whole, by the Baptists as well as by many of the smaller sects of the United States, though here, too, practice lags far behind precept. On the other hand, the Anglican Church, by its Actors’ Alliance, has set an example which other communions might do well to follow.

But is the suppression of the theatre desirable? The writer is inclined to doubt it. That there is much represented on the stage which is utterly vile is only too apparent; and that should be crushed (cf. also art. Censorship). On the other hand, there is an abundance that is of the highest ethical value, and this becomes the more important when it is remembered that the theatre is largely patronized by the non-attending classes. Without entering into a technical discussion of Ibsen, it would seem that his dramas are full of moral lessons of a Puritanical sternness; the fearful consequences of the sins of the fathers in Ghosts, the need of absolute confidence between husband and wife in A Doll’s House, Leopold’s dawning condemnation of hypocrisy in The Pillars of Society. And Ibsen is but one of a host of dramatists who for centuries have conveyed through the stage lesson and sentiment which might otherwise never have received them. There are, moreover, in humanity a real need for the stage; it had not been so, the long-waged war on the theatre would have been crowned with success. From this point of view the question of whether the theatre merges into that of amusements (q.v.), the theatre has perhaps yet another raison d’être, often overlooked. In a famous passage (Post, vi. 2) Aristotle defines tragedy as “an imitation of an action that is serious, complete, and of a certain magnitude . . . through pity and fear effecting the proper purgation of these emotions” (μίας πρῶτος ἱμμένας καὶ τεῖχει, μέγα ἔχοντος . . . δὲ ἔκνευος καὶ φόβου περιέροιν τὴν τῶν τιμίων παθημάτων ἀπέλευσον) and argues that the “appearance of the action is not given by Butler (op. cit. ch. vi) as meaning that the witnessing of a tragedy rouses in the spectator emotions of fear and pity which expel those same emotions that are lying latent within himself, while in the real life the theatre is going on, the passion is spent, an emotional cure has been wrought.” On this principle, the attendance on any good drama would, in like manner, effect a pleasurable and healthy excitement, and a discharge of emotion, like that of the pain so seldom aroused as to be in danger of atrophy.

LITERATURE.—The bibliography of the drama is enormous, though much is irrelevant in the present connexion, and more special branches will be given in the literature of the following special sections. This section has been intentionally restricted to problems of the origin, primitive purpose, and general ethics of the drama; and the history—hers omitted—will be more appropriately discussed in the following sections. There is so complete history of the drama, the most important works on which are Klein, Gesch. des Drama’s (14 vols., Leipzig, 1865-80); Pröss, Gesch. des neueren Dramas (Leipzig, 1883-92); Petit de Julleville, Histoire du théâtre en France (Paris, 1900ff.); Berendt, Schiller—Wagner (Berlin, 1901); Ward, Hist. of Eng. Dramatic Lit. to the Death of Queen Anne (3 vols. London 1890); Seeley, History of the American Theatre (Philadelphia, 1883-91). For interesting studies of some of the great moderns, English Dramatists of To-Day (London, 1882); Huneke, Intimate Actors (New York, 1895); Hale, Dramatists of To-Day (New York, 1904), special attention is drawn to the latter. For a critical commentary on the Poetics of Aristotle by Butler (Aristotle’s Theory of Poetics, London, 1904); Fine Art, London, 1906); Johnstone, The Tragedy of Tragedy, with Special Reference to the Greek Tragedians (Cambridge, 1910). The technical side is conveniently treated by Freytag, Technique of the Drama (tr. MacKean, 2 vols., Chicago, 1900); Woodbridge, The Drama, its Law and Technique (Boston, 1899); Price, Technique of the Drama (New York, 1892); Heinsohn, Art of Playwriting (New York, 1890). For an interesting form of primitive drama among the Maoris of N.W. Siberia, see Gendaz, Travaux de Paganisme among the Aborigines of N.W. Siberia (Russ. Moscow, 1858; epitomized by Schmidt, in Cultur der Germanen, i. part 7; see orientalische Lit., Leipzig, 1891, p. 214).

LOUIS H. GRAY.

DRAMA (American).—In America, particularly in Mexico and Peru, the drama reached a relatively high degree of development. Even at an earlier stage, North American Indian pantomime dances, usually named after the animals imitated, show an approximating form. Thus, among the Dakotas, a youth on admission to full tribal rights was clothed in a bear skin and pantomimically hunted by the members of the tribe—a scene which reminds one of the Greek Thesmophoria. Among the Puebloan Tusayans and Hopis an elementary form of drama is found in the kotinicus, which are primarily spirits of the ancients of the
Hopi, and personations of them are to bear the symbols which are supposed to have characterized these ancestors (Fawkes, 'Hopi Katcinas,' p. 16).

In a secondary meaning katcina also connotes a dance in which these heroes are impersonated; and such dances with the personified gods, are performed in the open air, and occupy, for the honor of the arrival or departure of the heroes or gods. Other katcinas, while equally religious in origin and spirit, are given only occasionally. Some like the annual festivals, the phallic dances, are performed partly in the open air, and occupy, for days; but others are given in the kivas, or assembly-houses, and approximate more closely to the drama proper. One of the latter class, the little known, the phallic dances, is now represented by the Fezews (op. cit., pl. i.-xxii.).

In Yucatan a form of drama was known, in which 'buffoons' (bolum) represented ancient legends, interspersed with jests at the expense of local dignitaries. Such plays have not to have anything to do with religion (Fancourt, History of Yucatan, London, 1854, p. 123). Both in ancient Mexico and in Peru mimetic dances were known (Klein, Gesch. des Dramas, Leipzig, xi. [1874] 97.), the former being the result of festivals and accompanied with phallic gestures. The Aztecs also had, however, a more developed drama, of which an example has survived in the Rabinal-Achi, a sort of ballet with dialogue. This play is concerned with the tragic fate of Prince Cacau Quiche Achi, who is captured after a long struggle by the hero, Rabinal-Achi. As a dramatic production the Rabinal-Achi is of little value, excepting as an interesting example of a play produced by a people devoid of contact with other nations possessing a developed drama.

The Inca amantus, according to Garellaso de la Vega, ii. 20 (tr. by Markham, Hakluyt Society, London, 1899, xli. 194), composed both comedies and tragedies which were presented at important festivals before the king and high nobles, while the actors, who received rich presents for their services, were themselves men of rank. The tragedies 'always related to military deeds, triumphs, and victories, or to the achievements of former kings and of other heroic men. The arguments of the comedies were on agriculture and familiar household subjects. . . . They did not allow improper or vile fancies; but all the plays were on enormous and important subjects, the sentences being such as befit the occasion.'

The only Inca drama which has survived in its entirety, however, is the play of Ollantay, which seems to date from the reign of the Inca Huayna Capac, in the first decade of the 16th century. The scene is laid in the reign of the Inca Yupanki, in the early part of the 15th cent., and the theme is one of love. Ollanta, raised from a humble station to the dignity of a chief by the Inca Pachacutec, falls in love with Cushi Coeyllur, the daughter of Pachacutec, but his suit is denied by the Inca. Ollanta then declares war upon his sovereign, and, though at first successful, is at last betrayed to his enemy. Meanwhile the princess had been induced to love him, and in her turns the daughter, who, however, was allowed her freedom. The captive Ollanta, condemned to death by Yupanki, who had succeeded Pachacutec in the course of the ten years' war, is later spared, and even declared the heir-apparent to the throne. At this juncture, Ollanta's daughter, learning that her mother is a captive, implores the Inca to release her, whereupon he accomplishes this by his return, and in the happy denouement Cushi Coeyllur is re-united with Ollanta. The drama may well have a historic basis, and it is noteworthy that it contains songs which strikingly correspond to the Greek choral song.

Another Inca drama has been preserved, the Ucca Pancor, treating of the love of its hero for the beautiful Cecori-tica; but it has been so changed by later interpolations that it is of relatively little value. Ollanta is the hero, and the Inca—the former a mass of repetition, the latter a work of art, which is most closely paralleled in its supreme devotion to the theme of love, as Klein has well pointed out, with the drama of ancient India. In the Indian—"The Inca—the former a mass of repetition, the latter a work of art, which is most closely paralleled in its supreme devotion to the theme of love, as Klein has well pointed out, with the drama of ancient India. The Indian—"

**LITERATURE.**—Gerland, Antwurfel der Naturwiss., ii. 219 (Leipzig, 1898).—Horovitz, Spuren grec., Miinen im Orient (Berlin, 1905), pp. 18-21; Suchau, Am Epiphagen und Tapir (Leipzig, 1898), p. 66. 2. Dramatic movement in ancient Persia is still an important part in the Arabian farce, the shadow-play, and the puppet-show.

1. Richard F. Burton, in the terminal essay of his new of *The Thousand Nights and a Night* (Bonnars, l883), vol. x. p. 166, says: "Turkey is the only Moslem country which has dared to produce a regular drama."


3. Dramatic elements are still an important part in the Arabian farce, the shadow-play, and the puppet-show.

4. Ahmad says: "Even before birth the daughter who, however, was allowed her freedom. The captive Ollanta, condemned to death by Yupanki, who had succeeded Pachacutec in the course of the ten years' war, is later spared, and even declared the heir-apparent to the throne. At this juncture, Ollanta's daughter, learning that her mother is a captive, implores the Inca to release her, whereupon he accomplishes this by his return, and in the happy denouement Cushi Coeyllur is re-united with Ollanta. The drama may well have a historic basis, and it is noteworthy that it contains songs which strikingly correspond to the Greek choral song.

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performances. A similar figure in the streets of Cairo is the well-known, but nowadays rarely seen, funambulist with an occasional show, at midîlîs (birth festivals), and at the fair held every week on the open square below the Citadel. He is the prototype of the coarser, half-idiotic, clownish peasant who, to the music of two flutes and a darâbuka (earthenware drum), performs ape-like, obscene dances and makes absurd jokes. He goes barefoot, and wears a bent tail of stifled cotton; in one hand he holds a long peasant’s stick (nabîbî), and in the other a so-called jargûlî, a kind of long, thick, noisy, but harmless, whip of twisted cotton, with which he constantly lashes his musicians, and even his audience.

The recitations of the story-tellers (râcûf), who were formerly to be found throughout the Arabi Orient, and who related in public places tales from the Arabian Nights, had without doubt, as the manner of the stories themselves proves, a dramatic character; and this is certainly so in the case of the recitations of the modern epigones of the râcûf—their possessors to be found in groups at coffee-houses, recite in coffee-houses the stories of Antar, Abû Zaid, Zahir Bihârî, and other national heroes.

Worthy of note is the fact that Dozy, quoting Poels, has noticed the word détefîr in the meaning ‘acteur, qui joue un rôle (représentateur de comédies, de tragédias).’ Female reciters are also occasionally, though not often, seen at fairs in Cairo.

Of this kind of folk-literature the classical and highest expression was reached by the poems of the Muqâmât, by Hâmidârî (967–1007), Harîrî (1054–1122), and many others. The muqâmât, called by Cheney *a kind of dramatic anecdote,* relates the story of the poet’s successes for the word détefîr (from the meaning ‘acteur, qui joue un rôle’). Female reciters are also occasionally, though not often, seen at fairs in Cairo.

In spite, however, of all these preparatory minnie and dramatic elements in their literature, the Arabs, as has already been stated, have never found their way to the actual drama. At all events, there seems to be no positive proof of the existence of a dramatic art. Occasionally, we meet with the word hijât or hijâh, which means, in all probability, nothing more than the already mentioned tezqâtîl, the mimicry of comic personal characteristics, or the presentation of single or joint mirth-producing events for an audience of two or three as an isolated theatrical piece. The complete lack of all dramatic texts, the absence even of the description of any dramatic

representation, would be, when one considers the numerous chronicles of medieval Arabic amuse-
ments, an absolute indication that this art must be regarded as possible, had there been a stage. The earliest description of an Arabic drama known to the present writer is that given by the famous Danish traveller, Carsten Niebuhr, who visited Cairo a hundred years ago. He describes this performance, which bears a close resemblance to the scenes of Almudân-Al-Far, seems to correspond in form only, not in substance, to our conception of the drama.

The reasons for this curious failure of the Arabic mind to produce anything really dramatic have been discussed upon at length by Jacoby; and he quotes a history of the study of the Arabic drama, showing that out the Muslimah view of life, with its anticlassic idea of God and fate, has absolutely no comprehension of individual conflict, of rebellion against the ‘eternal nover,’ the Muhammad or of any combat between will and duty, and has therefore no comprehension of the dramatic. Joy in tragi-comedy, that most individualistic of dramatic art, never got past the passive feeling and thinking of Arabic a very great absurdity. The artistic pleasure which we feel in the beauty of the awe-inspiring, in magnificent decline, in the grandeur of the desperate battle of life, without hope and without success, is entirely foreign to the Arabic mind. He idealizes, he reconciles, he absolutely conquered, and no Arab poet would venture to represent him in actual conflict. He does not know how to

If never occurs to the Arab to try to determine the main lines of his own life, for there is no strength or power in the Great East, the eye is turned, not to the nearest, to the detail, that which is decorative only; all Arabic art is nothing but detail work, merely putting on the finishing touches; it is not original creation; it has no grand lines, and its figures and forms of art have always come to the people of Muhammad from other hands. Their style is evil, and opposed to all rapid development. For them accumulation, repetition of the same mot, is not tiring or an evidence of bad taste: on the contrary, they consider it a most effective artistic principle. Quick action in the progress of a story, that which is really dramatic, is therefore absolutely unpleasing to the Arabic mind. He really everything with epic breadth, never referring to an already related incident without repeating the whole story to the point of tediousness. Tension in the plot is unknown to him; when he has found a theme that pleases him, he makes variations upon it until the subject is completely exhausted. This is well illustrated by Arabic music. A European listener, after half an hour of such music, with its constant reiteration of the same series of tunes, its indistinguishable variations of the same melody consisting of scarcely a dozen notes, sinks into a state of despair, whereas the Oriental never has enough of it.

The only form of dramatic art which, though probably not originated by the Arabs, has nevertheless been developed to a certain degree by them, is the shadow-play, the hijât eddallî. The history of the Arabic shadow-play, thanks to the thorough investigations of Jacoby and Mendes Liittmann, Kern, Prüfer, Wetzstein-Jahn, and, lately, those of Kahle, is now, in its essential points, very well known. There is undoubtedly no question that the shadow-play was brought to the Muhummadan Orient by Al-Far East. Which of those peoples was the first to cultivate this curious kind of theatrical art, it is

2 Jacob, op. cit., p. 93 f.
3 In using the Arabic, name for the shadow-play, we have chosen its Egyptian dialect pronunciation (classic hijât eddallî).
4 Zur Geschichte des Schattenspieles (Leipzig, 1881), 1. 6, pp. 33–36.
5 Dr. G. M. Parnham, Gesch. der arab. Dicht., 2. Aufl. (Cairo, 1898), vol. 1, pp. 93–95.
6 See Kern in the Appendix (p. 164) to Horowitz’s cited work.
7 Burton (op. cit., x, note 1): ‘No wonder that the Nights had been made the basis of a national theatre amongst the Turks.’
8 An exact description of the hijât and muhûdâtîh and of their performances to be found in Lane’s Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, 1836, chap. 21–22.
9 The subject of these recitations has all been published in romantic form. See, for example, Sâri‘iut Zahrûl Ibn ed-Dârî (Cairo, 1908, 50 vols.); Sâri‘iut Bâtût Hindî (Beirut, 1833, 22 vols.); Ta无比l Bâtût Hindî (Beirut, n.d., 26 vols.); and Sâri‘iut A’tarû (Cairo, 1906–11, 24 vols.).
10 See Suppl. zu Diet. arab. (Leyden, 1881), vol. i, p. 764.
11 See, for example, Sâri‘iut-Zahrûl Ibnsâdî (Cairo, 1908, 50 vols.); Sâri‘iut Bâtût Hindî (Beirut, 1833, 22 vols.); Ta无比l Bâtût Hindî (Beirut, n.d., 26 vols.); and Sâri‘iut A’tarû (Cairo, 1906–11, 24 vols.).
12 Suppl. zu Diet. arab. (Leyden, 1881), vol. i, p. 764.
13 See, for example, Sâri‘iut-Zahrûl Ibnsâdî (Cairo, 1908, 50 vols.); Sâri‘iut Bâtût Hindî (Beirut, 1833, 22 vols.); Ta无比l Bâtût Hindî (Beirut, n.d., 26 vols.); and Sâri‘iut A’tarû (Cairo, 1906–11, 24 vols.).
14 See Diet. arab. (Leyden, 1867),Preface, p. 10.
17 Zur Geschichte der Schattenspiele in Egypten (Leipzig, 1909); Zur Geschichte der Schattenspiele in Egypten (Halle, 1909); Zurr Geschichte der Schattenspiele in Syria und der Islam, vol. i, nos. 2 and 4 (1910), and vol. ii, nos. 2 and 3 (1911).
difficult to say, but there is no great probability that the credit belongs to the Arabs. The earliest mention of the shadow-theatre in Arabic literature is found in the verses of Waghi ad-Din Djihâd, a'Abd al-Karim el-Manawi (13th cent.), quoted by Ghuzaili and translated by Jacob. It is obvious, however, that shadow plays have long been known in Egypt before that time, because Ibn Hjige speaks of a shadow-player who performed before the Sultan Salâh ad-Din (1169-1193) in Cairo. From this time onwards there is evidence of an Arabic shadow-stage, especially in Egypt, which, though Jacob of Andalucia seems always to have been the land where the hajal ed-dill has flourished the most, has been proved by several passages in Oriental and Occidental literature. If Kahle, influenced by statements made by a modern shadow-player of Cairo, and by the self-glorying poetry of the father of the same player, thinks that the hajal ed-dill was unknown in Egypt from the beginning of the 19th cent. until about 1880, the present writer fears that his opinion is not wholly tenable. There is evidence that the shadow-play existed during this period of time in Egypt. Lane, for instance, of whom Kahle asserts that he does not mention the shadow-play in a simlar work of shadow-play, although the hajal ed-dill (sic) which he mentions was given in the Turkish language. It is not clear from the statement of Didier, who saw a lanterne magique (karâ-guârêz) in Cairo, in the 17th cent., whether it was a Turkish or an Arabic performance, but at all events it was a shadow-play at which he was present. The probable truth of the matter is that the play did in fact become for a time almost obsolete in Egypt, and that the Qasas, the son of Kahle, the informant, the self-styled re-inventor of the play in this country, came into possession, in some manner, of the old manuscripts, and may thus very likely have acquired an influence on the development of the play. Certain it is that the Egyptian shadow-performers of to-day regard El-Qasas and his son Derwîs as their masters. Some of the manuscripts are now in Kahle's hands.

Kahle's texts and three pieces written by the Egyptian physician, Muhammad Ibn Daniâyîl in the 12th cent. A.D., are up to the present time the only two known shadow-play manuscripts. The poetic form that is common to both has given place, in the modern productions, to a prose dialogue, which is occasionally interwoven by songs and passages in rhymed prose. In the Syrian pieces, published by Littmann, the poetic lines seem to be entirely lacking. The pieces of Ibn Daniâyîl have disappeared from the present shadow-stage, while Kahle's plays, although in essentially different form, are still given in Cairo. The repertoire of the Cairo shadow-players is not very large; only the lîb eddrâ, consisting of many acts (faist), and the much shorter lîb 'elmânîbî, undoubtably influenced by the Turkish Karagoz-play, Karahqojan, are still frequently known. The pieces mentioned by Prüfer and Kern are very seldom given, and then only by special request. The above-mentioned Syrian plays are, in material and dramatis personae, much nearer to the Turkish Karagoz than are the Egyptian pieces.

The shadow-theatre, as a folk-entertainment, can hardly be said to fill an important rôle in the Arabic Orient. In fact, most of that which is indigenous, including native art-ideas, is slowly disappearing behind a thin veneering of European culture. The Europeanized efendi snobbishly prefers the Frankish theatre, even though it bore him, to his own native stage; and the sch and small bourgeois do not dare to risk their reputations by letting themselves be seen in the obsure dens in which the shadow-play has been obliged to take refuge from European innovation. Thus there now remains only the lowest class to form an audience for a pantomime, of which an unknown Arab poet has written:

1 A meaning deep is in the shadow-play
For him who sits on window's highest throne.
Figure and forms pass by and away;
Then all is gone, the ruler stays alone.

The scenic apparatus (ubâd of the hajal ed-dill is the simplest imaginable. The musician (llazz) sets up his khiâl, a movable wooden booth, wherever he wishes it; there he sits behind a tightly stretched muslin curtain (bâb), which is lighted from behind by a primitive oil lamp (liâla), and presses the transparent veils to other figures against the curtain by means of wooden sticks fastened to the figures at the back, and serving at the same time to move their limbs. The player is supported by his trumpe (gûg), who help him with the manipulation of the figures and register the different roles.

The only shadow-stage where continual performances were given, the little theatre in the ill-famed Cairo Fish Market, has been closed by order of the police, since the beginning of the summer of 1909; so that, for the time being, at any rate, the play can be seen only on the occasion of folk-duties or, sometimes, at weddings and other family merry-gores in the outskirts of the city.

As Kahle tells us, figures older than forty years are not to be found in the hands of the Egyptian shadow-player of to-day, and one can hardly judge from the present figures, which are old ones were like. Derwîs shows, with pride, pictures and fashion-plates of the early seventies, and says that they were the models for the modern figures.

Besides the hajal ed-dill, there exists in Egypt a marionette show, whose hero bears the same name as the protagonist of the Turkish shadow-play—Karagöz, pronounced in the Cairo vernacular, Aragöz. Under this name the puppet-show is mentioned in the Description de l'Égypte. C. C. Nielsen also describes at length the Cairo marionettes. The picture, however, which he...
shows on plate xxvi, does not give a correct idea of the modern marionette stage, and very likely not of the old one. Didier's speaks of 'poleleinlike arabs'.

The only Aragoz-play known to the writer at the present time [191] is the "Alfi Alimi" of Hulaj, who has been in the Turgutshin quarter. His little theatre is even simpler than that of the shadow stage; it consists of a folding booth of cloth, not much higher than a man's head, the other side is somewhat lower than the other sides, and the player sits inside this booth, moving on his fingers, just above the edge of the front side, the roughly made wooden figures, which are dressed in bits of coloured cloth, the puppets being visible to their hips.

More than two figures cannot appear at the same time. The répertoire is very limited, and, just as in the Turkish shadow-play, but in contrast to the Egyptian hojal eddil, some types of the dramatis personae reappear in every play (if these loosely-strung scenes and dialogue can be called plays): e.g. Aragöz, the cruel, stupid, yet sly clown, similar to the characters Punch, Kasperle, and Pulcinello, and the dialect types, such as the loud-mouthed soldier, the unclean 'Habibi', and the Italian or Greek priest; then the saucy beggar, and the different female figures from the lively Egyptian quarter. A characteristic feature of Aragöz is the high, nasal voice, produced by the player at the back of the booth in a little whistle which he holds in his teeth. Aragöz wears the türāf, or pointed foot-cap. The player has an assistant who joins the audience and carries on the conversation with Aragöz when the latter is alone on the stage. This addresses the ladies.

Considered aesthetically and as an element in the development of Arabic culture, the Aragöz-play stands on a much lower plane than the hojal eddil. Written texts apparently do not exist, and the tradition has therefore not much stability. Improvised jokes and the mood of the player change the wording of the piece without let or hindrance. The show is occasionally to be seen at fairs and at weddings of the lowest order. A feature is, one faces or marionette play, dictated to the writer directly by Ahmad el-Hulajri:

Aragöz: es-salam alaikum khalil ibn arwārah salmā, allāhumā aśghar tawāfīna, bism allāh al-aṣma' un ash-hadat. (Benjamin)

Aragöz: it-ka minus walla malakat. (Benjamin)

Gindi: ana ba'din asmut wi-

1 Les Nuits du Caire, p. 533: ... et trop près le pochichinelle arabe délivré aux badauds ses lazzari, grosses car, c'est du guignol n'est pas le privilège exclusif des Champs-Elysées.

2 For the connexion between the figure of Aragöz (Karagoz) and the Egyptian vizier Karachi of the 13th cent., see Canova in Ministere pub. par les membres de l'association archéologique française du Caire, v. (1907) 447; and Kahlke, Zur Gesch. des arabischen Schattentheaters in Egypten, p. 17 f.


4 See Prider in "Voyages en Egypte", 1795, p. 49, note 5. "A comical over-politeneness such as one often finds among ignorant Orientals." Prider.

5 Said jokingly for as-mutwa, 'we are glad to see you.'

6 Barbarous Arabic words anglicized: Kasperle, Benjamin, Benjamin, Schattenspieler, Kasperle, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, Benjamin, 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الدراما العربية

الدراما، في العالم العربي، تعني التعبير عن الأفكار والمشاعر والوعود والخروج عن الواقع. فالкультур العربية والعربيات بعضها البعض. فالدراما العربية تحتوي على القصص والشخصيات والشدة والطموحات والتحولات والصراعات والمحبب.

الدراما العربية تعتمد على اللغة العربية والثقافة العربية. فالدراما العربية تعني تعبير عن الصناعة والفنون والمجتمع والثقافة والجاهل.

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pean style, called it Ellahābī (‘The Miser’), and soon afterwards produced it in his own house before an invited audience, amongst whom were all the foreign consuls and the governor of the Lebanon Province. The actors were young friends of his, selected for their good looks, and this attempt to establish the theatre was followed by success only in 1830, Abu ‘l-Hasan al-Muhyūfī, a dramatic version of the well-known story of Harūn ar-Rasid and Abu ‘l Hasan from the Arabian Nights; and then, encouraged by the success of this, a second, by the other Nasqās, Muhammed, with the permission of the Sultan, founded in Beirūt a permanent stage, where he brought out his Rihāyāt el-hasī (‘The Jealous Man’). The plays of his brother Niqūla, Elīsh el-bahdī (written 1844), and Elīsh al-Qirānī (written 1852) also made their first appearance in this theatre.

In 1855, while on a business trip, Mārūn died of fever in Taršās, and two years later his body was transferred by his family to Beirūt and there buried with great ceremony.

After Mārūn’s death the theatrical art suffered a decline, and it was not until 1860 that Niqūla Naqqās resuscitated the Rihāyāt on his brother’s old stage. In the same year Niqūla published, in one book, Mārūn’s three plays, which are a kind of light opera, comedies with musical accompaniment and interspersed with numerous songs and dances.

We give, as an example, the contents of the first piece. The episode occurs with the marriage of two peasants. An old peasant, advanced years, has made an agreement with the greedy old Tarshāli to marry the latter’s daughter Hind, a young widow. He comes for the wedding to the house of the Tarshāli, but Hind loves young Iskandar, the friend of her brother, Ghāli. These three, and the old servant Umm Bāhiya, slyly plot together to make Qarāid give up his plans of marriage, and at the same time to part with some of his beloved money. Hind makes such extravagant demands of Qarāid that he finally wishes nothing more ardently than to rid her of Hind. Hind, however, now declares that she will not release him; in the meantime, Ghāli appears, disguised as a Turkish agha, with his secretary Iskandar and several soldiers. By means of threats and thrashings they force Qarāid to pay Iskandar a large sum of money as a compensation to Hind, who thereupon marry’s Iskandar. Finally, the supposed Turks confess their deception to Qarāid, who is by this time very much ashamed of himself, and freely forgives them.

The language of the play is affected and heavy, the piece itself, with its five weak acts, extremely tiresome. When the author makes a joke, the publisher thinks it necessary to call the reader’s attention to the fact in a footnote. Here again we have, as the comic elements, the dialect types—Umm Bāhiya the peasant woman from Lebanon, Ghāli the Turc, and Iskandar the Egyptian secretary.

And in the influence of the brothers Naqqās, several theatrical companies were formed in Syria; but, as there were no trained actors to be had, the authors or translators saw themselves obliged, if they wished to have their plays produced, to form acting companies of translators. Famous as author, director, and régisseur all in one person, were especially Sch Abū Hāli el-Qubānī in Beirūt, and Iskandar Farah in Damascus. The latter, more organizer and actor than author, was born in Damascus in 1855, the year of the death of Mārūn Naqqās. He attended the Jesuit school in that city and there became acquainted, through amateur school dramatics, with European drama. Encouraged by Mīhad Fashā, who lived at the time in Damascus, in the family garden, his first play, a translation from the French, he then moved to Beirūt, where he joined with Sch Abū Hāli in forming a theatrical enterprise; but owing to intrigues his licence was taken from him, so that he was compelled to settle permanently with Abū Hali in Cairo (1882), where he and his partner had already made successful tours. From this time dated the existence of a theatre in European style in Egypt. In the Göz el-Nayr (‘The Free Spirit’), from the Stakes of Saad el-Qaddār (Aziz in Cairo) 1

1 See Arzat Lūbān, p. 4: ‘... The play Ellahābī, which was the first play given in our Arabic tongue ....’

2 Arzat Lūbān (Beirūt, 1869)

a great many pieces—mostly translations and only a few original works—have appeared above the footlights.

This theatre has not proved to be a success of late, owing partly to the success of the theatre of Iskandār Farah, which gained especially because of the attitude of one of the actors, Sch Salām al-Hiyyūnī, whom Farah himself had fought. Salām separated from the master and continued his work in the Dar rittānī al-arab, and induced a number of Farah’s actors to accompany him. In contrast to the Christian Syrian and Iskandār Farah, Salām was a Muslim and an Egyptian, and that was enough to secure him the affections of the Cairo public. Then, too, he had a better actor than the master and more performance than his old master had done, and the Egyptians love nothing so much as singing and the noise of their national orchestra. In 1890, Sch Salām had an attack of stroke which partially paralyzed him, so that his acting days are probably over.

A number of small wandering theatrical troupes have branched off from the theatre of Iskandār Farah. One often stumbles upon them in Syria and Egypt, and as far as is known in Egypt are the companies of Awawd Farah, Aḥmad Ḥiyyūnī, Farid al-Ahmād, and Sch Abū al-Samī. The last named was to be seen in the winter of 1908 in Luxor in Rome and Juliet. The late Naqīb el-Haddād, one of the best of the first type, performed European plays, also experimented with a troupe of his own. In Syria, ‘Azīz ‘Id and Rabīnī Bībīs are the chief followers of Iskandār Farah’s school; the only one of Farah’s pupils who went to the Maghībir—Solīmān el-Qūdāh—died in the summer of 1909 in Tunis.

Amateur theatrical clubs have been started in several places in Egypt. The most important of these is the Gāniyyet el-Mulāri (in Cairo); it was founded by Sch ‘Azīz al-Mulāri, and is still under his direction. There was a similar club by the name of Gāniyyet tarqāqī tittānīl dā'wīl in Mas‘ūdā. It is utterly impossible to give an approximately complete résumé of the number of operás and dramas of the literature of to-day, as there is an unusually great productivity along this line at the present time. Most of the works are translations, of which the only really valuable ones are the excellent renderings, in the vernacular, of some of the writings of Racine and Molière by the late Mūhammad Bā‘ Othman Ga‘al. Unfortunately these pieces, in which the highly talented translator has shown his ability to render the tone of the originals in the idiomatic phrases of his country, have never been recognized by the stage. The stiff, ridiculous Shakespeare translations do not show the least trace of the spirit of the great British master, and still less worthy of mention are the childish and extremely coarse, probably Foreign, productions of this period. A little better are the different dramatizations of the stories from the Arabian Nights and others.

1 We are indebted to Mr. Tābīb Farah, the brother and manager of Iskandār Farah, for the greater part of these statements.


3 For examples see Romeo and Juliet, by Shalde and ‘Ataih, and Othello.

4 Hermanni, Marie Tudor, by Victor Hugo; Katherine Howard, by A. Dumas; Frondeuse, by Sardou; Savoie Torri, by Omet; L’Ambitieuse, by Ch. de Rémusat; a translation from Elīsh el-masīhī (Turks) by Ahmād ‘Arīf, etc. The last mentioned are all translations of works by the already mentioned Naqīb Bā‘dād, and ‘Abdul ‘Abdūl, Hubāl ‘Azmūr, Farīb ‘Atajī, ‘Abdul Rūsān, ‘Abdul ‘Azīz, etc.

5 From the Arabian Nights have been dramatized, among others, the acts of Habīb al-Rahmān al-Naqqās, by Ahmād Wāṣ, and ‘Imām al-Galīs, by Abū Hāli el-Qubānī.
from the Arabian history and hero-legends. The only other class that is somewhat worthy of notice is the so-called with a political purpose. Here genuine feeling has succeeded in instilling a little life into the lifeless, stilted, Arabic literary style.

Whether a well-developed branch will ever grow from the scion of Western drama that has been grafted upon the Arabic literature seems to the present writer to be somewhat doubtful, and it is not only the lack of dramatic feeling, natural to the Arab through race and religious peculiarities, that prevents them from playing the drama in that art; it is also the character of his language. The Arabic literary language is petrified—an artificially preserved corpse, which pleases only its preservers, the literary gild and the leam. The people hardly understand this language, and do not recognize themselves or their feelings when so presented to themselves. The living idiom, on the other hand, that in which the Arab thinks and speaks, is scorned and regarded as vulgar by priests and pseudo-learned men, who see the end of their own glory in the decay of that idolized, thousand-year-old mummy, the fetish of the holiness of God's language. Before anything great can be created, either in the province of the drama or in Arabic literature, the intellectual and moral forces must center to work with forms, words, and metaphors of the language of nomadic desert tribes of fifteen hundred years ago.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given fully in the footnotes.

CURT PFEIFFER

DRAMA (Chinese).—Music and dancing are frequently mentioned in the Chinese classics. For instance, in the days of Confucius we read of the services held in the ancestral temples of princes and great nobles, when there were men arranged in rows, who moved in time with the music, and brandished feathers, flags, or other articles. Moreover, in those times, and even later, dancing of a slow and dignified character formed part of civil as well as of religious ceremonies. Thus public feasts there were performances representing the joys of harvest, the fatigue of war, the pleasures of peace, and suchlike subjects. According to one theory, the regular drama was gradually evolved from these displays; but there are persons who maintain that it was purely exotic, having been introduced into China from the West. One writer says, perhaps with some boldness:

"The whole idea of the Chinese play is Greek. The mask, the music, the dance, the song, and the scene are Greek. "The Chinese took the idea, and adapted it to the play from their own history and their own social life." "The Chinese constructed, and, as they used to say, treated the mask and language as Chinese."

(Qu. Dyer Ball, Things Chinese, p. 707.)

The highest literary authorities among the Chinese agree in dividing the history of their drama into three distinct periods. The first of these is the latter part of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 720-900); the second, the Sung dynasty (A.D. 960-1126); the third, the Chin and Yuan dynasties (A.D. 1126-1357). One very great writer of the 13th cent., Ma Shih-chin, gives a name of 720 plays of the earliest date; but it is generally agreed that his view was based on a misconception.

No specimens of the T'ang dynasty plays have been preserved; but it is said that they were historical; and also that plays were played of which the prologue was recited by an actor called the 'introducer of the play.'

In the time of the Sung dynasty, it was customary

1. e.g. Rivoitout Shab addin, by Naghi el-Hbib, Alexandria, 1906.

2. The most prominent are Rivoitout et-Arhow (Cairo, 1900), and Rivoitout Brahméni (Cairo, 1907), by Hussen Mar. The latter is reviewed in the Revue d'Etudes du Monde Musulman, vol. xii, Dec.-Nov., nos. 11-12, Paris, 1907, pp. 591-599. The reproduction of both pieces is forbidden by the Egyptian Government.

1 to sing the greater portion of the play. The plot was very simple, and everything was sacrificed to the lyric parts. Further, the action was hindered by a complication limiting the number of the actors in the play to five.

The third, or Yuan, period is the golden age of the Chinese drama. The plays written at that time, or shortly afterwards, not only surpassed their predecessors, but have never been equalled by later writers. Moreover, the alterations and novelties then introduced have since remained unchanged. Indeed, it may be said that the drama of the Yuan times *is to all intents and purposes the drama of to-day* (H. A. Giles, Chinese Literature, p. 258).

The list of the Yuan dramatic authors comprises 65 persons, of whom four were women ('actresses,' as the name by which they are described should probably be translated). There are extant 564 plays, of which 105 are by anonymous writers. Practically all kinds of subjects are represented among them. There are mythological, historic, religious, and domestic plays; comedies of character, and comedies of intrigue. There is no formal division into tragedy and comedy; but a play belongs to one class rather than to the other, according to the subject and the way in which it is treated. Every prank in life is represented, from the Emperor to the humble girl. Even animals appear and speak. It is nominally illegal to put on the stage Emperors, Empresses, and great men of old; but the law is entirely disregarded. The dialogue is in the ordinary spoken language, varying in some respects according to the position of the character speaking. In the historical plays it is further removed than in the others from the language of common conversation. There is no offensive, but the actors constantly break out into song. The songs express the most passionate parts, and therefore they are given only to the leading characters.

A play consists usually of five acts, or rather of four acts and an introductory part, called 'the opening,' in which the principal characters come on, describe themselves, and give any information that may be necessary as to former doings. If there is no 'opening,' the descriptions and information are given in the first of the four acts, and the unfolding of the story is left to the acts. As there is no curtain to fall, and no stopping at the end of the acts, the distinction between them is hardly noticeable on the stage. Entries and exits are marked by means in the books, and so are the intervals, for which the gods then fall into song. A famous play called The pa-ki consists of 21 scenes, or, according to another arrangement, 42 scenes.

In theory every Chinese play should have a moral object, and the serious drama is supposed to place on the stage scenes which will lead the spectator to the practice of virtue. Actually, their tendency is on the side of justice and morality; and, as regards decency, they are, at any rate in their written form, entirely free from objection.

In addition to the serious pieces, which form the bulk of the plays acted, there are also farces, which are generally brought in at the conclusion of the bill, and are highly appreciated by the audience. They depend for their attractiveness upon the droll gesticulations, impromptu allusions to passing occurrences, and excellent pantomimic action of the performers (S. W. Williams, Middle Kingdom, 716). In these farces there is much 'gagging,' and the actors often lapse into coarseness.

To return to the serious drama. It is true that Chinese plays do not, as a rule, possess much intricacy of plot; but we think that their merits, in many respects, will not be denied by any one who
can keep in mind that both Chinese ideals and Chinese modes of expression often differ considerably from our own. They are certainly remarkable in both distinctness and consistency of characterization. As regards other qualities, a very high authority has recently said of the famous 'Story of the Peacock' (both Ebr 21, viii 486) that 'the pathetic in the conception and the main situations of its action, but includes scenes of singular grace and delicacy of treatment' (A. W. Ward, in Ebr 21, viii 486). Of another great play, 'The Sorrows of Han', its composer John Davis, wrote that 'the grandeur and gravity of the subject, the rank and dignity of the personages, the tragic catastrophe, and the strict award of poetical justice, might satisfy the most rigid admirer of Greek rules' (Chin, p. 92).

In order to give the reader some idea of what the Chinese historical drama is like, we insert here a short sketch of this play. The events described in it are partially founded upon facts. The scene is laid in the 1st c. E., at a time when China was weak and the Tartars were strong.

The play opens in Tartary. The Tatar Khan appears, and announces to his kinsmen with an authoritative right, he has sent to demand of the Emperor of China the hand of a princess. The second scene is in China, and shows the Emperor's minister in conversation with the task of selecting beauties for his harem. The minister discovers a maiden of surpassing beauty, and the parents a large sum of money as a bribe, but they are too poor to give it to him. He therefore contrives that, though the maiden is admitted, it is not known to whom the charms shall descend. The lady is sent to the Emperor. A chance causes them to be discovered, and she becomes the Imperial favorite. The Chinese minister is sentence to death; but he escapes, and takes refuge at the court of the Khan. To revenge himself, he shows the Khan the lady's portrait, and he would have come in response to the Khan's demand, but the Emperor would not permit her; he (the minister) had remonstrated with his master for thus embroiling China, that he had been forced to die for his life, if the Khan demand the princess, and she must be given to him. The beauty is sent to the Khan, and the Khan's envoy asks for a large sum of money as a bribe, but the princess refuses it and makes her way to the Emperor. Next, the lady, now a princess, is adorning herself in the palace; the Empress comes in, and shows her a portrait, and asks for admission. The chief minister enters and reports the arrival of the envoy with the Khan's demand. The envoy is received. After the audience the Emperor takes counsel with his ministers. He wishes to appeal to arms; but the case is adjudged hopeless.

The princess declares her willingness to sacrifice herself for her country's sake, in spite of her love for the Emperor. The Emperor at last consents, and the sad parting takes place. The Khan sees about a thousand of his troops crossing away the pass of the army. The army is on the march. It arrives at the bank of a river, and the Princess asks the Chinese emperor, 'Shall I dress the Khan? Great King, I take a cup of wine and pour a libation towards the south, my last farewell to the Emperor.' Sheds a tear, and with the offering she says, 'Emperor of China, this is my last offering; I await thee in the next.' She throws herself into the river and is drowned. The Khanhtmlante, orders her burial, and declares that she shall remain in peace with her father.

In China. The Emperor is wandering in the palace at night, still mourning the loss of his beloved. He sees the princess, escaped from her captors, appearing to him in a vision. A Tatar soldier comes in and carries her off again. The Emperor awakens to fresh grief. The arrival is announced of a Tatar envoy. He is come to tell the sad story and bring back the faithful minister. The traitor is led away to execution.

We think the reader will acknowledge that this story is well fitted for dramatic representation.

The scenery of a Chinese theatre is very simple. It consists of a few mats, perhaps rudely painted, arranged at the back and sides of the stage, and some backcloths, of various purposes, and are brought in from the rolling rooms as required. The imperfections of the scenery are made good by simple devices: a courier, on being despatched, seizes a whip, and lifts his leg as though he were mounting a horse; passing over a bridge is indicated by stepping up and then down, crossing a river by imitating the rolling motion of a boat. The actors are dressed in costumes appropriate to their parts, and of antique style. The red scarlet, magenta, and saffron silks and satins and really magnificent embroideries, which have cost large sums of money; but in the humbler theatres they are much tarnished and worn.

Only in Peking and the great towns of the North are there permanent play-houses. The simplicity, however, of Chinese theatrical arrangements enables performances to be given without difficulty all over the country, even in small towns and villages. Subscriptions are collected on the occasion of a festival, and not only to provide a reward to the performers and their neighbours a treat. A travelling company of players is engaged; and, in a couple of days, sheds, which serve their purpose sufficiently well, are erected, at little cost, with rough planks, poles, and mats. Curiously John Davis, wrote that 'the grandeur and gravity of the subject, the rank and dignity of the personages, the tragic catastrophe, and the strict award of poetical justice, might satisfy the most rigid admirer of Greek rules' (Chin, p. 92).

In the acting editions they are usually short, but a very large number are produced on such occasions.

As was the case not long ago in France, the profession of an actor is, at least nominally, considered disreputable. Members of it are classed with barbers and domestic servants, and, with their sons and grandsons, they are not allowed to compete in the public literary examinations.

Translation of French of several Chinese plays will be found in the published works of A. Bazin and Stanislas Julien.


T. L. BULLOCK.

DRAMA (Greek).—I. Origin of the drama.

From the time of its origin down to the days of its latest representatives, Greek drama was closely associated with religion. A Greek tragedy or comedy was a religious service rendered by the State to one of its gods. Plays were performed only at the festivals of Dionysus—at the Lenaia, the festival of the wine-press in January; at the city Dionysia held in the villages in December; and at the city Dionysia in March (this the most important and brilliant). There was no long season, and plays were given all day long during the festivals, the spectators paying no admission fee except what the State provided, and often bringing their own lunch and cushions. Not until the 3rd c. B.C. did the drama, as was natural, become a secularized performance arranged by the hand of the troupe and often financed by private liberality.

The development is paralleled in medieval times by the mystery and miracle plays, the religious pageants, and the mystery pageant, which serve many purposes, and are brought in from the roving rooms as required. The imperfections of the scenery are made good by simple devices: a courier, on being despatched, seizes a whip, and lifts his leg as though he were mounting a horse; passing over a bridge is indicated by stepping up and then down, crossing a river by imitating the rolling motion of a boat. The actors are dressed in costumes appropriate to their parts, and of antique style. The red scarlet, magenta, and saffron silks and satins and really magnificent embroideries, which have cost large sums of money; but in the humbler theatres they are much tarnished and worn.

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that his tragedies were but crumbs from Homer’s table. But historically the drama, though latent in the epic and drawing upon it for subject-matter and plot, reached its own form, that of the tragedy, especially in the messenger’s speeches, developed out of the lyric—not the personal passionate lyric of Archilochus, Sappho, and Alcman, but the choral lyric of a disciplined chorus chanting in unison to the metre of the dance. This choral lyric of Alcman and Steichorchos, which later reached its zenith in Simonides, Bacchylides, Pindar, and the choruses of the Greek drama, flourished chiefly among the Dorians of early Sparta, Sicily, and Mycenae in Greece. There were many forms, such as hymns to the gods, marching songs, dancing songs for boys and girls.

We have preserved to us, on a papyrus discovered by Mariette in Egypt, a partheneion, or highly dramatic virginal song, by Alcman, which consisted of 140 verses in ten strophes of which the first two and part of the third are missing. This song gives a pretty picture of a dance of Spartan maidens in honour of Artemis, by the banks of the Euripus, as we see on a beautiful Attic red-figured crater in the Museo di Villa Papa Giulio at Rome (cf. Furtwängler-Reichhold, Griech. Vasenmalerer, Munich, 1904, pls. 17-18). The chorus addresses the poet, and the poet speaks to the whole body of dancers or to an individual.

This kind of choral lyric combined with its praise the epic recital of a local or national or religious legend.

The specific and immediate origin of the Greek drama, however, is in one form of this choral lyric—the dithyramb or hymn, usually to Dionysus, though not confined to his ritual. The word ‘dithyramb’ first occurs in Archilochus (fl. c. 670 B.C.), where it is to be used to any great extent, that dithyrambic triad and tetrameter, the two chief metres in Greek tragedy. We do not know its derivation. Many etymologies might be given, each more absurd than another. Originally it may have been an epithet of Dionysus, the name not of the hymn but of the god to whom the hymn is sung, commemorating possibly his double birth from Semele and from the loins of Zeus—the scene on Greek vases which perhaps was the prototype of the first representations of Eve springing out of Adam’s side (cf. Eurip. Bacch. 319 f.). More probably ‘dithyramb’ is connected with the thríamboi, nuncing ‘mad song.’ It appears from Archilochus that the dithyramb was either a banquet song or more probably a popular rude rustic hymn in honour of Dionysus, who introduced from Thrace the wild orgiastic ceremonies so foreign to Greek sobriety. Out of these rustic dithyrambs— not always licentious, but often solemn hymns—after they had received a systematic form under the Dithyrambic Chorus, tragedized by Aristophanes (cf. Aristoph. Poet. iv.). The dithyramb, pathetic as well as comic, flourished throughout Greece long before Arion of Lesbos (600 B.C.) gave it a distinct artistic and recognized form, fixing the number of the chorus at fifty and dressing them in the likeness of satyrs, half-animal, half-human, with the legs, ears, and snub-nose of a goat; although, according to Herodotus (i. 23), who tells the famous dolphin story about him, Arion was the best lyrist of his time and the first to compose, name, and teach the dithyramb at Corinth. His chorus had fifty satyrs or goat-men, the same number as we find in the earliest play of Æschylus, the Supplices, noted for its depth of religious feeling. The chorus of satyrs (dithyrambic) sang (singers of goat-skinned and danced and sang about a circular orchestra, and so were called a cyclic chorus (from κύκλος, the orchestra) or tragic chorus (from τραγῳς, a goat or satyr; cf. Æsch. fr. 297). Of course, this chorus of satyrs in later plays by a chorus appropriate to the plot, except in the Satyr-drama, which retained the satyr chorus; but tragedy originally meant a goat-song rather than a spelt-song, as Miss Harrison (loc. cit. infra) argues. This is also more likely than that the goat was the prize, because other prizes were given, and the bull was equally associated with Dionysus. Dionysus was a bull-god as well as a goat-god, and often appears in Greek art with bull’s horns. He had no monopoly of the goat-skin, which was the primitive costume in ancient times, and is worn by peasants in Greece to-day and at modern Dionysiac plays in Thrace (cf. JHS, 1907, p. 191 ff.) and at the performances of the Thesmophoria. The bull of rude dramatic times is difficult, then, to agree with Farnell that the origin of Greek tragedy is an ancient European mummary which was a winter-drama of the seasons, in which the Black Personage, Dionysus Mæđææo or Mæđææ, killed Xanthis, the Fair One, the actors wearing the black goat-skin of their god.

The word ‘tragie’ did not mean at first dramatic or pathetic, and Aristotle (loc. cit.) says that the grotesque diction of earlier times was not discarded till late for the tragedian’s art. The dithyramb soon became associated with the pathetic, because the habitual theme of the dithyramb was the adventures and sorrows of Dionysus, the new religion which had to struggle to win its way. The limitation of Dionysus was thus a service to tragedy.

Many elements, therefore, combined to make the Greek drama, but the main one was the worship of Dionysus, the god of wine, vegetation, and moisture. Dionysus, the youngest of the Greek gods, a mystic Phrygian divinity who came into Greece from Thrace and Caria and became the chief genius of Muses and the Dionysiac Mysteries in which Dionysus or Ἰάσων was associated with Persephone, the fates and burthenesses, as at the later sanctuary of the mystic chthonic Cabiri near Thebes, who became closely connected with Dionysus, and the rude choral songs and mimetic dances contributed much, but they were all swallowed up by the coming of Dionysiac whose cult spread over the whole Greek world and was easily grafted on the native worship. Cf. and cf. DRAMA (Introductory).

Ridgeway makes large use of this to support his theory that the origin of Greek tragedy was in the worship of the dead. There is, to be sure, much of this in our extant dramas, since they naturally deal with death for the most part, and undoubtedly the worship of the dead, the Orphic and Eleusinian Mysteries in which Dionysus or Ἰάσων was associated with Persephone, the fates and burthenesses, as at the later sanctuary of the mystic chthonic Cabiri near Thebes, who became closely connected with Dionysus, and the rude choral songs and mimetic dances contributed much, but they were all swallowed up by the coming of Dionysiac whose cult spread over the whole Greek world and was easily grafted on the native worship. Cf. and cf. DRAMA (Introductory).

The opposition to his worship in Thrace is embodied in the story of his harsh treatment by Lycurgus (II. vi. 132; in Bocca in the legent of Pentheus, the subject of lost plays by Thespis and Ἀσκλῆ, and of the most famous of the Dionysiac plays of Euripides, the Bacchae, written at the court of Archelaus at the very birthplace of Dionysiac performances. The village of Eleutherai claimed to have been founded by Dionysus and to have been his birth-place, whence the archaic wooden image, or ἔμαρτος, of the god was brought to Athens by Pegasus to the precinct beside the Dionysiac theatre on the southern slope of the Aeropagus, where in the front row is still to be seen the seat of the chief priest, ἱερὲς Ἐκευόμοιος, no named for the Eleutherai. At the first othon, the founder of Greek tragedy, was born, there was a story, of which there are many illustrations in art, that Dionysus came and was hospitably received by the farmer Iearus. Dionysus gave
him wine, which the people thought was poison, and they slew Icarus. Erinone, his daughter, danced herself, and Dionysus sent a plague, which was appeased by instituting the festival of the swing.

The Americans excavated Icaria in 1885 and found many inscriptions illustrating the origin of the Greek drama and many traces of the veneration of Dionysus (cf. Dionysus in Greece, 1891, pp. 104-117; Frazer, Pausanias, i. 401 f.; Papers of Athens, vol. ii. 1893 i. 4 f.; Nomos, Dionysiaci, bk. xliii.).

The story was a favourite subject in the Greek drama. Phrynichus, Phileocrates, Cleophon, and others treated the theme, although it was avoided by the Sophocles. The theme was not treated where the story of the waking of Ariadne is laid, Crete, Corinth, Athens, and other places are also intimately associated with the beginnings of the Greek drama and Dionysus. Dionysus was the god of life, entwined between the lips and hearts, rightly called Dionysus Eleutherus. His orgiastic and religious influence was connected with the resurrection of life and immortality (cf. Wheeler, Dionysus and Immortality, 1899). Legends told how the god slept in winter and awoke in summer, or was bound in winter and released in spring. Flogging also filled an important rôle in the rites of Dionysus, as in the Dionysia of Athens. The Dionysiac rites were flogged in being initiated into the Dionysiac rites (cf. Paus. viii. 23. 1, and the recently discovered Pompeian painting, Notizie degli Scavi, 1910, 4, pl. xxvii.). At Delphi, the centre of Greek religion, where a ceremony described by Plutarch represented the god's resurrection and the waking of the new-born child after his winter sleep, he was important enough to have his coffin beside the image of Apollo and to share with him the podia-mus. So the god of sorrow and pathos, acquainted with grief. What more natural than that tragedy and comedy should arise in the worship of a deity the thought of whom covered the whole field of human emotion, whether grief or guilt, a complete and sacred representation of the whole of life? Even before the coming of Dionysus there were the crude beginnings of the drama. If we seek the ultimate and final source, perhaps we can find it mainly, but not entirely, in the cult of the dead. The main real historical source was the poetical and literary inspiration of the wine-god, especially as exhibited in the dithyramb. Aristotle rather than anthropology should guide us in this question.

Aristotle said in his Poetics that Arion was the first to compose a satyr-drama. During the performance of one of his plays in competition with Eschylus (499 B.C.), the temporary wooden seats collapsed, leading to the erection of a regular theatre at Athens. He composed the great satyr-drama. The Dionysiacs are composed of the lyres and the chorus, which is used in the Dionysiac festival. The Bacchylides, the first to compose a satyr-drama, were Eschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, whose plays are full of religious and ritual ideas (discussed in the articles on them in this Encyclopaedia). Eschylus added a second actor, thus introducing true dramatic action, and diminished
the songs of the chorns. Of about seventy dramas by Æschylus we still have seven, among them the only Greek tragedy preserved, the Orestea, the masterpiece of Greek drama, produced in 458 B.C. Æschylus, born at Eleusis, in Attica, was the first of strong religious feeling, the atmosphere of the Mysteries, extended the bounds of tragedy to deal with the great moral and religious problems of life and the relation of man to man and to God. He developed the plot, made tragedy a dispassionate instructor in ethics and religion, and laid down the principles followed by all succeeding Greek tragedians with few changes. One of the great features of Æschylean theology is the predominance of Zeus, to whom even Destiny is consigned. This is perhaps best seen in the Suppliants, which has been pronounced 'one of the most truly religious poems in ancient literature' (Adam, Rel. Teachers, p. 142). Æschylus verges almost on monothesism, or rather pantheism (fr. 70: 'Zeus is set, and earths are, Zeus is heaven; Zeus in truth is all things and more than all'). Sin is ἐφαρ, or insolence, and must be expiated by suffering; and punishment is for the most part retributary. He protests against the doctrine of the envy of the gods (Apollod. ii. 20. 7) and affirms that the world is governed by Justice. As is well expressed in Abbott's Hellenica (1880, p. 66), 'the undertone of Divine vengeance running through the dramas of Æschylus seems in Sophocles to have been taken away, and set down as a theme of Human compassion and love, and we move from the gloom of sin and sorrow towards the dawning of a brighter day in which strength is made perfect in weakness.

Sophocles, who added a third actor and raised the number of the chorns from twelve to fifteen and employed scene-painting, in contrast to Æschylus, is the poet of reconciliation and not of strife between right and wrong. He was the most religious of the Greek poets, and piety is the keynote of his religion. In Euripides, the gnostic poet of everyday life and realism, there is much polemic against popular religion, much scepticism and cynicism. He robbed tragedy of its idealism, but brought in romance and earthliness and melodrama, which made him very popular in his own and later times. Euripides still further diminished the importance of the chorus as an organic part of the drama, made the prologue serve to tell who the persons were and what the action was, employed a chorus which is not a close his dramas, of which we still have nineteen, including the doubtful Rheus. After Euripides, new tragedies continued to be written, down to the 3rd cent. A.D., and old tragedies of the 5th cent. were still produced along with the new. But there was little growth or innovation except in better stage-machinery and improved scene-painting. Professional actors took the stage in the 4th cent. B.C., and troupes were sent out to the villages by the guilds of the Dionysian artists. Almost every town after the 4th cent. B.C. had its theatre and its performances. For Delos, Samos, Delphi, and other places we still have some of the choric inscriptions.

2. Comedy.—As in the case of tragedy, the origin of Greek comedy is connected with the worship of Dionysus, and especially with the Dorian. Comic arose in the phallic song of Bacche dancers and revellers, a comus-song (from κομεῖν, 'to revel,' not κομίσαν, 'to be right'), as Aristotle says. One sees such a phallic procession in honour of Dionysus in Aristophanes' Acharn., 237 f., and on many Greek vases. The primitive rude impromptu performance was developed by Susarion of Magna, who was the first professional comic poet of his own, and introduced into these indecent performances the abuse of individuals. Susarion brought these comic performances from Megara first to Icaria, where, as we have seen, tragedy also was born.

Till Epicharmus, comedy was only a series of unconnected episodes and burlesques; but Epicharmus, the Sicilian father of Greek comedy, introduced unity of subject and plot, though he seems not to have had the chorus, which developed out of the comus. He was the first to bring forward the character of the parasite. His comedies were of two kinds—mythological travesties, and comedies with scenes from daily life, which developed into the pictures of life in the Comedy. The comedy of Epicharmus was combined with the episode-comedy of Epicharmus and Sicily to form Attic comedy, though, of course, the agon, or contest, also played an important part, as Zelinski has shown. But the agon theory is probably best seen in the Suppliant, of which we have the chorus, from γεσθαινομεν, or the jibing at one another at the bridge passed over by the initiates on their procession to Eleusis (cf. Gildersleeve, in AJPh x. (1889) 985, xviii. (1897) 249), which would make comedy belong to Dionysus. For according to the chorus we have still preserved, we would be identified with Dionysus. Whichever theory is right, Attic comedy in its origin certainly was clearly separated from tragedy and the satyr-dramas, which were regarded as regular rituals by the State. In the comedy of Attic, out of many hidden and unidentified gods, and the for religious respect, though it was given unoffocially at festivals of Dionysus. The State did not take it up until comedy was developed on the lines of tragedy as a legitimate form of drama. Probably about 458 B.C. (cf. Abbott, Alk. 457 f.), when the theatre was begun, and not so late as 457, when Wilamowitz argues,—comedy was officially recognized at the city Dionysia. Chionides and Magnes are the first great names, and from their time onwards comedy developed after the pattern of tragedy. Three comedies were given at the Dionysia and Lenaea by five separate poets. From 425 to 405 B.C. the number was only three. The number of actors who could take part in the discussion at any time was three, as in tragedy (though, as Rosen has shown, this does not mean that only three actors were employed to give a tragedy or comedy). The number of the chorus was twenty-four—double the number in tragedy before Sophocles. Comedy, like tragtry had its prologue, parodos, eoxdos, and choruses; but two features, the agon and parabasis, are peculiar to comedy alone. The agon is a debate between two antagonists and the chorus, and often seems to be the essence of the Attic comedy, as Aristophanes' the agon is the contention of the Just and Unjust Arguments for the Athenian boy. The parabasis is the part where the chorus faces the spectators and addresses them in the name of the poet.

Three periods of comedy are distinguished—the Old (down to, say, 390 B.C.), the Middle (from 390 to, say, 324—the date of Menander's first play), and the New (from 324 onwards). The Old Comedy, of which Cratinus, Eupolis, and Aristophanes are the three great poets, ridiculed with gross abuse and obscenity an individual or any subject, whether from mythology, literature, Utopias, daily or public life. Imitations of animal life were common, and there were choruses of snakes, wasps, fisher, or birds, as in the Birds of Aristophanes, the prototype of Rostand's Chantier. Such choruses existed even before Aristophanes, since a vase in the British Museum of the 6th cent. B.C. shows them dressed as birds dancing to the sound of the flute. Great licence was allowed in ridiciling statesmen and politicians, but for a while it became necessary to curb the satire and forbid the comedians to satirize individuals by name. The plays of the Old Comedy had a greater political as the earlier ones, and the Pluteus belongs to Middle Comedy. Aristophanes was the greatest representative of the Old Comedy, and of his fifty-four plays we have eleven preserved entire—the
only extant examples of a complete Greek comedy, The Middle Comedy, best represented by Alexis and Antiphanes, in which political and personal satire hardly appears at all. It is a period of transition, to the more refined and less personal New Comedy, which developed the comedy of manners with its stock characters and with the every-day interests of eating, drinking, and intrigue. The greatest poets of the New Comedy were Plautus (who, in life of ninety-nine years produced about ninety plays), Menander, Diphilus, Apollodoros, and Posidippus. Recently considerable fragments of the plays of Menander have been recovered in Egypt, and it is possible that this author may yet be brought to light, even though we cannot yet read his comedies. The comedy of Menander is reminiscent of the old comedy of the Greek New Comedy from the Roman comic poets Terence and Plautus, who took their plots from the Greek, and led the way to the comedy of Molière and modern Europe.

4. The structure of the theatre. — It is impossible to touch on all the subjects connected with the Greek drama in this article, but something should here be introduced. A skene was erected, which to-day is the most conspicuous ruin throughout Greek lands. The best preserved auditorium is that of the beautiful and harmonious theatre of Epidaurus; the best preserved stage-building is the theatre of the altar hill at the middle of the 4th cent. B.C. The first stone theatre in Athens dates from the time of Lycourgos. — After the days of Eschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, — and would seat about 15,000 people. With the semi-circular arrangement, in tier after tier, seats divided into scuplers, or wedges, by aisles, the theatre of Lycourgos probably reproduces the plan of the temporary structure in which Eschylus acted his own dramas. The performance was always public, and admission to it was free, and the seats were set on the slope of the hill, which was made into the form of a semi-circle with the ends extended. Generally even in later times the side of a hill was used for the auditorium of stone, but at Eretria an artificial embankment was built. The chorus and actors performed in a circular orchestra at the foot of the semi-circular auditorium. Here was an altar of Dionysus, at which every performance was begun with sacrifice; and, as the Greek drama was essentially a religious service, it was not far away there was often a temple, generally of Dionysus, in whose precinct was the theatre. Part of the 6th cent. temple of Dionysus remains even to-day, to the south of the stone theatre of Dionysus in Athens, although the lapidary of the temple is better preserved. However, we must remember that, while Dionysus was the usual deity associated with the theatre, we sometimes find others. So the stage-building of the theatre at Oropos, which seems to have had no seats, with the exception of a few stone ones for the priests and dignitaries, bears an inscription to Amphairos. At first there was no scenic background, but, when painted scenes had been introduced in the theatre, there was a skene, placed behind the orchestra containing dressing rooms, and was later adorned with a prosenium of half columns, originally wood, but later stone, between which were slabs, or pinakes, on which the scenery was painted. The scene was later extended, and was removed when the actors came out into the orchestra. Even when there was a stone skene and proscenium, most scholars now agree that the actors performed in the orchestra, where even a violin could be heard by the topmost row, as the writer can bear witness from experiments at Epidaurus. The gods, of course, appeared on top of the proscenium, or theodolicon. Ghosts, like that of Darius in the Persae, would appear by 'Chiron's stairs,' which descended in the middle of the orchestra and connected with an underground passage to the skene, as at Eretria and Sicyon. The actors were distinguished from the chorus by their costume, often piled, and by their wigs and masks. It used to be thought that the skene was used for a 'coleothaurus' or footlights on the front, and the onchos on the head. But it is likely that the coleothaurus was unknown till late times. Doubt has also been thrown on the use of the eucalyceum, or machine to roll out the footlights, as it could not be seen in the view of the spectators. But there seems to be evidence for its use. Men played the part of women. There was no curtain, as in the Roman theatre, so that there was rarely a change of scene; but the theatre was a temple, and action were often violated, and not consciously formulated by the Greeks.

LITERATURE.—Cf. the different histories of Greek Literature, esp. Croiset, Hist. de la litt. grecque, iii. (1901), tr. in abridged form by Hedgeshower (1903); Christ, Gesch. der griech. Literature", 1905; Fowler, Hist. of Ancient Gr. Literature, 1902; Capps, From Homer to Theocritus, 1909, pp. 183-200, 414-440 [one of the best accounts of the subject]; Wright, Short Hist. of Gr. Literature, 1907; Verrall, Students' Manual of Gr. Drama, 1903; Bell, A History of Ancient Greek Drama, a very excellent little book, with a good account of the origin and early history of the drama, cf. Haigh, The Drama of Greece, 1906, The Attic Theatre, 1903 (3rd ed. by Pickard-Cambridge, 1907); Monhoux, Anciencl Classieal Drama, 1896; Weil, Studeee de l'art dramatique, 1897; Campbell, Readings in Greek Literature, 1891; Ridgeway, The Origin of Tragedy, 1910 [the most recent and important treatise]; Farwell, 'The Megalos Dionysia,' Saturday Review, 1903, and 'The Origin of the Greek Drama,' American Journ. of Numismatics, 1910, also Culta of the Greek States, v. (1910), s.v. 'Dionysus'; E. S. MacGillivray, Hellenistic Drama, 1907; Reisz, 'Zar Vostovsk, der attisch-rhein. Theaterwesen,' Z. f. d. Alter. Philol., 1907, p. 495 f. For the religious side, cf. esp. J. Adam, The Religious Theatras of Greece, 1908; Campbell, Religion in Gr. History, 1907; Deyere, in Greece, 1908; Fouchart, Le Celto de Dionysos e Apotheke, 1904; J. E. Harrison, fr. the Staat in Gr. Religion, 1908; Pater, Greek Studies ; A Study of Dionysus, 1905; Wernicke, 'Blickschau und Satyr-drama' (Hermes, xxvi. (1897) 294f.). For the ruins of theatres and their interpretation, cf. Dörpfeld, Griech. Theater, 1896, Goth. Bühne, 1901, On the dramatic inscriptions, cf. William, Orkunden dramat. Auführungen in Athen, 1866, and the art. by Capps cited there, esp. the 'Introduction of Comedy into the City Dionysia' (Chicago Historical Publica). Other important works are the editions of Aristotle's Poetics by Butler (1836) and Bywater (1900); O'Connor, Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece (1904); Deyere, in Greece, 1908; Smith, 'The Use of the Buskin in Greek Tragedy' (Hermes, xvii. (1909); Halin, 'Gr. Plays in America' (Classical Journal, vi. (1906) 24f.). Other books on the Greek drama are being prepared by Capps, Harris, Harry, Fickinger, and others.

DAVID M. ROBINSON.

DRAMA (Indian).—I. The classical Indian drama.—The extant masterpieces of the Indian drama belong to the most flourishing period of classical Sanskrit literature, and it would be improper to begin with the establishment of the Gupta Empire in A.D. 319 and to extend to about the year 800, though the literature of the next three or four centuries, which may be regarded as the silver age, includes a number of dramas of considerable interest and importance; and this species of composition has continued to be cultivated in India even down to the present day. But these later productions are destitute of originality. They are either imitations of the Greek drama, or exercises constructed in accordance with the rules of the rhetoricians and the writers on the dramatic art. Recent discoveries have, however, shown that the antiquity of the classical drama is much greater than has been supposed. Fragments of Indian palm-leaf MSS found in Central Asia show that a dramatic literature possessing substantially the same chief characteristics (§ 2) was flourishing several centuries earlier in the Kusanas, and that it was in all probability contemporaneous with the drama of their dramanis personae, and their plots are
those which had been already fixed by grammarians and theorists. Dependent as they are for their interest, not so much on originality of plot or a life-like portrayal of character, as on their power to excite emotion, refinement of language, and some form of speciality or novelty, they can hardly be appealed only to cultivated audiences. We thus find the drama, at its first appearance in literature, to be a perfected work of art, the form of which, already definitely settled, does not subsequently undergo any important modification.

This drama must have had a history; but such earlier forms as might have enabled us to trace its origin and growth directly were either not committed to writing or have disappeared in the course of time. In that condition the only literature preserved indeed, that a drama of some kind flourished in India at least as early as the 4th cent. B.C. (see § 8); but there is nothing actually extant in Indian literature which stands to the classical drama in the same relation as the early epics, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana—the oldest portions of which probably go back to c. 500 B.C.—stand to the later epics of the classical period. All that can be now known of the history and the development of Indian drama must be inferred: (1) from the plays themselves, (2) from works dealing with the arts of dramatic composition and dramatic representation, (3) from references in other literature, and (4) from a consideration of the popular theatre which continues still to flourish in India.

2. Chief features.—Some of the most important characteristics which are common to all Sanskrit plays are the following:

(1) The benediction.—Every play begins with a solemn prayer in verse, addressed to some deity—usually Siva or Visṇu or some Divine personage connected with them. In the case of one drama, the Nāpiṇḍa, Buddha is invoked.1 This prayer, called the nāndī, was portrayed by the manager of the theatre (śatradhāra), who was also usually the principal actor. It formed part originally of an introductory religious ceremony called the pūrvarāga, and remained prefixed to the drama as a sign of its religious origin.

(2) The prologue.—At the conclusion of the nāndī, the manager calls to his side one of the actors or actresses; and the dialogue which follows is adroitly used to bespeak the good-will of the audience, and also to introduce the piece to be performed, and to lead up to the action of the opening scene by calling attention to the character or characters who now appear on the stage. This introduction (anuvakā or pravāsaśī) differs from the Prologue in the Latin, though, or English, comedy, in so far that it is not definitely separated from the play itself, and is intended to set the plot in motion.

(3) The acts.—The play thus begun divides itself naturally into acts (ākāra), each forming, as it were, a chapter in the story. The hero appears in each act; and an act comes to an end when all the characters have gone off the stage. The unity of time is preserved only within each act and not throughout the whole play; and even within the act the rule is literally interpreted by a proviso that the events described must not be supposed to have lasted more than twenty-four hours. The time supposed to elapse between one act and another is, in theory, limited to a year; but in practice a longer interval is sometimes permitted.2 The audience is made acquainted with events which have taken place between acts by means of interludes (viśaktambhakā or pravesākā), which take the form of monologues or duologues. The unity of place is not observed. Journeys from one spot to another, or from the earth to the sky, for instance, may be represented dramatically within the act.

(4) Expression of emotion.—The aim of the dramatic art is to produce emotion in the mind of the spectator; and to this end everything else is subordinated. In the course of a play all the emotions (rasa), enumerated as eight,3 may be excited; but those of love and heroism should preponderate. Death and fighting must not be represented on the stage; and every play must have a happy ending. Tragedy, therefore, in the ordinary sense of the word, finds no place in the classical Hindu theatre. The contradictions and limitations produce in Sanskrit plays a sentimental and conventional atmosphere which distinguishes them in a very marked manner from the tragedies and comedies of ancient Greece and Rome.

(5) Verse and prose mixed.—A no less striking contrast is presented by their form. Sanskrit plays are written partly in verse and partly in prose. The verse portions consist of short lyrical poems descriptive of the beauties of Nature, the charms of love, and the yearnings of the characters, and are possibly a survival of some religious or popular form. The scenes are represented by monologues or duologues, which are expressed in a great variety of metres, and adorned with all the devices of rhetoric, are highly polished specimens of the poetic art such as could have been appreciated, or even understood, only by a cultured audience.

This diversity of tongues would seem to indicate that the drama assumed its formal shape at a period when the educated classes were in the habit of using Sanskrit as an ordinary means of communication, while the uneducated classes still continued to employ their own dialects. But, though the classical drama may thus show conventionalized a state of things which must at one time have had its basis in actual fact, its Prakrits are no longer the genuine language of the people. They, too, have become conventional; that is to say, they are merely Sanskrit changed into the various Prakrits in accordance with what were supposed to be the phonetic peculiarities of each. In much the same way as the Scotch and Irish characters on the English stage are often made to speak a jargon which is nothing more than perverted English—the work of a dramatist who has no knowledge of the living language—the Hindi Prakrits are further, assigned to different classes of characters, and applied to different uses in the plays, in a manner which is also purely conventional. The Prakrits thus represented most commonly are three in number—Sauraseni, Mahā-

1 See § 3; cf. also the fragments of plays discovered in Central Asia (ib.). These are definitely Buddhist in character.

2 From a study of the rasa, see Beulé, Rhythmes sanskrits, Paris, 1884, pp. 257-364.

3 For an account of the rasa, see Heine, Rhythmes sanskrits, Paris, 1884, pp. 257-364.
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raṣṭri and Magadh; but a number of others are found occasionally. Sauraseni, the dialect of the region of the Mathura (Muttra), is used in prose by the queen and her attendants and by the higher subordinates generally. In verse the same characters use Mahārāṣṭra and the language of the Mahārāṣṭra country. The lower subordinate characters speak either Magadhi, the dialect of Magadha (Bihar), the country around the Patanliputra (Patna), or some peculiar patois of their own. A fourth Prakrit, Pāšāchāṭi, spoken in certain districts of N.W. India, is said by the grammarians to have been used in the dramas, but is known at present only from their quotations, and has not been found in any extant play.  

The characters in the plays of Sauraseni, the dialect of the country of Mathura, the holy land of Kṛṣṇaism, lends some support to the theory, which is not improbable otherwise, that the drama had its origin in religious performances celebrating the life of Kṛṣṇa or his avatāras.  

(7) The characters, etc.—The characters in a play may be either semi-Divine or human; and, as according to Hindu ideas there is no very definite line of demarcation to be drawn between these two classes, they are not always sharply distinguished. For instance, when a king falls in love with an apārasa, one of Indra's nymphs, the scene is predominately, though by no means exclusively, those of court-life; and the persons most frequently represented are kings and queens and their entourage. There can be no doubt that the classical drama was developed mainly under the influence of royal patronage, and that the dramatists were usually also court poets. The dependents of the court, too, supplied certain types which are especially characteristic of the Indian stage. The most noteworthy of these are the vidālaka (who appears in nearly all the plays except those of Bhiṣavatī), the cula, and the sākhāra (who are known chiefly from the Mṛcchhakatā [see § 3] and the text-books).  

The vidālaka, who has often been compared with Shakespeare's clown, is the king's confidant and go-between. His manners, his slyness, and his foibles make him the comic character of the piece. Although a Brahman, he speaks Prakrit, like the uneducated characters. This fact probably denotes that the type has been borrowed by the literary drama from the popular stage.  

The vīci, another associate of the king, is a person of wit and refinement, who combines the graces and the sobriety of the courtier.  

The sākhāra is the brother of one of the inferior wives of the king, and is represented as an insolent, overbearing upstart. The name, according to the grammarians, denotes a person of Saka descent (Patañjali, Mahābhāṣya, ad. Pāṇini, i. 1.30). As stated above, it is used in most plays; but it is pointed out, this etymology is historically important, as showing that the character in question first found a place in the Indian drama at a period when Saka princes were ruling in India, and matrimonial alliances between royal houses of Hindu and Saka nationality were possible. The peculiar language spoken by this character is also said to be that of the Sakas (Śīhṭyāparāspa, 81, 85).  

Historically interesting also on account of their name are the varavīni, who attend the king as armour-bearers. These must have been originally Yavana ('Greek') women, although, like the other Greek words usura, the term may at a later date have been used to denote any attendant of a particular kind.  

(8) Buildings and stage properties.—From the prologues to the plays we learn that they were generally performed in the open air, and that most frequently the Spring Festival (see § 10). The simple arrangements of the Indian stage required no building fitted with special contrivances like our own theatres or the Greek Thèatra. The plays were, as a rule, given in the hall of a royal palace which was used for exhibitions of singing and dancing (ṣamita-kāla).  

No doubt the hall was sometimes specially intended for dramatic representations, and was, therefore, known as a 'play-house.' Such buildings are described in the Nātyapāṭhastra (see § 4). Various indications make it probable that it was intended to be used as a theatre (see Bloch, ZDMG viii. [1904] 450; An. Rep. of the Archaeol. Society of India, It.).  

The stage was open to the audience in front, while the background was formed by a curtain divided in the centre. The tiring-room (nepathya) was immediately behind the curtain. The other characters came on the stage in a dignified manner, the two halves of the curtain were drawn aside by attendants; but, when haste was to be made, the actor entered 'with a toss of the curtain' (epori-kūpya). One of the names for this curtain, paracalaka, was supported by Weber (ZDMG xiv. [1899] 289, Ind. Stud., Leipzig, 1898, xii. 493) to mean 'the curtain used by him to support his theory of Greek influence in the Indian drama. The word, however, more probably denotes some fabric manufactured by the Yavanas. If so, it is, like sakhāra and varavīni, interesting as evidence of the period in which the drama assumed its form.  

Stage-properties of the most obvious description only, such as thrones and chariots, were used; and there was no scenery in the ordinary sense of the word. Its lack was supplied by lyrics describing the legendary scenes around the stage. The stage was furnished with mimic action, and by an elaborate system of gesture to which a conventional significance well understood by the audience was attached, somewhat in the style of the modern ballet.  

3. The most important plays.  

The earliest specimen of the Sanskrit drama was formerly supposed to be the Mṛcchhakatā, which was referred to the 4th cent.; but, since the appearance of Sylvain Lévi's Le Théâtre indien, it is now generally believed to belong to a later period (see below, iii. 'Śūdraka'). The earliest complete plays which have been published would seem to be those of Kalidasa, who probably lived in the reign of the Gupta monarch Chandra Gupta II, Vikramaditya (A.D. 401-410). But, in the prologue to what is usually regarded as Kalidasa's earliest drama, the Medhakāyamañjūra, he records the names of some 'far-famed' predecessors—Bhāsi, Bāṇi, Sāmasila, and Kauṭūpya. Until recently only fragments of plays by these dramatists were preserved, not only because of the want of stage-properties, but because of the lack of preserved drama, from which the plot of the Mṛcchhakatā was borrowed. Editions of these plays may be expected to appear shortly in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (see Sylvain Lévi, J.A. xvi. [1920] 385).  

Fragments of Indian (Pāṭhik) dramas of a much earlier date have been discovered in Central Asia. These belong to the early Gupta period, when Central Asia formed part of the Indian Empire, and one of the routes of commerce was by way of Bactria, the court poet of Kaniṣka. The chronology of the Gupta period is still not in a stage to allow of absolute dates being assigned to these fragments. The text of these plays will be variously estimated according to the different views which scholars hold as to the epoch of Kaniṣka.
That is to say, while some will suppose them to belong to the 1st cent. B.C., others will assign them to the 4th or to the 5th cent. A.D. These dramas are of the conventional form (see § 4), and do not differ essentially in language, form, or style from the usual specimens of the classical period. Their evidence is extremely important, as showing that the structure of the drama was already settled at a period which was found, and the details of the characters of and to Kālidāsa (see § 6). (See König Frederick's Frauen-Aus- gaben, I. 126, (1) Bruchstücke der Meditations-Dramen herausgegeben von Heinrich Lüders, Berlin, 1911; (2) Das Sāriputra-prakrātaka, ein Drama des Akṣara- śrī, tr. by Strehly, Berlin, 1912; (3) König Frederick, Abhandl. d. Wissenschaft, Phil.-Hist. Classe, p. 385.)

The number of extant plays recorded in Schuyler’s Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama exceeds five hundred, but a great number of these are late and merely printative productions of little interest or literary value. The following list contains the titles, with short descriptions, of the most important:

1. Kālidāsa.—(1) Māhābhārata-chintāmaṇi: the story of King Agnimitra and the Princess Māhāvīrī (reputedly translated by Tawney); London, 1893. The play is historical in the sense that some of the characters are known to history. Agnimitra was the second member of the Māhāvīrī family, which succeeded the Māuryas in the kingdom of Vindūka (K. Mālwa), c. 175 B.C. Incidents referred to in the play, such as the war between Vindūka and Kānauj, and the defeat of the Kānaujians, are all of the period, or perhaps historical. (2) Sāvatsottalo the most popular of Sāk. plays: first tr. by J. M. Wilson, 1867. (3) A story of King Dushyanta. The Kings of the nyāya (Nyāya), taken from bk. 11, the Mahābhārata. (4) Vīrama-vanḍita (reputedly translated, e.g. by W. D. Reade), a story of King Parīñit and the Nyāya of Urvasi, which goes back to Vedic times. A dialogue between the two leading characters is found in the Rigveda (xi. 2).

2. R. Haase (revised A.D. 600—7. 468) and Ratanavali (Eng. tr. by Wilson) and Pāṇḍita-viṣaya (Eng. tr. by Strehly, Paris, 1855; Eng. tr. by V. V. Bache, 1870), named after their heroes. The plots are taken from the cycle of stories about the adventures of King Udyan of Vāsas. (3) Nāgāra; founded on the same period as the story of the Sāvatsottala from the Mahābhārata. (4) Vīrama-vanḍita (Eng. tr. by Boyd, London, 1872). In the opening benediction of the play, the gods are invoked.

3. Pāṇini-vana (ed. by Mychchakati, ‘The Clay Cart’; a comedy of middle-class contemporary life. The plot draws around the love of a young girl of Vāsasana; the poor but born Chhitrata (Eng. tr. by Wilson, and especially Ryder, Cambridge, Mass., 1893). This, the most human and amusing of Sanskrit plays, is now known as an adaptation of Bhasa’s Darśa-vana-dvāravatī, Poor Charudatta:”

4. Ravaṇadana (translated and annotated at the court of Yavtama of Kanauj, c. a.d. 600.—(1) Māhāvīrārtha (tr. Picford, London, 1871) and Uttararājanahitā (several translations, e.g. by Wilson); founded on the life of Rāma. (2) Māhāvīrārtha: a comedy of contemporary life named after the two chief characters Māhāvīrā and Māhāvīrī (Eng. tr. by Francis (Jimutāpa) (half the 9th cent).—(3) Vīrama-vanḍita (Eng. tr. by Tagore, Calcutta, 1865): the plot is taken from the Sāvatsottala, the Mahābhārata.

5. Viṣṇudatta or Viṣṇudattā (about the same date as the last).—Nāgakhetā: a political drama with no principal female characters and much love interest tr. by Wilson; first tr. by Tagore. The plot is historical. It turns upon the fall of the Nāgas and the rise of the hero Mustaka. (4) The Mahābhārata: the story of the Mahābhārata, the Mahābhārata, the Mahābhārata-vamśa (or Mahābhārata-vīrama-vanḍita, ‘The Rising of the Moon of Wisdom’): an allegorical play in which the characters are abstract ideas, virtues, or vices.  Its object.

6. Although these three plays bear the name of King Harva- vardha Sālāsita of Thanasa and each contains a verse asserting the royal authorship, it is probable that they were written by a court poet, perhaps Rāga, to whom also a play entitled Parīñita-parīñata, ‘Parīñit’s Wedding’ (tr. Glaser, 1893), and a drama, Parīñita-parīñita, ‘Parīñita and the Vāsasana, the first of these in, in some respects, an imitation of the Ratanavali; the second is noteworthy as being the only exact extant example of a play written altogether in Prakrit; the third and fourth are founded respectively on the stories of the Rāmacchana and the Mahābhārata, the plays of the third and fourth are Prakrit in language, and the same drama, the Sāvatsottala, is re-introduced, as in the first three. The same authorship is assumed in this case.

7. King Sudraka, to whom this comedy is attributed, is the central figure of a group of legends, from which no exact inferences about his life or death can be drawn. As in other similar cases, it is probable that the actual author was some court poet. The Māhābhārata perhaps may belong to the 6th or 7th cent. A.D.

8. Allegorical characters are also found in one of the Buddhist plays of which fragments have been discovered in Central Asia.

is to glorify the Veddanta philosophy and to inculcate the worship of Viṣṇu (Eng. tr. by Glaser, 1893). For dramas inscribed on stone, see Keilhöfer, ‘Bruchstücker indischen Schauspiele in Inschriften zu Ajmere’ (SGN, 1901); and Ruíz, ‘Epigrafía indiana en las Inscripciones de los Olmíces’ (1882).

4. Works on the theatre.—Of the Sanskrit treatises which deal with dramatic composition and theatrical representation the following are the most important:

The Nātya-sāstra is an encyclopaedia dealing with the theatre and all the arts associated with it. It is regarded as the highest authority, and is supposed to be of Divine authorship. It is said to have been revealed as a fifth Veda by the god Vrāmū to the sage Bharata, who is often mentioned in the plays as the stage-manager of the gods. It is at least as old as the earliest extant dramas, and may be much older. The list of foreign invaders of India mentioned in it—Sakas, Yavanas, Pāhavas, Bālūkās—seems to indicate the same period as the dramas themselves (see Sylvain Lévi, op. cit., Appendix, p. 3).

The Dāsaka (ed. and tr. by New York, 1911) of Dhamanāya, who lived in the reign of Muniya or Vākpati, king of Malwa (last quarter of the 10th cent.), deals only with the dramatic art, which it analyzes under four headings: (1) the plot, (2) the hero and the other characters, (3) the structure of the play, and (4) the poetry and the sentiments to be expressed.

The Sāhitya-darpana (ed. and tr. Ballantyne and Mitra, Calcutta, 1875) of Visvanatha, of uncertain date, treats only of the drama but also of the whole art of poetry.

These works show a subtle power of analysis which is characteristically Indian; but the analysis is rather of the form than of the spirit, and as alien as possible from what has since the days of Aristotle, been regarded as dramatic criticism in the West. Thus, the principles in accordance with which plays are classified are founded on what we should consider accidents rather than essentials. For example, the very same type of hero, the rank of the hero, the number of the acts, the kind of language (whether partly in Sanskrit and partly in Prakrit, or altogether in Prakrit, etc.). According to such principles, all dramas are divided into two main classes—a higher and a lower, by which was determined the rank of the hero, and the number of acts; and a lower (uparājyakas), of which there are 18 varieties. Of the rājyakas, the first variety is the nāṭyaka, which must consist of not fewer than 5 and not more than 10 acts, and in which the hero and heroine must be a god or a prince, e.g. Sāvatsottala. The next variety is the prakrātan, a love-story of real life, in which hero and heroine must be of good family, e.g. Mychchakati. Of the uparājyaka the chief variety is the nāṭyaka, which has the same type of hero as the nāṭyaka, but is confined to 4 acts, e.g. Ratanavali. Another variety, the fourth in the enumeration, is the nāṭyaka (according to the Sāhitya-darpana) is like the nāṭyaka, except that it is written entirely in Prakrit, e.g. Kaśāi-dvārakā.

In addition to the rājyakas and uparājyakas just noted, the following types described by the Indian dramatists are also accessible, though the majority of them is inedible:

1. Ratnākara.—(1) The Bhaskara, or monologue, descriptive of the passing trauma or of a nacola’s exploits (e.g. Vārūṇātita of Vardhacharya, ed. Vidyaseva, Calcutta, 1872; Eng. tr. in course of preparation by L. H. Gray). (2) Prakrātan, a farce (e.g. Jyotirikā’s Dāvati-manamakā, tr. Manzani, Teatro volto (Milan, 1867—71, ii. 189—238). (3) Dina, or presentation of terrible events, the effect of the bards, etc., often being enhanced by corroboration of events, and eclipses, and storms, etc. (e.g. Bhasa’s Mārmrathatmanathaka, ed. R. Schmitt, ZDMG v. (1899) 400—437, 629—634). (4) Vajapeya, or military spectacle, from the triumph of Siltapan at the battle of the gods. (5) Vara-sārjan, a play of the goddess Sūryā (i. 7). (6) Śuddhakā, in which the name of the goddess Sūryā (Fortune) is frequently mentioned, or the divinity is imitated by the heroine (e.g. Ma-
In the same spirit the theorists delight in arranging into divisions and sub-divisions, according to rank, character, and circumstances—all the conceivable types of hero and heroine, and all the possible varieties of plot. Artificial and metrical as is the theory of drama thus presented, it is substantially observed in all the extant, and it acquires a more binding power as time goes on, so that the later productions are no longer works of art, but exercises written to illustrate rules.

5. Prakrit nomenclature a sign of popular origin.—The whole nomenclature of the drama, however, as employed and expounded by the theorists, supplies indisputable evidence of its popular origin. The terms denoting acting and actors, the different kinds of plays, theatrical appliances, etc., are predominantly Prakrit and not Sanskrit, as they must have been if the drama had been literary from the first. The very root net, 'to act,' is the Prakrit equivalent of the Sanskrit art, 'skill.' The dominant form of evidence is to express by mimetic action. It occurs in Panini's grammar (IV. iii. 110, 129; 4th cent. B.C.), and both Panini himself and, still more explicitly, his commentator Patañjali (2nd cent. B.C.) show that, at their respective dates, the educated classes spoke Sanskrit, while the common people still continued to use their native dialects. The drama, then, had its origin among the common people; and, at the later period when it assumed a literary form, its nomenclature was so firmly established as not to suffer change through the influence of its new surroundings.

6. Influence of the puppet-play. Further evidence of a popular origin has been seen in the titles sattradhāra and sthāpakhā applied to the manager and to his principal assistant. The word sattradhāra means literally 'the holder of the strings,' and sthāpakhā 'the place.' These terms are supposed to have been borrowed from the puppet-play, which was undoubtedly a very ancient form of dramatic representation in India, and is alluded to by Nilakaṃṭha in his commentary on Mahābhārata, xii. ecxv. 5 (Shankara Pandit, in notes to Vīrakaumudī, p. 4, Bomanji, 1879; Fischel, Home of the Puppet-play, and Das altind. Schattenspiel, 3. B. xxii. 1906). 482-502; Gray, introduction to his tr. of the Dōtāgalāka, in JAOS xxii. (1915).

The sthāpakhā, who is well-known from the text-books, has almost vanished from the stage. He probably, however, appears in the Kāparṇakathā, although the Khaśi are not in agreement on this point (see Kouwen and Lounanm, Kāparñakathā, p. 196, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 1910).

7. Popular plays (yātra).—The classical drama is, therefore, a popular product which has received a literary development. This development took place, as is, indeed, true of classical Sanskrit literature generally, under royal patronage. The plays, as we learn from the prologues, were most frequently performed at palaces on the occasion of the Spring Festival; the characters represented are mostly common kings and queens and the personnel of the court; the dramatists are usually court poets; and the authorship of a number of plays is attributed to the kings themselves.

The popular drama, however, continued not cease to exist, and it assumed a more polished form at courts. While the works of a Kalidāsa or a Bhavādhvatī were being performed before a courtly audience in the hall of the palace, the popular plays were appealing to humble folk in the open air. They still survive in India under the name of yātrā, a name which declares their religious origin; for yātra means a festival in honour of some deity. The plots, too, of these popular plays are still religious in character. They are still taken from the legends of the gods and heroes of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana. The striking similarity between the yātrā and the 'poetry of medieval Europe has been pointed out by Nisikánta Chattopādhyāya (The Yātrā, or the Popular Dramas of Bengal, London, 1882, p. 3; Ind. Essays, Zurich, 1883, p. 3), and there can be no doubt that the theatre in India, as in Europe, had its origin in popular religion.

8. References to drama in early literature.—The earliest certain mention of a dramatic literature appears to occur in Panini's grammar (c. 500 B.C.), IV. iii. 110-111, where he gives rules for the formation of the names of the dramas on the following of two text-books on the drama—those of Sīlānī and Kṛśāvī. These treatises are lost; it is probable that they and all other works of the same nature were superseded by the classical dramas of Panini's commentator, Patañjali (c. 140 B.C.), often refers in his Mahābhāṣya to actors, and mentions two plays by the name—Kanava, the 'Shaping of Kansa,' and Bālīrāma, the 'Binding of Bālīrāma,' by which the name of Panini is meant, thereby the adherents of Kansa and Vasudeva respectively redounded and blackened their faces (Weber, Ind. Studien, xiii. 487; cf. also Keith, ZDMG lxiv. (1910) 534-536). As both of the earliest recorded plays celebrated the exploits of heroes in v. form, it has been suggested that the drama may have taken its origin from religious performances in his honour. There are also other indications that this view may possibly be correct (see § 6).

9. Dramatic character of some early literature.—The earliest literature of India, extending back to a period c. 1200 or 1500 B.C., includes certain compositions which are to some extent dramatic in character, and which may well have supplied the germ of a regular drama. In the Rigveda there are fifteen hymns written in the form of dialogues, which, if recited with appropriate action and with the parts assigned to separate actors, would make diminutive plays. The ancient epic poems, the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana, contain many scenes which might well be acted. The step from the epic to the drama, if such a development had taken place in India, would have been a short one, since the epic was linked with the drama by the adherents of Kansa and Vasudeva respectively redounded and blackened their faces (Weber, Ind. Studien, xiii. 487; cf. also Keith, ZDMG lxiv. (1910) 534-536). As both of the earliest recorded plays celebrated the exploits of heroes in v. form, it has been suggested that the drama may have taken its origin from religious performances in his honour. There are also other indications that this view may possibly be correct (see § 6).

On solemn occasions, such as that of the sacrifice of a horse, it was the custom in Ved times to recite old histories and by the performers, the priest of the horse and the Yajur-veda, and the prayer of the sacrifice (Hiltebrand, Rituellvorh. 4618, 1887, p. 150). On the day of Mahārāja an Anya and Sudra appeared, who disputed about a skin (Hiltebrand, Rituallen, in ZDMG, v. (1890) 327). The ceremony of the 'purchase of soma' a buyer and seller were introduced, who held an animated conversation about the price. If the soma-dealer proved refractory, the purchaser was bound to tear the soma from him, and also to take away the cow which he had given for the soma; if the dealer resisted, the buyer had to beat him with a leather strap or with billets.

1 For these 'anyāpāya' hymns, see Oldenberg, ZDMG xxvii. (1885) 54, and xxviii. (1886) 57; Sylvain Lévi, op. cit. 301; von Schroeder, Mysterien, v. (1888) 507; Winterbottom, 3. B. x (1909) 102; Horstel, 'Ursprüng des ind. Dramas und Epos,' ib. xvii. (1894) 58-59, 137-139; Keith, in JRS, 1914, p. 979.
10. Origin of the drama.—The foregoing paragraphs contain a summary of such evidence as bears on the question of the origin of the drama. From a consideration of the evidence thus summarized, the following four points would seem to be established:

(1) The drama was of popular, not of learned, origin (see § 5). It is, therefore, difficult to suppose any connexion between it and the sarungahwa hymns of the Rgveda (see § 9).

(2) The drama is of lyric, not of epic, origin. The actual plays are essentially lyrical. Their frame-work consists of a number of little poems about the beauties of Nature, or personal feelings, somewhat after the manner of Heine's Lieder. The prose dialogue which connects these is of minor importance, and originally was probably left to improvisation (see § 2 (5)). It is probable, then, that the drama arose from songs associated with gestures, i.e. 'dancing,' in the Indian sense. Its form could not be explained if it were supposed to be of epic origin (see § 9).1

(3) Its origin was religious. This is inferred from the existence of the nāndi (see § 2 (1)), from the analogy of the yotrās (§ 7), and from the titles of the earliest recorded plays (§ 8). The fact that dramas were regularly performed at the Festival of Spring would seem to indicate that the rites from which they derived their origin may have been originally associated with some primitive form of Nature-worship, like those which are found incorporated in Brahman ritual (§ 9). It is quite possible that, in certain parts of India, the worship of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, with which the drama would at least be especially associated (§§ 2 (6), 8), may have been at a later date superimposed on some popular festival of the kind.

(4) A drama of some kind certainly existed as early as 550 B.C. (see § 8), and, at some period between this date and the date of the fragments found in Central Asia (see § 3), the form of the classical drama was stereotyped. The peoples of foreign nationality who have left their traces in the drama, and who are mentioned in the dramatic text-books, are those who occur in the other literature—epics, grammatical works, law-books, etc.—and in the inscriptions which fall within this period (Rapson, B. M. Cut., "Andhra Dynasty," etc., 1908, p. xcvi).

11. The question of Greek influence.—The view, formerly widely accepted, and most fully expounded by Windisch ("Der griech. Einfluss im ind. Drama," Verh. d. 5 Internat. Oriental. Cong., Berlin, 1882, II.), that the Indian drama had been influenced by the newer Attic Comedy of Menander and Philemon (340-260 B.C.), probably finds few supporters at the present day. The arguments of Windisch are carefully considered one by one by Sylvain Lévi (op. cit.), who finds none of them convincing; and, as has been pointed out (§ 2, 10), there are so many fundamental differences between the Indian and the Greek drama that, prima facie, they have all the appearance of being independent developments.

LITERATURE.—The standard work on the Sanskrit drama is Sylvain Lévi, Le Théâtre indien, Paris, 1890; the best collection of English translations is that of H. H. Wilson, Select Specimens of the Hindi Dramas, xi. and viii. of Works of H. H. Wilson, London, 1871; the best Bibliography of the Sanskrit drama is that of Montgomery Schuyler, vol. iii. of the Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, New York, 1906.
dances, and eventually developed into the 'nō' excellence.

The word nō presents certain difficulties. Used as a verb it means 'to be able,' 'to have the power'; as a noun it signifies 'power,' 'ability,' 'talent.' It is much used in Buddhist philosophy, though this fact does not throw much light on its employment as a designation for lyrical dramas. Perhaps, therefore, the character nō in its literal sense suggests an act of decision, a choice, and the character is a contraction for wa, a term frequently used to denote 'actions,' 'activities,' 'dances.' The nō have kinn-ezutsu, liturgies; mitz-ezutsu, dances; also-ezutsu, minzō-ezutsu, and Fujikawa Akihara (1023-1065) even speaks of sarumizumō-nōzutsu. There is much to be said for this theory, but it still leaves untouched the problem as to how the pronunciation wa came to be changed to nō. Can it be that there lurks in nō some other word nō (nōnō)*? The nō came into vogue in Japan at a time when Japan had close intercourse with China, when Chinese theatrical literature was greatly influenced by India and China, and now there is much in the nō which reminds one of the nō. Motoori's theory, that nōzutsu is strengthened by the fact that there was a principal actor in a nō drama as called shite (lit. nōyari).

2. The 'nō.'—Apart from the philological difficulty involved in the name, the nō is a lyrical drama composed mainly of two factors—singing and posturing, with some instrumental music. We have seen that the Japanese assign the origin of the nō, as of the temple-dance itself, to that original kagura dance which was performed at the cave of the sun-goddess, and which is still performed in the present form of dances at the shrine and temples. The tutai, or mask, was also a main dance, probably not unlike the country dances which still survive in remote country districts, wherever the polity breaks into, in connexion with the Feast of Obon. These dances are almost invariably accompanied by some rude musical instruments, and it is almost inevitable that singing should ensue when the bodies of a company of men and women are stirred and made to move by the sound of some simple instrument. The country dances of all peoples are accompanied with song. The dialogues connecting the various songs and dances came later, but so subsidiary is the place assigned to what in Europe would be considered the most important portion of the drama, that they are frequently omitted altogether from the tutai, or printed copies of the nō dramas. The place where the dialogue should come is indicated by the simple addition at the end of the song of the words shita-jira, and so forth, or serifu ari, 'there are words spoken' (PERI, op. cit. 263).

When the nō appeared in its perfected condition during the Ashikaga and Muromachi periods (1392-1556), it had a libretto, or book of words, many of which have come down to us. Over a thousand nō dramas are known to have existed: they were divided into two classes—nōki, the inner circle, the plays most commonly represented; and nōta, the outer ring of less familiar, because less popular, plays. Common parable speaks of waiwai (=nōki soto) ni kyoku san, 'the 200 pieces inner and outer,' but the number extant is a little in excess of that. There are about 250 which are now actually current (for their names see PERI). A new nō play occasionally finds its way to the stage even now, but rarely with great success.

The nō classified according to its subjects, as follows: (1) Kanai nō, dramas which concern the gods or things divine, i.e. mythological pieces or pieces relating to the legends connected with some particular god or goddess. The word unō mono may suggest that the reason for this term is not quite clear. (2) Shūnen nō, or 'dramas of good wishes,' written for the purpose of celebrating heroes, famous men, emperors, etc. Some dramas evidently are capable of being treated as either kana nō or shūnen nō. This class includes nearly all the so-called okoto mono, or shūra mono—pieces relating to warriors, whom Buddhism relegated to the path of the

Shura (or Asuras) as a punishment for the bloodshed connected with their lives. (3) Yari nō and serifu nō, dramas connected with apparitions, ghosts, spirits—the former class referring to the spirits of warriors or women; the latter, to the manifestations of the spirits of animals, plants, flowers, etc. (4) Nōh or nōgen mono the principal actor, or shite, is always a woman, the name kutsura mono being also given to them from the kutsura head-dress worn by the female character. Many of the plays classified as koma nō or genza mono may be put down as okoto mono as well. (4) Genza nō. Whilst all the dramas hitherto considered have dealt with problems of the old world, the gods great and small, the spirits and souls of the righteous and unrighteous, the fourth class deals with what is not of the present time, but of the present world. It represents the human side of the lyrical drama, seems more or less historical, illustrations of manners and customs, etc.

A second classification, dating apparently from the Tokugawa period (1603-1868), gives a fixed division—jina, dan, jo, kyō, ki, and men, wan, yori, mono, drama—these being historically corresponding to the genza nō of the classification just given.

3. The 'kyōgen.'—The writers of the nō dramas were all either Buddhist monks or persons impressed with the principles of the Buddhist faith. The present world is to Buddhism nothing but 'folly,' and it is easy to see how the plays of the genza nō came to be classed as kyō, 'folly.' But the present world has a certain charm, and even in the most monastic of minds, and not only do we find the kyō, or genzai mono, occupying their own position among the legitimate dramas of the nō, but we find evolving out of them a new species of theatrical entertainment, the kyōgen, or satirical farce, which came to form a pendant to the lyrical drama, just as a satiric drama was appended to the conclusion of a Greek trilogy.

Nō and kyōgen are acted on the same stage, but never by the same actors. In the nō the actors wear masks, in the kyōgen they wear none; the dances are the same, but the manner of execution is different. In the nō everything is solemn, stately, impressive; in the kyōgen there is a sound of laughter, mixed with an undertone of sadness. In the nō we have the Buddhist clergy preaching their highest doctrines of life, and setting up an ideal which shall influence society; in the kyōgen there is the sense of the ridiculous and the sense of sadness which may be all alike due to the consciousness of failure to attain an ideal. If the nō gives us the high ideals of life as dreamt of by the recluse priesthood of the period, the kyōgen gives us a true picture of the degenerate national life of the Ashikaga (or Muromachi) age. It would be possible to re-construct a picture of the social conditions of the age from the texts of the kyōgen. Following the analysis given by Florence, we should see, in the sketches made by these anonymous satirists, a nobility and clergy exalted, a nation and worldly, and meriting the disdain of the fighting classes whose hand was uppermost in the affairs of the distracted empire, a low state of social morality, much poverty and distress, no efficient system of police, and, above all, a general callousness and indifferency to suffering which acquiesced in the ridiculing of the blind, the maimed, and the suffering. Read in connexion with works like the Tawara, the gusu and the voluminous correspondence of monks like Rennyo, Rennyo, and others, now being gradually made accessible to Western readers, the kyōgen texts are invaluable for all students of Japanese life and society during the Middle Ages.

4. The 'kabuki.'—The nō and kyōgen were never popular performances. They were composed for the amusement of certain privileged
classes in the capital and elsewhere; they were patronized by Shōguns and courtiers; and, when the kyōgen had lost their sting by reason of the popularity of the kabuki (Nembutsu-shibai) of the Aina, in 1605, it almost every daimyo of any importance or wealth kept his own troupe of actors at his little court. But for the common people, the merchant, the farmer, and the artisan, the lyrical dramas were never intended.

About the year 1560 there appeared in Kyoto a woman named Izumo no O Kuni, whose genius produced a remarkable revolution in the dramatic world of her country. O Kuni was the daughter of a reformed beggar, and, in her proposed appearance, was early engaged as a mikō, or kagari-dancer, at a temple in the village of Kitsuki. The temple was destroyed by fire, and O Kuni started on a quest for money to rebuild it. It is probable that she went first to Sado, where gold had recently been discovered, and where money was readily spent. Soon afterwards, in 1569, she made her appearance at Kyoto, where she set up a booth (or shibai) in the dry bed of the Kamogawa, and began giving performances which speedily became very popular. She was dressed in the black robe of a priest of the Shิน sect of Buddhists, and her dancing was of the style known as gyo-odori, or nembutsu-odori, and brought with it a mysticism which, as far as has been seen, Kuya Shōnin and others used in their itinerating preachings through the country. She accompanied her dancing by rude songs on the impermanency of this transient world. Her performances were sometimes addressed to a few companions, and her quest for the temple was soon accomplished. In the meantime she had discovered her vocation. To this she was helped by a certain Nagoya Sanzaburo, the son of a samurai in Owari, who had become a monk and was a devotee of the temple. He introduced her to theทาiko Hideyoshi. Nagoya was a handsome and brave man, with a reputation as a lady-killer. It was said that the fair Yelogini was one of his conquests, and that Hideyoshi's reputed son, Hideyorii, was in reality his. Gamo died in 1595, and Nagoya, now a rōnin, or masterless knight, came presently to Kyoto, where he became attached to O Kuni, who was, as then was the custom, under his influence. Under his influence, she changed her methods. She discarded her priest's robe for the dress of a two-sworded samurai, sang popular ditties instead of nembutsu hymns, and began to act on themes of a popular nature to the inanity increasing still more. Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Hideyasuy, her son, Hideyasuy, invited her to act in their presence, and there is an old print in the Museum at Uyeno, which represents her performing before a crowded house in which several Europeans are to be seen. This touch of the West in contact with the East is not without its significance. Every resident in Japan knows how marvelously quick the Japanese are to adopt the latest ideas from foreign countries, and it is quite possible that the modernized drama which was thus instituted by O Kuni and Nagoya contained elements derived from the European drama. Shakespeare was in the zenith of his power when O Kuni was acting, and there were but few Englishmen in Japan who could have told the Japanese of him. Corneille was not yet born; but the Spanish drama had been at its topmost point of fame for many years, and there were many Spaniards, clerical and other, in the Imperial City. It is possible that the Europeans represented in the old print in the Tokyo Museum are Spaniards.

The popular name for these representations was shibai, a name still in universal use to denote a theatre, the secular drama, or a secular play. The name chosen for it by its founders was kabuki, a word originally signifying comedy and licence, but in later times translated to denote 'the art of singing and dancing.' Tokyo still hosts of a kabuki-cho, or street devoted to this sort of drama, and of a kabuki-za, theatre, which has hitherto attracted to itself some of the greatest names of the Japanese theatrical world.

The year 1604 marks the height of O Kuni's personal popularity. About that year, Nagoya, who had returned to his samurai life, was killed in a brawl, and O Kuni, who was getting on in years, retired to a place of worship, where she died in obscurity, nine years later.

5. The 'onna-kabuki.'—Imitation is always one of the greatest tests of popularity. Before O Kuni retired from the histrionic life, her theatres had already found imitators in various cities, notably at Osaka and Yedo, and the movement showed signs of permanent vigour. But the onna-kabuki, as it was called, fell into disrepute with the Shogunate, and its prominent feature was prohibited by the police of Ieyasu in 1620. One of the chief novelties of O Kuni's representations had been her bold assumption of male attire. But when she fell in with Nagoya she was no longer a young woman, and it does not seem that there were other women actresses of the kabuki who, directly associated with the theatre, and probably harmless in her ease became a precedent of doubtful character in the hands of others. Women of uncertain reputation were brought on the stage in the rival kabuki theatres; with them were associated the same kind of low life, and the result seemed very dangerous to the public morals. The employment of women in kabuki plays was therefore prohibited by the Shōguns' police. No woman was employed as an actress in a theatre from the year 1620 till the year 1868, when, be it heard, the so-called shiki-shibai, of Sada Yakko, at the end of the 19th century.

6. The 'ningyō-shibai.'—The prohibition of women actors was, for the time being, an almost crashing blow to the kabuki. The place of the women, banished by the decree of 1629, was taken by young boys, who played the women's parts; but the moral consequences of the so-called wa-kabuki-shibai were worse than those of the onna-shibai. The mask, which had been taken off, was not yet trained, and some time had perforce to elapse before the kabuki could regain its former popularity. In the meantime a new species of dramatic performance got an innings, which its promoters used to great fortune to the injury of the theatre, which will still sometimes meet with a travelling mendicant, carrying on his back a portable shrine containing some religious image or symbol which is the pilgrim's object of devotion. It is probable that in these mendicant vagrants we have a relic of the ancient odori-nembutsu, and that the itinerant preachers with them are an idol, before which they performed their simple religious dances, and which they used as a visible emblem of the faith they preached. O Kuni had discarded the emblems, whilst retaining for a while the religious dance and song; but there were (and still are) travelling priests who retained them. The founders of the ningyō-shibai, or 'dolls' theatre,' made these dolls or images the central feature of their art. The itineration ceased, and the idol, settled in a permanent abode, developed into a marionette, or set of movable dolls. The marionettes of the ningyō-shibai were extremely popular during the whole period, but the performances of this sort are still to be met with, especially in Osaka. Strange to say, the marionettes had a considerable influence on the subsequent developments of the kabuki.
"Among the things," says Balet, in a lecture delivered before the Academy of Yedo (Tokyo), Feb. 4, 1868, "which strike and shock us most in the popular theatre must be placed the singular gesticulation of the actors. Still, and moving by bruised start, their gestures completely lack the ease and naturalness of real life; one would say they were marionettes, and not human beings; for the actors of the kabuki, the marionettes of the booths in the fairs as their models. By an incomprehensible alternation, the Japanese have imitated these gestures, have elaborated them, and have fixed them permanently in the drama—except in comedy,—thus keeping aloof from the truth of life, falsifying expression, even the simplest sentiments, to the point of making them a pure pantomime. From the theatre, these gestures passed insensibly into life. It is not difficult to find traces of them in the current expression of certain emotions: anger, scorn, especially defiance, are often expressed among the Japanese by gestures of the same kind as in the kabuki. Apart from this influence of gestures, the other—that of the manners and morals preached up ad nauseam in bloodthirsty tragedies—has not been the least effective in the formation of the Japanese mentality.† It is not necessary to follow Balet in all his judgements, but it is certain that these gestures, which flourished in the kabuki, were effect of the marionette theatres on the gestures of the kabuki actors.

7. The ‘joruri.’—Japan, like every Oriental country, has always had its story-tellers and was a country founded on oral tradition. Theatre included stories and legends of gods, heroes, and personages famous in national history, such as Benkei, the fighting monk. One of the most popular of these stories was the history of Joruri, the famous inn-keeper, who was a sort of composite figure from all the stories of the same cycle of episodes as Benkei (see Saitō Musashibo Benkei, by de Benneville, Yokohama, 1910). The story of the love of this celebrated woman was so popular that it overshadowed all the rest and gave rise to the whole class of narrative, of which the Joruri seemed to have been the first person to commit a joruri to writing. A few years later, about A.D. 1600, a Joruri singer, Memikoya Chichaburo, conceived the idea of a partnership with the master of a marionette show near Osaka, and the result was a form of Nō-joruri, which soon gained the popular favour. In 1653, a certain Takemoto Gidayū opened a marionette theatre, bearing his own name, in Osaka, and the Joruri came to be equally well known under the new name of gidayū.

8. The Genroku theatre.—The influence of the marionette show on the legitimate drama is seen in the fact that some of the greatest dramatists of Japan under the Tokugawas, notably Chikamatsu and Takoda (middle of 18th cent.), were also writers of gidayū. From the marionette theatre they had learned the value of the literary side of the drama. They appreciated the fact that it was something more than a mere collection of lyric songs, ballads and romances, that it comprised the division of the passing hour by realistic, but modified, imitations of scenes of real life. Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1724) stands a very long way behind Shakespeare, but he understood, as Shakespeare and all the greatest dramatists have done, the function of the dramatic poet. He aimed at, and to a certain extent succeeded in, putting the dramatic poet into his proper place as the creator of a drama with ideals, representing life, and forming manners. The medieval nō had been the sole property of the ruling military and cultured classes; O Kuni's work had been an appeal to the vulgar; Chikamatsu and his school, without excluding the educated or despising the ignorant classes, made their appeal to the general common people, which forms the majority of every nation. That their appeal was not made in vain, may be seen in the immense influence exercised by Takeda's Chashin-gata in keeping alive in the people's heart the spirit of loyalty to the rule and dominion of Japan.

9. Difficulties besetting the ‘kabuki.’—One of the great difficulties in the way of realizing the highest dramatic ideals lay, and still lies, in the despised position of the actors. The kabuki has never quite effaced the barishment of his status. Its founders, O Kuni and Nagaya, were deemed none too respectable; the onna-kabuki were performed mostly by prostitutes; the lads who acted in the sokusha-kabuki were connected with vices which flourished in the kabuki theatres. There was reason in abundance for the Tokugawa government to take alarm: there was not merely the love of pleasure and the increase of luxury among the people to be feared, but also the danger to the social order included. The history of the kabuki has been celebrated in anil stories, of which many were killed by the government. The Shogunal government did not weaken in the carrying out of what it conceived to be its duty. In 1609, Ieyasu prohibited all theatres in Shizuka, which was at that time his residence; in 1610 certain intrigues to the effect that the mountain, used for going to a theatre, the manager of the theatre being executed. In 1629 every performance in which women appeared was forbidden. In 1641 a manager who had allowed his young men to appear as women on the stage was severely punished. A few years later, under strict regulations, a few actors were allowed to appear in female characters, but they were forbidden to wear silk or brocades, and had to shave the front of their head. Theatres, like brothels, were relegated to certain quarters, samurai were forbidden to attend them, and the actors were not allowed to associate with the ordinary citizens. They were classed apart, like the KS, and the latter were used for them classed them with animals rather than with men, as though one should say, ‘so many head of cattle,’ ‘so many head of actors.’ The term kawara-mono refers to the origin of the kabuki, among the Tokugawa clan. It was in the dry river-beds of the Kamogawa. Under such circumstances it was extremely difficult for the kabuki drama to struggle into respectability.

10. Earliest written ‘kabuki.’—We have already seen that the writing of Joruri influenced the production of regular dramas. It is worthy of notice that, in 1653, a theatre in Yedo produced a scenic play of several acts, entitled Saga no Jōban Kuri, which required 15 actors. Another play, in 1666, also produced in Tokyo, was written by Kawara Jonouke and was entitled Saga no Kyogen. One may see from the titles of these plays how strong was the appeal made to the national imagination, on by the theatre of the Middle Ages, which have furnished Japan with a genuine, it informal, epic poem.

11. Actor families.—One of the results of the Tokugawa legislation, which compelled the actors to live by themselves, apart from their fellow-citizens, was the formation of an actor class. This was quite in accordance with ancient Japanese tradition. Japan. Japan has, from the earliest times, had castes of doctors, wrestlers, sword-makers, painters, etc., and the result of the system may be seen in the specialized skill of production combined with a marvellous lack of creative power, which marks almost all Japanese work, especially in the various departments of art. In the Japanese drama, we observe the rise of great actor families, e.g. that of Ichikawa Danjirō, which has, as it were, stereo-
typed the dramatic art along certain definite lines, and thereby produced an article perfect in its own way, but which has stiff originality and well-nigh lost sight of the play. Judged by its own standards, the Japanese kabuki, with all its posturings and intimations reminiscent of the recitative of the nō and the jōruri, its stilted language, and its simple dignity, is a thing as perfect as an art influenced by very imperfect ideals can make it. But what playwright could do his best, if he were 'bossed' from the beginning to the end of his composition by a clique of hereditary actors, who said that things had always been just so in their family?

12. The Meiji theatre.—Like everything else in Japan, the drama stagnated from about the end of the second decade of the 18th cent. to the end of the seventh decade of the 19th. The actors were a class of social outcasts, but they had the supreme sway in their own little kingdom, where things went leisurely along the old grooves. The Meiji Restoration swept away all class distinctions, and the actors emerged from their isolation. In 1876, at the opening of the Shintomiza theatre in Tokyo, the Foreign Ministers and members of the corps diplomatique accepted invitations to be present at the opening performance. It was a great shock to Japanese conservatism, but it proved to be a whole-some example. In 1877, one of them ventured to give a performance at his own residence, at which Ichikawa Danjūrō acted, in the presence of the Emperor himself. The visits of distinguished personages, e.g. Prince Arthur of Connaught, gave other opportunities, and the Kabuki, once despised as a profession, was recognized as a legitimate art. In 1903, Prince Itō delivered a funeral oration in honour of the popular Danjūrō. The old ostracism has not yet quite gone; a statue of Danjūrō, erected a few years ago in front of the Kabuki theatre, has not been removed; but it is abundantly evident that the actors are winning for themselves a recognized position in the Japanese world.

13. The 'sōshi-shibai.'—One of the most hopeful signs connected with the modern Japanese stage is that the monopoly of the great actor families has been broken. The sōshi-shibai, born some 25 years ago, presents many points of resemblance to the earlier enterprise of O Kuni and Nagoya, coming into the field when there was little demand, at a time when 'a fever of reform and innovation' was raging throughout Japan. Kawakami Otojirō, the flighty son of a toy-dealer, had an un distinguished course at school at Fukukoku, and then flung himself into practical life. But in the early days of Meiji, he had many fellow-travellers along the paths of stump-ornatory; the Japanese of the day invented a word to denote these political adventurers. They were known as sōshi; they were oftener than not impecunious. Kawakami and a few brother-sōshi formed themselves into a sort of amateur dramatic company, and their plays were called sōshi-shibai. They gave representations of actual life, and gained many hearers. Their first object was to make money, but success gave them higher ambitions. They dedicated war against the kabuki school, and announced a programme of theatrical reform. In this they have not succeeded. Kawakami has been ably seconded by his wife, Madame Sada Yako, and the Kawakami troupe has been well received in Europe and America. They draw their material from many quarters: from Dumas and Maeterlinck, from Shakespeare and Ibsen. But they have espoused an idea, and the plays are strongly impregnated with a Western flavour, to an audience that can only relish the sauces of Japan, and they have not yet succeeded in capturing the popular taste. The dramatist is lacking who can draw, as did Shakespeare, on all the wealth of accessible literature, and yet present it to his audience in a thoroughly native form. The lack of a dramatist has been acknowledged in many quarters. Writers like Fukuchi, Danbouchi, Iliara, and Masuda have tried to supply the vacuum. They are undoubtedly on the right track; but a Shakespeare is born, not made, and Japan may perhaps still be said to be waiting for the 'mother of Shakespeare.' Efforts have also recently been made to conform the architecture of Japanese theatres to European ideas and requirements. This is notably the case in Tokyo, where the Yurakuza (built 1909) and the Teikokukan (opened 27th Feb. 1911). It is impossible as yet to say what effect these buildings are likely to have on Japanese dramatic developments. A recently established training school for young actors and actresses will, if successful, be a step in the right direction, as eliminating the hereditary principle which has done so much in the way of fossilization. It also provides a way by which a young woman of respectable family can adopt the stage as a profession in an honourable manner without the loss of caste.

14. Actors in the 'nō.'—The nō is essentially a piece to be acted by two players, and this fundamental idea is maintained, however great may be the multiplicity of the number. It is ventured that the performance of any particular piece. The principal personage is the shi-te, the rōkyō, or actor. His duty is both to dance and to sing, and his rôle is the pivot on which the whole piece turns. We may call him by a term of the Kabuki, the waki ('side'), who may be compared with the duet-agonist of the Greek classical stage. As the name implies, his rôle is secondary to that of the shi-te; but he is nevertheless a necessary adjunct, because it is his presence that gives the requisite stimulus to the activities of the shi-te. Some plays require the presence of only two actors; and we may with justice consider them as types of the primitive dramas. When more actors are required, they are considered as assistants or companions to the shi-te or waki. They are designated as tsuyo, companions, but more frequently as tsure, and appear as shi-te-dzure or waki-dzure, according to the part they represent. But they may be divided into three classes: (1) those who represent the main characters; (2) those who repre sent an emperor or nobleman; and in a few places we find indefinitely designated personages, otoke and onna, 'man' and 'woman.' Again, in one or two plays we have companies of people representing, e.g., pleasure-seekers, or attendants. These are known as tachi-shi. The clown's part is assigned to a personage known as kyōgen or okashi. He is sometimes entrusted with comic parts during the play itself, but more frequently with the comic interlude, ni, which separates the first act of a nō drama from the second. This ni no kyōgen is not to be confounded with the independent kyōgen which comes between two distinct nō dramas. He had his part in these also.

15. The chorus.—The chorus, ji or ji-uta, consists of from 8 to 10 musicians, under the command of a ji-gashira. The musicians wear the ordinary clothes of the citizen, and have no functions beyond those of music and singing. The chorus sometimes takes part in the principal drama as an accessory to the shi-te in the rendering of some song, and sometimes it will take part, in a sort of impersonal way, in the dialogue. It has some of the functions of a Greek chorus, but it never represents
a definite group of persons, such as, e.g., the Phoenician women. In addition to the actors and chorus, there are two groups whose functions are of the greatest importance in the performance of the no—the kōgen, and it is from them, and from the clothes, in which they carry out the parts of their assistants: it is common in combination with the tenka of later Japanese literature. To take an example: in the no, the waki and his friends will describe their work and how they have taken in the kōgen, which at the same time reach the scene of action. The sushi and kuri are two minor forms: the former a simple recitative, which is not used by the kumi-yokari schools, the latter a lively song, serving as an introduction to the kusa. No is a small and independent form out of which the no has developed. It is accompanied by a dance, and is a remnant of the ancient kusa dances which have been so popular in Japan since the 16th century. It is the kase which brings us the appearance of a dancer per se, or the 'lion dance.' The general name for the musicians is hayashi-kata, each individual being designated by his instrument—fue-kata, tsuwa-kata, etc. It is extremely probable that a considerable number of instruments, and instruments in use in ancient China, India, etc., might throw much light on the origin of the no drama.

17. Schools of 'no' actors.—We have seen that the no actors are divided into three classes—shite, waki, and kōgen. These are further subdivided into various schools, or ryō. The most important are the schools of the shite—kawazume, hōshō, kōparu, kōparu, and kōte—which between them furnish most of the shite and shite-dzure, also the fomo, kōnuta, ji, kōken, and mono-kise. These five 'schools' are by far the most important. The waki are also subdivided into five schools—kawarai, hayashi, and kōte—which between them furnish a majority of the no drama, and kōkai, and kawarai. There is a further distinction made in these two classes, which is of some importance. They are divided into kumi-yokari and shino-yokari, according as they base their acting on traditions derived from Kyoto (kawara) or Nara (shinoa). We shall see the importance of this distinction if we remember that the Kyoto Buddhism, namely that of the Tendai sect, with its offshoots, is of Chinese origin, whilst the Nara Buddhism was of Sino-Japanese origin. The kumi-yokari are subdivided into three classes, each named after its founder—Sagi, Izumi, Okura—as indeed are also the various classes of the shite and waki. All these families of no actors were originally connected with the kagura dances of the Shinto and Ryūban-Shinto rites, and it is in the kagura that the origin of the no drama as found in Japan must be sought.

18. The 'no-kōyen' stage. The no was originally intended, like the kagura, for outdoor performance, and this fundamental theory is still preserved in the arrangement of the stage. It is a perfectly simple platform about six yards square, with three of its sides open. The fourth side is a wall of plain wood panel, with a painting of an old pine-tree to suggest an open-air performance. The actors have their exits and entrances on the right hand of the stage, the chorus on the left. One of the pillars supporting the roof is called the kōken banbara, and it is from behind this pillar that the kōken keeps a watchful eye on the performance. The green room or vestry is behind the wood-panelled wall.

No forms.—The no drama is a metrical composition, the measure adopted being known as a kusha, or 'chain,' for the structure of which the reader is referred to Pérí's solid treatise already quoted. Terms especially noticeable are, e.g., the shidai, very often used as an introduction, and containing a statement of the general purpose and 'circumstances' (shidai) of the piece. The kasa is very similar to it, only more definite, the shidai giving: as it were, only a general statement, while the kasa gives the complete particular point. The nta, or 'song,' is the prerogative of the principal assistant. It has nothing in common with the tenka of later Japanese literature. To take an example: in the nta, the waki and his friends will describe the work and how they have taken in the kōgen, which at the same time reach the scene of action. The sushi and kuri are two minor forms: the former a simple recitative, which is not used by the kumi-yokari schools, the latter a lively song, serving as an introduction to the kusa. No is a small and independent form out of which the no has developed. It is accompanied by a dance, and is a remnant of the ancient kusa dances which have been so popular in Japan since the 16th century. It is the kase which brings us the appearance of a dancer per se, or the 'lion dance.' The general name for the musicians is hayashi-kata, each individual being designated by his instrument—fue-kata, tsuwa-kata, etc. It is extremely probable that a considerable number of instruments, and instruments in use in ancient China, India, etc., might throw much light on the origin of the no drama.

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**DRAMA (Japanese)**

*ōgi*, represents the world of the Asuras, the Buddhist world of bloodshed and slaughter. Significantly enough, there are two forms of *shūrā-ōgi*, the *gensi-šūrā* and the *hōke-šūrā*, which thus perpetuate the memory of Japan's most famous battle, the maternal side of that sad time may be found in the *kyō-ōgi* and *kyō-ironashi-ōgi* (respectively, the 'insane woman's fan,' and the 'insane woman's colourless fan'), the latter with its sad pictures of the hero and his wife, and its last leisurely crane sitting on a withered tree. It would be beyond our scope to describe all these varieties. The *shimai-ōgi* does not present so many varieties. The simplest form, the *matsuko-no-ōgi*, 'water-sprinkler's fan,' is used by the lowest-grade of actors, whose humble performances are fitly symbolized by the unobtrusive but necessary work of the 'water-sprinkler' — an important functionary in hot dusty countries. When the actor-student has been promoted to a higher grade, and is allowed to dance for the first time, he uses a *nitateki* fan, *i.e.* the fan of the 'water-drawer'; while the next promotion, to the rank which permits him to perform the *mochiteki* dance, is marked by the use of a fan, known as *chidori*. Buddhist influence, chiefly of the Hosso and Kegon schools, may be seen in the clouds — five, seven, or nine, according to circumstances — which distinguish other fans of a higher or lower grade. These words, dramas, and dances is very clearly due to Chinese thought.

It would take us too long, for the purposes of this article, to trace the connecting points between the Japanese lyric drama and the drama of the Hindus. But there certainly are such points of connection, traceable through fans, masks, musical instruments, dresses, and dress-materials, not only with India, but with China, also. Thus, for instance, there are two names for dress-materials much used in the *nō*—*donen* and *shusu*, translated by Brinkerly as 'damask' and 'satin' — which are also used in Japan, though, perhaps not with much probability, to point to a Persian and Syrian origin for these materials. But these are as yet the only points on which the writer is disposed to dwell.

### 23. Peculiarities of construction of the 'kabuki' theatre.

The word *shibai* means 'a lawn,' or 'on the lawn.' There is an old tradition, connected with the Nan-yen-dō temple at Nar, which says that, at a very great period, the earth opened, with a yawning cavity right in front of the temple, with much exhalation of poisonous gases and smoke. It being evidently advisable to propitiate the incensed deities who had brought about this case, the Emperor ordered that the *okina* and *sanbasa* dances should be performed in front of the chasm. This was done on the smooth grass before the temple, and with the desired effect. This incident is still commemorated by the *Shō* or *Nō* at Nar, performed 'on the lawn.' It is possible, therefore, that O Kuni, in inaugurating the *shibai* or *kabuki* drama, meant it to be a resurrection, as far as possible under altered circumstances, of the primitive dances of prehistoric times.

The first theatre in Kyoto was erected in 1632; in Osaka, in 1633; in Yedo, in 1624; and the construction of these places of amusement was speedily followed by others. The first theatrical building in Yedo was the Saruwakaza, which was the outcome of the philanthropic efforts of a certain Saruwaka Kanzaburo. The Genna period (A.D. 1615-1643), whilst enjoying the firm hand of the Tokugawa Shogunate, was still one of considerable confusion and unrest. The cessation of the long-continued civil wars and the subsequent dissolution of many of the opposition clans had filled the country with unemployed men-at-arms (*ronin*), who flocked to the larger cities in search of employment. Of these, many were called *sōri*, or 'sentinels,' the chief function of which was to maintain order and keep the peace. As such, they might be seen in their hundreds, concealing their faces beneath large straw hats, and waiting for any chance opportunity of congenial occupation. When they could do nothing else, they best drums and sang ballads, and thus gained a few *rin* from the good-natured citizens. Saruwaka saw that these unemployed men would be a good class of workmen for the theatre, and set to work to find safe outlets for their superfluous energies. He built himself a large villa, the construction of which gave employment to many hands; he lived luxuriously and ostentatiously, and kept large retinues of servants; at last, the idea occurred to him of founding a theatre as an institution by which many of these unemployed warriors might gain a living, and all might find recreation and amusement. The idea was very well received, the *ronin* organized themselves *con amore*; the Government gave its consent to the undertaking, and a dream in which Saruwaka saw a crane flying towards him, with the leaf of an *ichō* (*Ficus religiosa*) on a plate in its bill, was interpreted as a sign of the best sort of appearance of the theatre. The first permanent *kabuki* building in Japan, and gave a model which all subsequent *kabuki* theatres have followed. The *nō* dramas in the Middle Ages were performed in the most illusory of temporary theatres.

The construction of the old *kabuki* theatres may be understood by the consideration of certain theatrical words which are still in use, but which cannot be translated by the ordinary words, dramas, and dances is very clearly due to Chinese thought.

While certain of the minor structural features of the early *kabuki* have disappeared, certain others remain. Thus the modern Japanese stage is distinguished by: (a) the *hanamiichi*, or 'flower-way' — a raised platform or corridor by which the actors have access to the stage from the other end of the theatre, passing right through the spectators in the pit. The *hanamiichi* was at one time bordered with flowers, hence its name. It is always on the left hand of the spectators; on their right there is sometimes another passage of the same sort, called the *karibonamiichi*, or 'temporary flower-bridge.'

(b) Between the *hanamiichi* and the stage is a space called *hashi-gakori*, 'bridge-space,' sometimes also known by a term derived from the usages of the camp — *musha boshihri*, 'warriors running.' It is through this space that the warriors reach the stage. Near it is the *akoyō-yuguchi*, 'coward's hole,' the significance of which is obvious. (c) The *butai-bon*, or 'doorway sentinels,' are the chief playmates of the *ronin*, as they played the parts of *sōri*, and an event, again betraying a quasi-military origin.

(d) The central part of the stage is made to revolve (nawari-butai) — an arrangement which calls to
mind the ἐκστάσεις of the Greek stage; the machine which works this is situated in the naraku, 'hell,' below the stage, where is also to be found the σκηνή, or scenery, by which actors are 'pushed up' through the flooring of the stage. There are two or three trap-doors (hirai-do, 'sky-door'), on the stage itself, and a similar one (sugiyon) on the honamichi. Only the larger theatres were allowed to have mawari-banai—possibly only they could afford the luxury. (c) The kōken calls to mind primitive conditions that the theatre story of the European drama. He is the attendant (supposed to be invisible) of the principal actors, wears black clothes, removes articles that are not required, adjusts the actors' robes, and holds a candle for them. (f) The ōtōcki, who represents the proprietor and is charged with the business of the theatre, sits, during the performance, near the main entrance of the house. When there is nothing on, his office is in the shiki-ya, or accountant's room. The tōdori-ya is in the back part of the building, as are also the hayashi-ya, or room for the musicians, the gētsūya, or 'green room,' for the actors, and the sōgō-ya, or 'actors' room.' It is last entered for a few words. The Japanese have scarcely any dramatic writers, and none of great note. Very few of the nō dramas can be assigned to any particular writer, and the same remark holds good of the kabuki drama. The actors themselves, sitting in committee, compose the play as a joint-effort, and it is this, perhaps, more than anything else that has helped to keep the Japanese stage so stagnant and unprogressive. Recent efforts at reform, such as Kawakami's shiki-shibori and the construction of the new Imperial Theatre, must be looked upon as so many efforts to overthrow the tyranny of the player-actors. The student of the stage will see here the point of analogy with the pre-Shakespearean dramatists of the Elizabethan age.

24. Influence of the drama on the development of 'Bushiō.'—The nō drama had its first glory in the Middle Ages, when the military and chivalrous spirit of Japanese knighthood was at its prime. We may seek for its origin in the oldest religious sentiment of the people, in the Buddhism of the Nara age, in Chinese and Indian influences. But the Japanese dramatists that the drama never took its root until the spirit of the nation was moved by the incidents of that great national epic (for it was nothing less) which gathers round Yoshitsune, Benkei, Yoritomo, and the great warriors of the Genji and Heike. Then it was that the heart of Japan went forth in sympathetic response to the great ideals set before it during that period of national distress. It was then that the imagination was quickened, and the image formed of the ideal hero, braving, loyal, patient, quick in honour's quarrel—and yet a religious mystic, whose poetic insight enabled him to see, dimly perhaps, but with faith, the underlying verities of existence. This is the ideal set before us in the nō, and the idealization was much assisted by the quietistic teachings of the Zen school of Buddhism.

The ideals were, however, indirect, and the principles underlying Bushiō, or the 'Way of the Leaf' of three trees, were not understood. It was reserved for a later age to elaborate the philosophy of life with which Bushiō presents us, and Yamaga Sokō (born 1622), the disciple of Hayashi Razan, and the instructor of Oishi Kuranosuke, who headed the nō movement, has been often singled out as the first formal exponent of Bushiō. According to Yamaga (the present writer is here following the Rev. J. T. Imai, who in his turn follows Prof.

Inouye Tetsujiro), Bushiō may be summarized somewhat as follows:

To know one's proper work or duty, to have the will to do it, and to carry out one's good intentions with diligence and zeal. True manliness is shown by not being deterred by a lack of wealth, or power. In order to reach that ideal, there should be acquired large strength (kiri-ana) in courage, and to the end of the world to be respectful, with courtesy, and filial piety, and, as a man of the world, to perform one's office, duty, and life. These are the virtues and the way in which they are to be practiced.

It has been said that the old-fashioned Bushiō of the medieval knights gave its last expiring flicker in the deaths of Oishi Kuranosuke and his band of rōnin in 1703. Certainly the play Takumainawa which lay on Japan from the middle of the 17th to the middle of the 19th century was not of the most suitable form for the production of so delicate a flower. But Yamaga Sokō and his Confucianist successors in the 18th century were less prostrate, and the foundation of a new Bushiō, and in this they were ably aided and abetted by the dramatists, both of the kabuki and of the minyō-šibai (marionettes).

It was at this period they say Inouye Tetsujiro's dramatists began to be produced by Chikamatsu, Takeda, Inouye, and later writers. They were exponents of Bushiō to the mind of the people. The women and women's stories such as Sokō and others were to the learned. It was through these historical plays... that Bushiō influences acted and re-acted on the Japanese people.

We can scarcely over-estimate the influence that the stage has had and still has in forming popular ideals of religion and morality in Japan. We must remember that the words 'honor,' 'loyalty,' 'duty,' 'honesty,' and 'truth,' which these plays directly and indirectly illustrate, are not quite the equivalents of the same words when found in the Christian writings. They must be interpreted according to the standards of morality which were generally accepted in 18th cent. Japan.

LITERATURE.—Students desiring to pursue their studies beyond the limits traced by this article are recommended to consult, for European and American authorities, the very complete bibliographies published by von Wockern, in 1884 and 1904; and, for Japanese writers, the list given by Péri in Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, vol. iv. pp. 251-272. The writers own obligations are to the works of W. G. Aston, esp. History of Japanese Literature, London, 1898; K. Ploetz, Geschichte der japanischen Literatur, Leipzig, 1904; M. Revon, Manuel de la litterature japonaise, Paris, 1910; Péri, articles in Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, 1904-5; B. H. Chamberlain, articles in Japanese Studies, Yokohama, Nov.-Dec. 1919; and B. H. Chamberlain, Japanese", London, 1908; also to various articles which have appeared from time to time in the TAJ.

A. LLOYD.

DRAMA (Javanese and Further Indian).—The Javanese drama is one of the most interesting of the entire Oriental drama; for it is the development of the 'shadow-play.' Seven distinct forms of drama in Java are enumerated by Juyonbō (AE xiii. 4-5): (1) wayang purwa, which are played with puppets of buffalo leather, which cast their shadows on a curtain, and draw their themes from the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyun, or the Javanese Manik Mayu; (2) wayang gong, the same as the preceding, except that the subjects are drawn from the native Javanese Panji-cycle; (3) wayang kulit, or krinyut, that are played with flat uncolored wooden puppets, and draw their themes from the cycle of Damar Wulan: (4) wayang golo, which are played with round clothed puppets, and draw their themes from the Damar Wulan and the Muhammadan Amir Amsyah cycles; (5) wayang topeng, with a répertoire identical with that of the first three classes, but played with masked actors; (6) wayang wong, the same as the second, but the actors are unmasked; and (7) wayang lebar, with the same répertoire as the preceding, but represented by a pictured scroll which is unrolled and explained by the dalang. The usual mode of presentation of a
**wayang** is as follows:—A white sheet (kéler) is stretched on a wooden frame (penggung). At the top of this frame a lamp (blicaan) is placed so as to cast its light upon the screen, and on the same side of the lamp the ‘director’ (dalang) squatting, has, as it were, a choir of tiny puppets (wayang or ringgit). On the side of this chest are a few small plates of metal, which are struck by the dalang to imitate warlike sounds. Near him, moreover, is a bowl of incense, and also a bowl containing the other ingredients (wayang or ringgit) for the spirits. The men in the audience are seated on the same side of the curtain as the dalang, while the women are placed on the opposite side, so that they do not see the puppets, but only their shadows. All the lines are recited by the dalang, who varies his voice or gives other indications of the change of character. This holds good, at least in some cases, even in the **wayang wong**, or plays with unmasked human actors. In the **wayang topeng**, played with masked actors, on the other hand, the players themselves speak the lines. Both women and men may act, as in the ancient Sanskrit drama.

The **dalang** of the Javanese drama corresponds closely to theWayangweta of India (cf. Pischel, *Heimat des Puppenspiels*, Halle, 1900, pp. 8-10), both being primarily ‘thread-pullers’ (of the puppets), although the word **dalang** itself seems to connote originally much the same as the English ‘sensation’.

The Javanese **wayang** was undoubtedly religious in origin, as has been elaborately shown by Hazen (op. cit. pp. 39-59), who calls attention to the offerings (agen) to the spirits, to the incense offered before the performance, to the fact that the plays are given at night, when the spirits are abroad, and to the circumstance that the presentation is a meritorious act on the part of the patron who hires the troupe, and that a **wayang** should be given by all means at certain important periods in the life of the individual, such as the festivals at the seventh month of pregnancy and the cutting of the nail-string. According to him, moreover, the entire shadow-play sprang from a desire to represent the ghosts of departed ancestors by what resembled them most closely, that is, by shadows, while the **dalang**, who causes the puppets to cast their shadows on the screen and recites lines for them, is primarily a priest performing a sort of dramatic exorcism. The religious character of the Javanese **wayang** is also confirmed, perhaps, by the phallic character of many of the puppets, since nudity is not only a well-known fertility-charm (cf. Serrurier, *De Wijs van het Puppenspel*), and is possibly also a potent means of frightening away demons (Hazen, op. cit. p. 43; cf. Crooke, *PF*, 1896, i. 68-72). At a later period this phallicism may, of course, degenerate into mere obscenity, as in the **Wayang Barong**.

The age of the drama in Java is uncertain, but it is at least clear from allusions to it in the literature that it was popular by the beginning of the 11th cent. A.D. Its origin is still more problematical, the leading authorities holding views diametrically opposed. Serrurier, Hageman, Poensgen, and others believe that the Javanese drama was profoundly influenced by the Hindu; while Crawford, Niemann, Brandes, and especially Hazen, deny that Hindu ideas form an essential model of the **wayang**. An absolute decision of the matter is not easy, but in the present state of knowledge it would seem that the Javanese drama is indeed an original product, India, it is true, numbers among its dramatic categories the subject of the subject matter, but the form of the model of the **wayang**. A complete and elaborately discussed by Pischel in his *Das altindische Schattenspiel* (SBAW, 1906, pp. 482-502; cf. his *Heimat des Puppenspiels*), with the conclusion that the shadow-play in the technical sense of the term was known in India. Nor is there any inherent impossibility that the **Dalangdasa** of Subhata (produced in Feb.-Mar. 1243; tr. Gray, *Mitt. d. Gesellsch. f. Erforschung in A.E. xi., 4-17, 97-119, also *Das javanische Maskenspiel*, ib. xiv. 41-79, 81-112); *Das Indische**; *Die Kunst der **dalang** is not so far edited—was produced somewhat like the Javanese **wayang**; nevertheless, the difference in spirit between this and other plays of the Rama cycle in India (cf. Lesti, *Theatre indien*, Paris, 1894, pp. 287-292), as compared with the Rama-plays of Java (Juyunboll, ‘Indonesische en achter-Indische tooneelvoorstellingen uit het Ramâyana,’ in Blijvertogen tot de Toa, Leiden, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandse Indië, 6th series, vol. x. pp. 501-565), must be taken into serious consideration.

The profound influence of the literature of India upon Java is too well known to require emphasis (cf. Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, Leipzig, 1861, iv. 504-531), and it is obvious, moreover, that both Hinduism and Mahamadhanism have given themes to the Javanese drama. If a conclusion may be hazarded, one may say that the Javanese **wayang** is indigenous, and that foreign influence is manifested only, or at least chiefly, in the subjects of many of the Indian and Cambodian). From Java the drama seems to have spread to Burma, Siam, and Cambodia (cf. Serrurier, op. cit. pp. 170-186; Hazen, op. cit. pp. 25-37). In all these countries the Rama cycle forms the favourite theme, although Buddhist plays and religious dramas in Sanskrit are not unknown in Burma. The Burmese drama is divided into zeit-pits, in which men and boys (but never women) act, and yok-thays, or puppet-plays. Here again the drama is partly religious, not only in subject, but also to the fact that the plays are given at night, when the spirits are abroad, and the dramatis personae are usually said to be in the possession of certain spirits. The Burmese plays also contain a large number of spiritual beings, who, in the classification of those in Java, are known as *len kon* (plays by masked actors), *len kun* (puppet-plays), and *len mong* (rolls of oak). The burmese drama is merely a combination of the Rama cycle with the religious drama, and is in a sense a religious play. Among the moderns, the **Ranüka** is likewise an important theme, and the drama shows the influence not only of Siam and India, but also of China. Here the religious elements in the invocation (lory pënyaëggit), which is performed by a *pawang* (‘magician’) to the accompaniment of various musical instruments, and in the propitiation of spirits (bisang keangkaun). The **Ranüka** is to the Javanese what the **Shiva** is to the Indian; the stage is purely partial, moreover, to shadow-plays, where, as in Java, the showman repeats all the lines, while in Siam this monologue becomes a real dialogue between two persons. Throughout Java and Further India, then, the drama is characteristically either a shadow-play or a mask. There seems, therefore, to be little association with the mimetic dance-drama of the Polynesians; while, on the other hand, masks are undoubtedly one of the most primitive forms of all dramas, as is clear from the analogies of the American Indian and of Greek tragedy, to say nothing of the early Roman *fabula Atellana*. So far as evidence now accessible goes, it would seem that the dramatic art of Java and Further India is an indigenous product, despite later undoubted influence from India.

Drama (Jewish).—Dramatic literature among the Hebrews, as among all Semitic peoples, was scanty. Attempts have indeed been made to interpret the little known songs of Moses (De 32:22-41) and the song of Miriam (Ex 15:20-21), and, above all, the Song of Songs (cf. HDB, s.v.), as dramatic; but these endeavours have been unsuccessful. Nor is the Book of Job a drama in any true sense of the term. Whatever the Jewish drama was, and is, due to imitations from the Indo-Germanic races with whom they have come in contact. The earliest Jewish play dates from the 2nd cent. B.C., when Ezekiel of Alexandria attempted to dramatize the events of the Neo-Hebrew Theatres. Fragments of his play have been preserved by Clem. Alex. (Strom. i. 23, 155) and Ensebulis (Proop. Evangel. i. 29); and Schürer (GJV* iii. 373) states that it was performed in the theatre of Alexandria, in the stage, although it is difficult to imagine its production. In Ezekiel’s work the influence of the spirit of Euripides is evident, and his object seems to have been not only to instruct the Alexandrian audience but, also to wean them away from Gentile plays.

The general attitude of the Jews, however, towards the drama was extremely hostile, in conformity with their policy of self-imposed isolation, and partly, no doubt, by their hatred of the Romans and their suspicion of the Greeks. It was not until the middle of the 17th cent. that the increased scope allowed to Jews gave rise to a Neo-Hebrew drama, modelled, of course, upon the theatre of the Christians by whom the drama was surrounded. The first of these plays was the Yezdith ‘Olam, by Moses Zacuto, a Marano, or renegade crypto-Jew, of Amsterdam, and its theme is the Talmudic legend of Abraham’s destruction of his father’s idol. The plots of the Neo-Hebrew drama are either religious or ethical, as in the Aser ha-Tichod of Joseph ben Isaac Penzo (Amsterdam, 1673) and the La-Veysharim Tchiloth of Moses Heyyim Luzzato (Amsterdam, 1743), the former being the very first play in the field of modern Jewish Understanding, Providence, and an angel to lead back to the path of rectitude a king distracted, against his will, by his impulsive wife, and Satan; while the latter drama is an allegory designed to show the victory of truth over falsehood. No fewer than forty-six Neo-Hebrew plays are enumerated by Seligsohn, the majority of them based on Biblical or ethical themes.

Many foreign plays have also been translated into Hebrew, including, for instance, the General ‘Atkaloth of David Franco-Mendes—an adaptation from Racine and Metastasio (Amsterdam, 1779)—and versions of Racine’s Esther, Schiller’s Bride of Aves, Voltaire’s Nitiara, and Dryden’s Judin, and Shakespeare’s Othello, Romeo and Juliet, and Macbeth. The Yiddish dramatists are active, and many great cities support one or more Yiddish theatres which cater to the Jewish populations. These are, however, for the most part translations or adaptations of dramas by non-Jewish authors. The Jewish drama must, therefore, be regarded merely as a literary parasite; even its apparently original productions are really copied from Indo-Germanic sources.


LOUIS II. GRAY.

Drama (Persian).—The drama of Persia is both scanty and late, due in part, at least, to Muhammadan rule, which has never been favourable to the development of this art, reflecting therein the dramatic poverty of the entire Semitic race. There are, however, two coruscating Persian plays, exclusive of the marionettes or shadow-plays (karragoz), which are of Turkish origin. The native Persian drama, then, may be divided into comedies (tashbizi) and mysteries (tez’izi, lit. ‘consultation, condensation’). The comedies are, for the most part, improvised by lotus, or itinerant buffoons, and offer little of interest. It is very different, however, with the tez’izi, which is the most striking mystery-play of the entire Orient, and possesses a sway over the Shi’ite Persians comparable with that of the Passion-Play of Oberammergau over Christians. The individual tez’izi are comparatively short, and are concerned entirely with mortal subjects, and mainly involved in the martyrdom of Hasan and Husain, the sons of ‘Ali, who was the first cousin of Muhammad and the husband of the Prophet’s youngest daughter Fatima. ‘Ali, the rightful successor of Muhammad, was rejected by his favour of the sect. The Persians, however, have very wisely adopted Hasan and Husain as martyrs of the faith, and commemorate their death annually during the first ten days of the month of al-Muharram. In each house that can afford it a place is constructed for the representation of the mystery, and on the side towards Mecca is set the model of the tombs of the martyred Hasan and Husain. The actors of the drama are not specially trained for the purpose, but their deep religious feeling, and their regard for their performance as for a sacred duty, lend a power to the presentation which works the audience into a frenzy and renders it necessary to provide for the safety of the hated Sunnis whom they may meet as they go in procession through the streets. The play occupies the fifth, seventh, and tenth days of al-Muharram, the most important being the two last, symbolizing respectively the marriage of Kasim with Fatima and the death of Husain. The concluding day is often marked by bloody conflicts between the Shi’ites and Sunnites.

Dramatically the mystery-play of Hasan and Husain, which is essentially a series of tez’izi, is rude but effective, gaining strength from its very popularity and vulgarism of its style. Its length is prodigious, and the unities of time, place, and event action are set at defiance. The author of the play as a whole or of its parts is unknown, and it is double, triple, and at the end altered and according to need by those who act it, rather than a definite dramatic work. The number of tez’izi composing it varies, but it would seem that the play is of comparatively recent development, possibly not more than the second half of the 19th century. As an independently developed Passion-Play, untouched, apparently, by non-Persian influence, the drama of Hasan and Husain is one of the most remarkable dramaturgic creations in the history of the religious stage. 110.

LITERATURE.—Ehms, Margins violently. Studien (Leipzig, 1870), pp. 374-194, also in G.J. ii. (1900) 35-161; Chodzko, Theatre person (Paris, 1878); Pelly, The Miracle Play of Hasan and
the dra- they, that the Romans were often eccentric in character and analogous to the early Roman fabulae Atticae, particularly in Kallatea (Cook, Voyage towards the South Pole and round the World, London, 1777, 1. 173-176), they were evidently derived ultimately from religious sources. This is distinctly affirmed by Mooren an (Voyages aux iles du Grand Océan, Paris, 1837, 1. 133-134), who states that the dramas were presented under the auspices of the Aretis, while the plays themselves were devoted to the description of the two principles, Taara and the matter with which he unites, the creation of the universe, the gods, elements, spirits, plait, and other productions of the earth; then the life of the demi-gods or heroes, their journeys, combats, and the like; then love-themes, dialogues between lovers (lamentations, quarrels, true comedy-scenes); and the presentations invariably ended in dances. It is also noteworthy that, according to the same traveller, the "musicians," singers, and declaimers at the plays had the orchestra slightly elevated above the rest, while the "actors or dancers" occupied a special place before or in a house. It would therefore seem that the function of the Polynesian actor was primarily that of the dramatic dancer, the words being supplied by separate reciters, a proceeding for which parallels may be found elsewhere, as among the Javanese. The religious basis of the Polynesian drama receives an additional confirmation in the fact that all plays were also presented in connexion with funerals.


LOUIS H. GRAY.

DRAMA (Roman).—1. Native Italic drama.—The Roman critics were deeply interested in the Italic beginnings of their drama, and investigations of the subject seem to have begun as early as the time of Accius (c. 100 B.C.). Two generations later the subject was taken up and examined anew by Varro, notably in his lost Origines Scenae. His views, so far as they survive, are found in the treatises of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Dionysius of Comedies. The intermediary was probably Suetonius. Apart from scattered references in various authors, we also have Horace (Epist. ii. 1. 181), and Livy (vii. 2). It is quite clear, however, that the Roman critics had discovered nothing very definite. 1 This is shown by their lack of agreement on any given point, by their inconsistencies and inordinate combinations; above all, by their frequent appeals to etymology, that last resort of the desperate investigator. It is impossible, for example, to reconcile Livy's famous account with facts, probabilities, or even possibilities. Jahn saw that it was the result of etymology and of mere philological "combinations; 2 Leo pointed out that there was a much more suspicious parallelism with Aristotle's peri wapóx

1 The De Dramatis Satyrarum et Curtiss, s Cr. ex. 1. 181, par. 9.
2 The Drama of Dionysus and the Old Comedy at Rome,"AJPh xv. (1894) 1-30. For Jahn, see Herm. ii. (1867) 286; and for Leo, ib. xxxi. (1868) 67.

shows, was inclined to distrust the earlier (Aecian) account, and appears to have concluded that the Italic origins were a terra incognita.

Such were the views of the greatest Roman scholar; and yet, while we must agree, we are inclined to agree with them. Neither for him, however, nor for us do they preclude the existence of a native Italic drama in the wider sense. The Romans, like the Greeks, were gifted with a keen dramatic instinct and a large medium of the mimetic faculty.

The liturgies of the Sali and of the Arval Brothers, the carmina triunphalia, the versus Fescennini, the songs of beggars and of shepherds, all indicate that there was enough life in the drama which is responsible for the modern Commedia dell' Arte is the same as that which greets us at the very dawn of history on the Italian Peninsula. Irrespective of the character and credibility of the testimony afforded by the Roman critics, we may safely agree with Mommesen—and so far as the present discussion is concerned this is quite sufficient—that the simplest elements of the mimetic art were in Latium and Hellas altogether the same. The dance (tamburo, pipe, dithyramb), the use of masks or their equivalent, the accompaniment of the pipe, the rude songs ceremonially abusive and obscene (to avert the evil eye, as the carmina triumphant, and the versus Fescennini of the weddings), the way in which the drama was for the same purpose—all in honour of the gods and associated from the first with rustic festivals—this protoplasm of the drama, to which Horace gives the indefinite name of Fescennina locuta, may be assumed for Italy no less than as much as for Greece. In fact, if Fescennium in this connexion (fescennium versus) is to be derived from fescinum, Fescennium literally is φαλλός, and the parallelism is complete between Fescennia locuta and ἡ φαλλοθρία, the phallic verses characterizing Aristotle's first division of the Comedy. The derivation from Fescennium (another antique theory) might have been suggested, though this is more than doubtful, by a trustworthy tradition that this old Latin town, so long under the influence of Etruria, was a centre of the worship referred to.

It is neither possible here nor necessary to discuss the vexed and vexing question of the dramatic satura, the name given by Livy to a play with a more or less horrid plot, a dialogue assumed by his authority as the second stage in the development of dramatic art on Latin soil. It is not unlikely per se that a play of the type described did develop in Latium as it did in Greece, but, if satura is the traditional name of such a play instead of being (as Hendrickson suggests) merely a later invention, we should agree that the word was a corrupted form of ἄραφος, and look to Southern Italy for its ultimate origin.

However that may be, it is fairly certain that the Romans were affected at an early period by the Dorian comedy of their neighbours to the South. This is shown by Bethe's investigations, 3 and is in harmony with Livy's statement (vii. 2), under the year 677 B.C., that histrion is an Etruscan word, and that the artistic beginning of the drama came from Etruria. This means ultimately Mamma Grecia, for in such matters Etruscan influence was Greek influence at second hand. Etruria was not creative in the sphere of art, it was not even a first class imitator; but it was a good purveyor.

2 The 'Palliate.'—Let us turn, however, from the crude beginnings of mimetic art, Italic or otherwise, to a brief consideration of the Roman drama, as it is in the light of the modern view of the Roman critics, especially after Varro, agreed that the first definite event in the history

3 Proleg. zur Gesch. des Theaters im Alterthum, Leipzig, 1856.
of the department was associated with the year 240 B.C. The long war with Carthage had just been brought to a successful termination, and it is a matter of record that, in order to indicate its especial gratitude for Divine protection, the Government, among other things, commissioned the Greek freedman Livius Andronicus to enlarge the usual scope of the Ludi Romani by the presentation of two plays, a comedy and a tragedy, translated, or, more properly speaking, adapted from the Greek, for a Roman audience. For the one he resorted to the New Comedy, which, being both contemporary and cosmopolitan, was best fitted to reach the hearts of another nationality; for the other he had a large body of old favourites from which to choose. Thus, the very nature of a composition eminently successful, and it is characteristic of Roman conservatism, especially in connexion with any religious rite, that the types thus established were in certain respects rigidly adhered to. The (as inherited, the Palliata, or stage-clown) is always the adaptation of a play from the sphere of the New or occasionally (as perhaps in the case of the Amphitrion) of the Middle Comedy; the scene, the characters, and, as the name indicates, the action, are of a more popular type, and are not always consistently preserved, especially in Plautus; but even here, though the man lived and wrote during and immediately after the blazing excitement of the Second Punic War, deviations from the normal type are noticeable. Comparison, however, with fragments of the Greek originals, wherever available, shows that the poet treated his exemplar with great freedom, both in content and in form, changing what was suitable, and leaving out what was not. The measure is at times a part of the original, at times an adaptation. It is often difficult to speak of a particular play as a whole. Frequently, too, the action of his play by constructing an underplot from a certain number of scenes supplied by a second Greek exemplar. This process was technically known as contaminatio. On the whole, however, the Palliata is a faithful representation of the New Comedy of Greece. Indeed, owing to the loss of all complete originals, it is our only representative. The characteristics of this comedy of manners, or, as Ben Jonson would say, of humour, are to be found in the Palliata written by them must have been no less than four hundred. We now have the six plays of Terence and twenty plays, more or less complete, of Plautus. Of the remainder, we have the names of about one hundred and forty plays, and fragments amounting in the aggregate to about eight hundred lines. Apart from Plautus and Terence, the great names of the department were Naevius and Cæcilius Statius. In the famous canon of Vossian times, are all Greek. To the still greater merit of Cæcilius, Naevius, Livius, Licinius, Atilius, Terence, Turpilius, Trabea, Lascinius Lanuvinus, Ennius. Apparently the latest of the group was Naevius Statius, in 159 B.C. He had already outlived the popularity of his department by nearly a generation.

The Palliata was carefully studied in the two great eras of Roman scholarship—the age of Varro and the age of Suetonius. Many plays of this type were doubtless composed, especially by persons of quality; in the time of Domitian, when it was the fashion to write books. But, after the first great period of its existence, the stage tradition of the Palliata, so far as we are now able to trace it, is largely the stage tradition of Plautus and Terence. Indeed, the only Roman comedy to survive, apart from these two authors, is a re-working of the Aulularia, belonging probably to the second half of the 4th cent. A.D., and known as the Querola.3

3. The 'Togata.'—This was the successor of the Palliata in public favour. Its floruit belongs to the two generations between the death of Plautus and the time of Sulla, and the great names of the department are Titinius, L. Afranius, and T. Quintius Ata. Little is known of these men personally, except that Ata died in 77 B.C., and that Afranius, by the fragments. The scene was taken from titles and about four or five hundred fragments, mostly lexical, are all that remain of this type. According to the ordinary Roman definition (e.g. esp. Horace, Ars Poët., 288), which we have already mentioned, the Palliata was a Greek comedy of manners representing Greek life. The scene was Roman and the costumes were Roman; hence, the name. In the case of Afranius, however, we learn that this is not a definition of the Fabula Togata as a whole (which ought to mean any play distinctively Roman), but of its most important sub-variety, the Tabernaria. The distinction is valuable to speak of the Togata as a separate and important sub-variety, with a more significant and descriptive than is Togata. Moreover, Dionycus adds that 'tabernaria decurur et humiliter personæram et argumentum similitudine comedios parcæ, in quibus magistrati seque sed humilio, humilioque private, indecens quasi quidem non quot tabulis tegentur, quam committere tabernae vocabantur.' This statement is amply supported by the titles and, so far as they go, by the fragments. The scene was generally (perhaps always) outside of Rome, and for the most part in the small towns of Southern Latium. Indeed, Mommsen claimed that the scene had to be laid in a town of the Latin league, because the poet was not allowed to represent either Rome or a Roman citizen on the stage. Hence Mommsen would connect the death of the Togata in Sulla's time with the extension of citizenship to the Latin towns at that date. If so, why was it that the Togata or the great masters were popular on the stage until late in the Empire?

The fifteen titles of Titinius represent what was originally about twenty thousand lines of text. About one hundred and eighty fragmentary verses survive. So far as form is concerned, the model was the Palliata. In his metrical art, Titinius followed the greater regularity of Terence, but in language and temperament he seems to have had more in common with Plautus. His plays were all family pieces, and it is clear that the life depicted was that of the lower classes and of the country folk. The prominence of women, noticeable not only in Titinius but in the other authors of this type, is itself characteristic of Italian life. There is no sign of the kidnappers, and very little indeed of the slave which Festus tells us were standard characters in these plays. The only type suggesting the Palliata is the parva, the 'smaller comedies' are more Italian, and remind us rather of the Aedidana and the mime of than of the Palliata. By far the greatest, the most prolific, and the best known of the trio was Afranius. Indeed, like Molière and Ben Jonson, Afranius seems to have been a true Querolus sive Aulularia, ed. by R. Peper, Leipz., 1875, etc.

F. Marx, in Pauly-Wissowa, I. 787. For the Togata as a department, see esp. Edmond Courlaud, de Comedie Togata, Paris, 1890.
been an excellent illustration of Gildersleeve's statement that "in literature as in life the greatest borrowers are often the richest men." Cicero (Brut. 167) says that he was influenced by Titius the orator, and even in the disjointed fragments now surviving we hear echoes of Paeucius, possibly even of Cato, but above all of Manander. In fact, enough is left of his prologue to the **Compendium** to show that he followed him closely, and that he was criticized for it. His reply was that 'he borrowed not alone from Manander, but from any other writer, Greek or Latin, whenever he found something suitable to his purpose.' Why not? Is it not certain that Manander, but the language of the plays of England and France is one of the most important chapters in the formative history of the modern drama. Their connexion, if they have any, with the tragedy of the Republican period cannot be stated definitely. Forence *Pallade*, in her _History of English Dramatic Literature_, says that these plays go back to the school of Horace, and the plays throughout were deeply affected by contemporary rhetoric.

5. The *Pretexta._—The **Pretexta**, the Roman parallel to the _Tragedia_ of Livius and his followers, as the _Toga_ was the Roman parallel to the _Palladi_ and _Toga_. The invention of Navius, the greatest constructive genius, perhaps, of Roman poetry. But, owing in part, no doubt, to the comparative poverty of Greek legends, the idea was not especially fruitful. One example, however, survives. This is the _Octavia_, a play by some unknown author, probably of the Flavian period, in which possibly a dialogue in some dialogue between the house of the Nerva, inasmuch as it has come down to us in the corpus of Nerva's tragedies.

So much for a brief survey of the Roman drama as a purely literary production from beginning to end (Palladi and **Toga**, _Tragedia_ and **Pretexta_). It remains to consider those types of the drama which had a popular as well as a literary history. The most important of these, and the only ones with which we need to be concerned in the present inquiry, are the mime and the _Fabula Attica_. Strictly speaking, the _Attica_ should be considered a variety of the mime. Here, however, we take it up first, not only because in literary form it is the immediate successor of the _Toga_ in public favour, but also because to lose the literature of Rome as it now survives is largely the literature of a great capital—in other words, that portion of the written word which was contained in a classic in the age of Hadrian and the Antonines. After that we hear little of it. In all the great library of antique realism, now gone beyond recall, there is probably no department, at least so far as Rome is concerned, which we could so ill afford to lose. The literature of Rome as it now survives is largely the literature of a great capital—in other words, that portion of the written word which was contained in a classic in the age of Hadrian and the Antonines. After that we hear little of it. In all the great library of antique realism, now gone beyond recall, there is probably no department, at least so far as Rome is concerned, which we could so ill afford to lose.

6. The *Attica._—*The Fabula Attica* is the "play from Atella," a little town in Campania. The plays in this form are called _Fabulae_; the first time the play was known as 'Oscan,' and the characters as 'Oscene personae.' (Dionysius, _i_. 490, *i.e.* Varro). Generally speaking, of course, these plays were acted in Latin, but Strabo (v. 233; cf. Sueton. _Jul_. 28) tells us that in his time (the Augustan Age) they were still acted in Oscan _kara tuva aywma patroos_ during the national festival." This statement, so far from being incredible, as many have thought, is merely an excellent illustration of the well-known tendency of liturgy to linguistic conservatism (compare the use of Sumero-Akkadian by the Babylonians; of Greek in the Roman worship of Ceres, as attested by Polybius, _xx_. 14, and Cic. _Bab_. 55; of Greek in the Russian, and of Latin in the Roman Church). Beyond a doubt not only that the play was Oscan, but that the Romans took it over in the first place in consequence of some vow or in connexion with some special occasion, and acted it at the national festival. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the small and obscure town of Campania recorded in the title _Attela_ was either the centre of the worship commemorated or in some way associated with its adoption. The date, though not uncertain, is at least anterior to the time of Livius Andronicus, and probably by a considerable period. This is shown in two ways. The first is...
derived from the special and peculiar privileges of the actors. The first actors hired by Livius Andronicus were either slaves or freedmen. Hence the irrevocable rule of later days that no Roman citizen could go on the stage without 

\textit{ipso facto}\n
incurring \textit{infamia}, i.e. the loss of certain important civic rights (as exemplified, for instance, by the famous case of the mimeograph Laberius in Cæsar's \textit{Bell. Civ.} xxv. 3). The extreme case was the \textit{Atellana}. Here and here only the actor was not obliged to remove his mask, and a citizen could take part without incurring any legal disability. This can only mean that the Atellana was introduced at a time when the Romans had no professional actors, and probably no festival at which theatrical performances were regularly given. The \textit{Atellana} had been acted by Campanian citizens. The Romans, contrary, it reflects the type and practice of the religious rite.

\textit{The second argument for the high antiquity of the Atellana among the Romans is derived from the well-known principle that, unless the ground is already occupied, the play always brings its theatre with it. Now, Bethe (\textit{Proleg. zur Gesch. des Theaters}) in Arhythm. 1903) has shown, we think conclusively, that the peculiar shape of the Roman stage, about which so much has been written, is not due to the fact that it was a modification of the Hellenistic type. On the contrary, it reflects the type and practice of the religious rite.}

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Aristophanic than anything else in Roman literature. Equally Aristophanic was the habit of personal criticism, of which we hear during the Empire from Tiberius to Trajan (Tac. Ann. iv. 14; Suet. Tib. 45, Col. 27, Nero, 39, Galb. 13, etc.).

While it is true that the Atellana to a literary form, we have to deal with a confused and confusing tangle of testimonia regarding the Atellana, the Exodion, the Rhinthonic, and the Greek Satyr-drama.

The conclusion seems to be (cf. schol. Juv. iii. 176, vi. 71; Suet. Tib. 45; Cic. Fam. vi. 1. 10) that the literary Atellana was used as an exodium, and the first mention of the word in Lucullus (103-103 B.C.) coincides with its development in this sphere.2 At the same time it is necessary to admit that, even if only a few actors (Ascon. on Cc. Verr. 15), it seemed hardly worth while, so to speak, to put it on the stage by itself. Apparently, therefore, it was the analogy of the Satyr-drama that suggested the use of the literary Atellana as an exodium, an after-piece. By later critics it was evidently identified with the Satyr-drama (schol. Juv. vi. 71; Porphyry on Hor. Ars Poet. 221, etc.). But it is hard to see how the two could coalesce. They could be a mimic drama and a Satyr-drama, or the other way round. Probably not. The Tiberius explanation seems to be that Pompontius and Novius wrote all three and used them for exodai.

The Atellana was evidently popular under the Empire; the old folk-drama was never forgotten, but as a living department of literature it seems to have been largely the creation of these two men, and as early as 55 B.C. (cf. Cic. Fam. vii. 1. 3 [written in 46]) the literary Atellana is an exodium. At the same time, so far as is known, the first mention of Decimus Laberius and Publilianus, the only two men of note who raised the mime to a literary form in the Latin language. If this were all, or if this chapter could be dealt with independently, the mime might be dismissed with the few paragraphs that precede it. But we have learned from Reich, however, that this cannot be done, and with his general conclusions we must agree in the main. The literary productions of Laberius and Syrus-like the Atellana in which they preceded—are a mere branch of the parent stock.

7. The mime. In its larger sense the mime is the most important phenomenon in the history of dramatic art; it appears in a dozen different forms, it has a dozen different titles. It is the history of the growth of realism, of the rise of the democracy; it has popular periods and literary periods, a Greek history, a Roman history, a Greco-Roman history, a modern history. Indeed, after reaching its peak in the fifth century and the whole story of the antique drama with the simple phrase, 'Mime thou went, to mime didst thou return.' For the complete and detailed discussion of this long and interesting development, the reader is referred to Moritz Theodor Seidler's book. It is manifestly impossible to give anything more than some of the important facts in outline.

The earliest appearance of the word 'mime' is as a title for the famous compositions of Sophron (5th cent. B.C.). These dramatic presentations of single incidents or situations, according to Suidas, were in prose and written in the Doric dialect. The substitution of the scotio for prose gives the form and the atmosphere of the mimebibi of Herondas, the Tiberius. On the one hand, the metre, on the other hand, starts us, by way of Sophron's imitator Theocritus, on the long history of boccal poetry. A convenient generic term for this type is Reich's mimologia, i.e. the mime as a recitation.

There were also purely lyric mimes, which were sung. To these Reich gives the generic title of mimodia. Particular species of it are magodeli, Simodia, hiraldia, Lysidia. Between the two we have koinodia and Ionikodia, all in verse, but partly recited, partly sung. In the Alexandrian period, comes the fully developed mimetic drama, which was a combination of mimologa and mimodia, and retained the characteristics of both. With a fully developed plot, it had prose parts and iambic parts, like the mimolouga and the lyric parts—caedea—like the mimodia. With the conquests of Alexander this new invention began to spread in the Greek East, and soon took entire possession of it. Indeed, the time came when it ruled the stage, even to the exclusion of its ancient rival, the comedies of Menander.

Toward the end of the 2nd cent. B.C., after the Romans conquered the East, and especially after Sulla's time, they brought the dramatic mime to Rome. From Rome it spread over the West, and thenceforth held possession of the entire Graeco-Roman theatre until the fall of the Empire. The irruption of the Barbarians upon the West made an end of the theatre. Only the mimai survived, and they died out with the original function of baimastos and chlamydos. Such were those tumblers, jugglers, etc., of later times who went on with the ancient art of the mimas.

It was thus that the mime of antiquity was enabled to survive the Middle Ages and reach modern days alive. In the Greek East the mime was not subjected to the same strain. For centuries the Byzantines clung to the classic dramatic mimes of Phyllis. They also produced a large number of mime types and figures were added to the old stock inherited from classical times. Here, as in the West, the regular classical drama had long since disappeared from the stage. When Byzaunia fell, the remnants of Greek culture took refuge in Italy, to reappear there at the Renaissance. Only the mime remained, and in a debased form survives to-day in the Turkish popular drama known as the koragij. Two distinguishing features of the mime from beginning to end and to all periods accordingly. It is the history of the mime; to give the substance of Dionysus' definition (i. 491 K), it was realism unmitigated and undiluted. We get an idea of the relentless realism of the mime when we see how much of it is still left in the refined literary representatives of it furnished by Thesoretus and Herondas.

Without the restraint of higher genius and literary form, it was easy for the realism of the mime to sink to mere obscurity and its wit to mere dullness.

The realism of the mime is so seen in its characters. Many of them, perhaps all, were creations of the ancient folk-mime, and had long been familiar to all classes from this source. As early perhaps as the 6th or 7th cent. B.C. we have the first development of this species of folk-composition by quasi-professionals, those baimastroi, jugglers, rope-dancers, ventriloquists, and other homeless nomads who had been wandering about through Greece and elsewhere from time immemorial. The mime was a member of the mimidian dance, and of the mime itself, whether spoken or sung, for getting together an audience.

In this way, thinks Reich, sprang up a new profession, that of the wandering mimai.

Among all the varieties of dramatic composition
the mine was the lowest, as it were, in the social scale. The same was true of the actors. Even the players of the *Kithara* and flute were admitted to the Dionysian gild, but never the *minos*; he was always looked down upon by his more distinguished colleagues. This discrimination was not worked from the first by the fact that the actors were not masked, and that women's parts were taken by women. Doubtless, this was inherited from their early days as jugglers, but the 'regulars' even in their own later ages, evil though they would never join the *minos* on account of the women.

A convenient division of the *minos* as a whole is afforded by the words *μινον* and *μινεια*. The *μινον* *ειρήνη* is the developed mimie drama, the regular mimic genre, of which he invented below it, i.e. *hilarodia*, *magodia*, etc., mentioned above, *kinadologie, Ionikadologie, ϕωνακεια*, even the works of Sophron, etc., none of which were regular dramas. Frequently the *μινον* is what we should call music-drama or operetta in both Greece and Rome; and there were many varieties, such as educated animals (Vopiscus, *Carinias*, 19; Plutarch, *de Sollett. Anim.* 19, etc.), and special feats of imitation. Imitation of pigs seemed to have been particularly popular (Phœdrus, *De Sect. 7*); Menander, in his *Diogenes* (1891, pp. 64, 68, 69, and 263 (note)). These varieties of *μινον* are eternally popular.

The most important figure in the history of the department is Phillusion, who lived and wrote in Rome during the 1st cent. B.C. He is the *classic* of the mimie *ειρηνη*, the regular mimic genre; hence the comparison of him with Menander, the *classico* of the New Comedy. *The statement of Cassiodorus (vit. Min. 9) that he invented the mimic genre, is doubtful* due to the fact that he was the first to write it all out, i.e. the dialogue as well as the songs. Evidently he was the culmination of the mimic genre among the Greeks, but the beginnings of its imitation in the historic and proto-historic times. The mine of Sicily and Italy came from the Peloponnese with the early Dorian settlers. It was extremely popular in Sicilian Megara and Syracuse. Tarentum was especially fond of the Italian mine, the *minos* of these cities were founded near the beginning of the 8th cent. B.C.

The original kernel of the mine, the source from which it sprang, was the mimic mine, the beginnings of which belonged to the Stone Age, and may be seen to-day among all peoples who still belong to that stage of civilization. The ancients never forgot the connexion between the two. The mimic mine survived in all types, and the *minos* himself was always a trained dancer. The *kinadologie* for instance, were originally dancers who thus accompanied their *θρυπτοι* (cf. Petron. 23). Hesychius describes the *magodia* itself as *δραμα ἱππα*, the Romans designated the action of the *ειρηνη* by *satire*, and the actresses were known as *σαλτρατρια* in the same connexion indicates the kind of dance.

The development of troupes of regular professional *minos* from the old wandering *γελοηταιροι* of primitive times seems to have taken place about the 3rd cent. B.C. These primitive ancestors of the modern *joongleurs* have gradually taken up all the types and themes of the old rustic mine. They travelled everywhere, they were great favourites at the court of Philip, and horses of them followed Alexander into Asia Minor. Here the Dorian mine met the Ionian mine, and the result was the *ειρήνη*, the regular dramatic mine. The Dorian mine was originally prose (hence Sophron), although great artists like Epicharmus put it into metre. The dramatic mine (ειρηνη), however, was noted for its dialogue, and the Ionian mine *magodia* and Ionian song *mamodia* is what ensured the lasting success of the dramatic mine. Great emphasis was laid upon *magodia*, and this brings the dramatic mine near to the modern opera and oratoria. Thus we may get a substitute for the missing chorus of the *Palliate*. Plato took over *magodia*, and the result is the mimic *centum* of his comedies. Pompionus and Novius seem to have done the same thing for their *diatime*.

Now, the Ionian *minos* itself, like the *ειρήνη*, throughout its entire history, falls into a mythological and a *biological* type (cf. Aristox. *ap. Athen. xiv. 621 D), the one, *hilarodia* (and *Lysidia*), dealing with mythology and the gods (partragic and burlesque), the other, *magodia*, with real life. Both were entirely melic, and in both singing was accompanied and supported by mimie dance and gesture; but the accompaniment of *hilarodia* was sometimes accompanied by a stringed lyre, and by *drum* (Ath. 620 D-621 D), and the choice of instruments itself indicates that the dancing of the latter was much freer and more lascivious.

*Hilarodia* and *magodia* were widespread and very popular among the Romans, and were especially noted in the *meirainia* and *Lysidia* (magodia). Through famous poets and a regular class of actors, these two types of Ionian *magodia* survived into Roman times. Sulla's friend Metrobius was an actor of the *Lysidia*. *Kinadologie, or Ionikadologie*, was another type of the Ionian. This was not really sung, although accompanied by the mimic (hence it was more *minoda* than *minos*). This also was very popular in Ionia, and was cultivated by such famous poets as Sostrades, Alexander Astolus, Pigna, etc.

It will thus be seen that we have an unbroken connexion between the mimie-dramatic dances of the primitive Greeks, the ancient folk-mimes of the Doriens, the Ionic *mines*, and the dramatic mine of Ionia, through a slow and acquired literary form —*hilarodia* through *Simos* of Magnesia, *magodia* through Lysias. Hence these new literary types were called after their founders *Simonia* (*hilarodia*) and *Lysiadia* (magodia). Through famous poets and a regular class of actors. These two types of Ionian *magodia* survived into Roman times. Sulla's friend Metrobius was an actor of the *Lysiadia*. *Kinadologie, or Ionikadologie*, was another type of the Ionian. This was not really sung, although accompanied by the mimie (hence it was more *minoda* than *minos*). This also was very popular in Ionia, and was cultivated by such famous poets as Sostrades, Alexander Astolus, Pignes, etc.

The relation of Rome to Greece in the matter of the mine now becomes more definite. *Adiakos* (Antipater Sidon. *A nth. Pol.* ix. 567), the actress of *Lysiadia*, came to Rome in the 2nd cent. B.C.; Metrobius, as we have seen, in the 1st cent. B.C. In 211 B.C. an old *minos* (Pestus, 326) danced to the flute in the Roman theatre. His dance was an intermezzo, but his mere presence shows that the *mini* had already reached Rome. The *mini* who satirized Lucilius and Accius (150 B.C.) from the stage were following an old-established custom of the dramatic mine (*ειρήνη*). The fact that they took such liberties shows that even then they must have been in Rome for a long time. The satire in question must have taken place at the *Floralia* (April, 28-May, 3), which was then a special institution at which mimia were given. The *Floralia* were first celebrated in 288 B.C., and every year after 173. It is quite possible that the mine was connected with this feast from the first. In that case, the dramatic mine, which was established in the Greek East by the 3rd cent. B.C. was already settled in Rome in connexion with the *Floralia* by the end of the same century. Thus we see how the mimic portion of the dramatic mine was the suggestion
of the *cantica* of Plautus and Cecilius Statius. The introduction of the mime and of *mimi* at that time was not a simple matter. The *mimi* in 293 B.C. and by the fact that in 190 at Sipilo Aristides returned from Antioch, one of a centre of the dramatic mime, just as long afterwards Verlos (Capitol. viii. 7) came back from his Parthian campaign with shiploads of *mimi*. The earliest specimen of early Greek, and the *aena Graeca* remained in Rome until theodoric. 1 One is reminded of such modern parallels as the *Théâtre italien* in Paris, etc. The Latin mime was a copy of the Greek (technical terms, run, canto etc.). 1

Having traced the history of the department as a whole, let us pause a moment upon the fully developed dramatic mime of the best period. We have already seen that it inherited dialogue in prose and familiar verse, also lyric portions (cantica), accompanied by music and the traditional mimic dance. The same principle also justified the introduction of *tayia* such as trained animals, imitations, etc. In plot, too, and in length it was fully equal to the old classical drama; in compass and variety it was superior.

A good example of the type is an old favourite, well known to Ovid *Fasti* iv. 602, and Chorikios. The name of the piece has not survived; we might, however, for convenience call it *Dionysos*, as it is an early exploitation of the line of thought about the dangers that beset young men and their jealous wife and the jealous husband. Then the lover, the *cultus adulter* 298, who and the play is a further development of Thymere's faithful adbliss, the *castus*, gains an interview with his mistress in the absence of Corinthus. In the following scenes the husband is subjected to all sorts of tricks and mystifications, *artes mimicae*. Finally, the lover has to hide from him in a harem (the *ludus Latinus*). He is discovered. The husband, breathing fire, tells the lover to fetch him a knife, large and very sharp, as he proposes to render the *cultus adulter* harmless. Then he changes his mind and decides tont the wrongs in court. Then comes the court scene, and the piece is brought to an end in some farcical fashion.

The first example of *Dionysos* requires not only the three principal characters and the judge to be on the stage at the same time but also three slaves, slave judges, court officials, superintendents, etc. Other plays show even more clearly that in the mime, as in the modern drama, with which, in fact, it has much in common, the latter played but one part and the number was unrestricted. It is also clear that the 'unities' were disregarded.

Variety in form was accompanied by variety in character. True to its composite origin, the mime is hospitable to all, from thieves and prostitutes to emperors and gods. 3 The same was true of costume, for it was as *tayia*, or clown (a typical character inherited from the slave) wore the regular clown's costume, the *contunclu* (cf. the medieval 'motley'), a shaved head, an *agape*, a mimic club (like Maccens and Bajazzo), and always the phallus. The old women, too, wore a baroque costume. Others wore, Lacinius, who is famous in the *Fasti* for his *mimesis* and his adbliss was according to the character and the situations.

So, too, the whole gamut of human emotions was played upon: comic and tragic, humour and sentiment, go hand in hand, as in the Roman comedy of the Elizabethan Age. The titles of *Labeorns* suggest realistic plots for the most part. It is doubtful, however, whether such mimes as his *Silla* and *Laceius*. *Aequan* were altogether realistic. In fact, even while the mime dealt with contemporary life and was purely realistic, great emphasis was laid on the unusual, strange, and astonishing. Nothing indicates more clearly the really popular comic of the mime, 4 A favourite character was the beggar who suddenly becomes rich (Cic. Phil. ii. 27); another, the rich man who becomes a beggar (Sen. Epist. 113. 6). Shippur was a favourite *motus* (Sen. Deod. iv. 2. 5; Petron. 114 and 116). The larger the role, the more the mime of Domitian's time, gave the romantic adventure of a robber chieftain, and ended with his execution. Especially characteristic of the mime is the comic crime, something unusual and horrible, like larceny or incest or murder. Trials for perjury or poisoning are frequent, and generally serve for the *denouement*. An interesting example, which will also illustrate the part occasionally taken by animals (cf. such titles of *Labeorns* as *Cattalia* and *Neptorius and Plautus, De Sollect. Anim. ix. 7*).

This was a mime with a large number of characters and a complicated plot, which he saw in the theatre of Marcellus. Vespasian himself was present. The intrigue centred in what was purported to be a poison, but was in reality a sleeping potion. As in the case of the preceding, it took it apparently down at a time revived. One of the star actors was a trained dog, and the most important incident of the mime, because it doubtless led to the *denouement*, was trying the effect of the supposed poison upon him. As soon as he had eaten the piece of bread upon which the poison had been placed, he began to tremble and stagger, his head grew heavy, and he finally died, as if dead, and allowed himself to be carried about in that state. When it was time to return again, *motus* and *motus* of returning consciousness, and, while the actors indicated their astonishment at the fact that the supposed victim of a deadly poison had come to himself again, the actor who had played the protagonist and joyously fawned upon him.

The connexion of the plot with the *motus* is not stated, but we may believe with Reich that there was a connexion, and that the probable nature of it is illustrated by the (mime from which this was derived) the *motus* 

The old grandee took for a second wife a young and very beautiful woman. She told vividly in love with her stepson, but was rejected by him, and thereby the point is made that this *motus* has been a popular favourite ever since the days of Joseph and Balthasar. It appears constantly in folk tradition, in the mime, in that echo of the mime, the rhetorical *contriverter* and *memorium* in the Italian *noctes* etc.) A slave is accused of stabbing and deadly poison but the essay Kingkong, it is the judge, that he had eaten of wine, and the pair leave it the young man will take it without asking questions. Presently, however, her son returns from school, and, being thirsty—as small boys always are—drinks the wine and falls dead on the spot. (Here is the unexpected turn of the piece which is the most faithful interpreter of the popular mind, so dearly loved.)

It is, of course, dear to all that the child has died of poison. The woman accuses her stepson of the deed, and alleges as a cause that he had attempted incest with herself. The young man is arrested, there is a great trial scene in court, and, after much oratory on both sides, he is condemned to death. At this point, however, we have another unexpected turn. An old judge, who is also a priest and physician, has heard the whole story, and he decides to put off the trial all this time. At this point he rises to his feet and informs the court that be himself had sold the drug to the slave, and that it is not a sin to go now to the tomb, said he, 'the child will soon be waking up.' Thus the whole court was discomfited and was almost true to the mime, she was merely turned adrift, not executed.

Another plot eminently characteristic of the mime is *Phaedrus*, Ep., xiv. 'The two beggars, Marcellus, the French *fable* known as 'Le vrai Palefor,' 'The grey Horse.'

This is Roman comedy. So, too, the mime takes us into the world of phantasy. Witwits, warlocks, madmen, prophets, are among the favourite characters. In the old Dorian mime popular demons were presented, and the metamorphosis of men into animals, which is well attested for the mime of all periods, takes us straight into the fantastic land of ancient Greece. The Roman *motus* of 'Beauty and the Beast,' of 'the Golden Crab,' of 'the Three Citrons,' and the like. In this function the mime is a curiously complete prototype of Carlo Gozzi's famous experiment with the fairy tales of Italy. To the Roman *motus* of the mythological mimes, *Priasus*, *Anna Perenna*, *Anubis Mochus*, *Kinyras* and *Myrrha* (Jos. Ant.) the survival of the *Sententias* of *Seneca*. These were extracted from his mimes at a later date, and was also a notable *motus* for the use of students and professors, from which might be drawn those sententious observations so dearly loved by the rhetoric of the sierra, which, in the *Oedipus* and the *Elektra*, plots, scenes, and *motus* most characteristic of the mime, the practice dechonizations of the rhetorical schools probably afford the richest field for study.

1 Scrib, Fam. vii. 1; Sueton, *Jul*. 26, etc.
2 See Reich, op. cit. p. 561 f., for details.
3 See *Fasti*, p. 540 f. 2; *Oxyyst. ii. 138; Chorikios (Reich, p. 204 f.)*.
4 In Juvena's time the wife was acted by Thymere, the husband by Corinthus, the lover by Latinus. The number is five, but *Oedipus* and *Elektra*, *Motus* are very well might be called the Mrs. Iacagelride of the Flavian period.
5 See *Fasti*. 6. Many titles of *Labeorns* and *Syra* speak for themselves in this respect.
6 The Latin mimes were carefully studied in the rhetorical schools during and after the Augustan Age. To this fact is due
Drama (Roman)

It will be seen that in form and type the mime was identical with the rest of the classical drama most familiar to us. It may be added that the same was true of many details of its presentation. First and most important, the actors, as we have already seen, never (Cicero excepted) wore masks. It is not necessary as explained elsewhere what this means for dramatic art. The mime was his own face only; indeed, one of the principal characters of the mime was known in Latin as Simulio (Cic. de Orat. ii. 61), i.e. 'the mimicking face'—a speciality of the mime. So, too, as we have seen, only in the mime were women's parts always taken by women. And, as there was no restriction of type, the characters included women of all ages and kinds. It is characteristic of the mime that fancy, in any case, old women should be a speciality. This enabled a talented actress to keep on indefinitely (Pliny, H.N vii. 48).

The original stage of the mime, as we see from old representations, was a platform on props about three feet from the ground, and with steps in front by which the actor mounted. Change to the regular stage was very slow. With the beginning of the theatres the mime was acted on a smaller platform in the upper part of the regular stage. It was thus given as an embolariuma (Diomed. 490) or intermezzo. The next step was to the regular stage, upon which in Cicero's time the mime took the place of the Deeds, and in the time of the Floridus, however, it had always been acted independently, and it gradually drew away from its function as an exodrom (Diomed. 491 f.), until in the early Empire it took to the regular stage, which it has been with the pantomime, finally run alone. One distinction, however, survived. The mime was acted in front of the siriparium, and it was through this that the actors made their exits and entrances. The stage was dressed as in Shakespeare's time, but, as also in Shakespeare's time, there was no scene-shifting. Claudian (Epig. Grece. 6) shows that there was, as we might assume, a regular corps de ballet. But here it fulfilled the same place and did much the same thing in our times.

In view of what has been said, it is not difficult to understand why the fully developed dramatic mime, in spite of its faults, finally ruled alone. If the dramatic mime from the highest function is to represent their life and their point of view, then the dramatic mime has a greater right to be called the national drama of the Greek-Roman world than has the classical drama of Greece or of the, Shakespeare, and aways, or more or less exotique representative in Rome. It is likely that Quintilian's verdict of 'in commedia, maxime claudianum' might have been applied with equal justice to the Roman tragedy. Cicero was a notorious lover of the mime, a man of judgment and taste in such matters, if there ever was one. It is true, of course, that the mime was the drama of the age, and that the age was an age of realism. For that reason alone the average man of the time would be expected to have been in favour of the mime. But, after all, the realism of Cicero's time, however relentless, was not the realism of our time. The mimographe of those days, realist though he was, still possessed the vivid imagination, the nimble fancy, and, therefore, the sentiment of his race and time—those qualities without which the bubbling well—spring of humour and invention must soon dry up. Moreover, his audience was endowed with the same qualities. It still believed in ghosts and magic, it still had a folk-lore, it still possessed, incomparably rich mythology. Hence the real world of antiquity finds its parallel in the age of Elizabeth rather than in our own. It was only partially real after all. And so the mime, like the Elizabethan 'tragi-comedy', was now wildly humorous, now fantastically horrible. The romantism and the real, humour and pathos, comic and tragic, fact and fancy—all these and more were called upon to picture a life which, real as it once was, is no longer ours and will never be one again.

The dramatic mime, however, seems never to have taken its position as a great literary department. In the long run the habit of leaving the dialogue to the actors proved to be inevitable, and this dry, one-sided, however, that most serious menace to the mime was its own splendid inheritance of versatility. The dialogue and plot, music, singing, dancing, an occasional weakness for a 'specialties—the combination is unstable, and. actors are—actors. Between the three the mime of the 4th cent. A.D. received its final form and criticism was bestowed upon it by Donatus and Cassiodorus. But, whatever its faults and virtues, the vitality of the mime was amazing. Time and change, national ruin, ecclesiastical fulmination and metaphysics—nothing could destroy the mime. We cannot ignore a dramatic type which finally ousted both Euripides and Menander from the stage, and ruled alone for over half a millennium.

8. State control of the theatre. The Roman theatre, like the Roman play, and, for the most part, the details of its presentation, were a continuation and development of the Greek prototypes as they existed in the Alexandrian period. All derive separately from the Roman play, like its predecessor, was clearly and distinctly an act of worship to the gods. It was, therefore, given at festivals, more especially at those festivals which the State religion, hence the State itself, had set apart for purposes of public worship. The plays were merely one item of the ritual observed. Other items were the races, gladiatorial combats, etc., which gave the general name of ludi to these occasions. In the time of Augustus, the regular ludi held at the Capitol, if the plays were given, were the Megalenses (April 4—10), the Ceriales (April 12—19), the Florales (April 28—May 3), the Apollinares (July 6—13), the Romani (Sept. 4—19), the Pitei (Nov. 4—17). Other ludi of the Augustan Age, during which plays were or could be given, were generally sporadic and meant to commemorate some special occasion, such as a great victory or the death of some distinguished man. Later in the Empire the tendency to increase the regularity of ludi ludi became very marked, and serious attempts to reduce the number were made by several of the Emperors, notably Nerva, Septimus Severus, and Maximi. Nevertheless, according to the calendar of 364, not less than 175 days in the year were given to ludi, and 101 of this number to plays.

The play was managed by the State. It is true that ludi were given by persons more or less in private life, but they were still an act of worship, the consent of the State had first to be secured, and, lastly, they were supposed to be under the control of the State. The best authority for Rome here is L. Friedlander in Marquart-Mommsen's Handbuch der röm. Altertümer, vi. [1860] 482 f. See also G. Oehmichen, 'Das Bühnenwesen der Griechen und Römer,' in Müller's Handbuch der klass. Altertumswissenschaft, Munich, 1858, v. 3, pp. 181—304. For colours in theatrical tradition, see especially Kostianeczka, de Comedia.
general supervision of State officials. At no time apparently was the antique theatre a purely private affair. In fact, it was partly a public one. One or two exceptions under the Empire are mentioned by Tacitus, but with such disapprobation that they illustrate rather than invalidate the rule. Until the time of Augustus five of the six great annual ludi mentioned above were in charge of the various ediles. The sixth, the Apollinares, which occurred in July, was managed by the praetor urbanus. The officer in charge had everything to do. Indeed, in earlier times, as we learned from Plautus, he even attended to the matter of costumes. He also built the theatre, and afterwards had to clear it away and put the place in order. Oddly enough, Rome never seems to have had but two permanent theatres—the theatre of Pompey, built in 55, and the theatre of Marcellus, which belongs to the Augustan Age. The edile also had charge of the audience during the performance. In this he was assisted by his corps of designatores, or ushers. The designator, however, was a vastly more important person than is the modern usher. He was a regular deputy of the civil magistrate in charge, and as such the majesty of the law was with him. He had lictors, and he was expected to see to it that people were ever necessary. In the 2nd cent., as we learn from the jurist Ulpian, this office was in the gift of the Emperor, and was of great value. The edile had a regular sum allowed him from the State treasury to meet the bills incurred. But this lucrum, as it was called, had been fixed as early as the Second Punic War, and was far from keeping pace with the growing expenses of the function for which it was designed. Nevertheless, the office of edile, as such, had made one so prominent and popular that it was much sought after by the aristocracy as a means to further advancement, and they spent fabulous sums in giving the shows devolving upon them. But at the accession of Augustus the emperors could be found who were willing to accept the office. He, therefore, transferred the management of theatrical matters to the praetors, and this remained the law under the Empire.

The place of the edile in the case of a play was determined by one's position in the State, and that it was regulated by law. The theatre was a religious institution, in charge of the Government. Such being the case, a seat at the theatre, like a seat in the Senate, would be a very great privilege, and would be invested with the right to citizenship, and therefore to be assigned according to that principle. For that reason, in the earlier days of the Republic, slaves could not attend the theatre; and the same must have been true of strangers unless they were guests of the State. But in the time of Augustus these restrictions had ceased to be in force. The law on the subject of seating as it existed under the Empire rested for the most part upon enactments of Augustus, and the State treasury to meet the bills incurred. But, in the time of Augustus these restrictions had ceased to be in force. The law on the subject of seating as it existed under the Empire rested for the most part upon enactments of Augustus, and the State treasury had largely been reserved for those knights who had served as military tribunes or land-commissioners. The younger knights also had a separate section, which under the Empire was known as the Conventus Germanici. Knights, who had served in the foreign armies, were obliged to sit in a group by themselves.

Previous enactments were extended and strengthened by the Lex Julia Theatralis of Augustus. This law, which was much affected by Greek theather ordinances, prescribed the place of every one in all parts of the house. The general public sat according to tribus, or wards. But even here distinctions were made—for instance, in favour of husbands and fathers as against bachelors and spinsters. The women, and with them the young children, had to sit by themselves on the back rows. The one most notable exception was the Vestals, who had seats of honour near the front. So the various colleges of priests and other officials had seats of their own, often of a special form, with lanks, arms, etc. Sometimes a certain seat was given a man in perpetuum, usually in return for distinguished services rendered to the State. Such a seat was also used by his family and could not be inherited.

The usual time for a play to begin was early in the morning. A play of Plautus, including the music, would take about three hours. Whether two or more should be given in succession, as was sometimes the case, was left to the official in charge. Plays were never given at night except for ceremonial reasons. This was always the case when mimes were acted at the Flora. Other details, so far as they bear upon the present discussion, have already been dealt with elsewhere.

9. The Roman drama not purely national.—In view of what has been said in the previous pages, we might perhaps conclude that as a literary production the life in the Roman drama was surprisingly brief, its great authors comparatively few, its genuine popularity problematical. We cannot agree, however, that the reasons for it were that the Pallinata died of too much Greek, that the mime sorrow is well covered by the tragedy, and that we have audience steeped in the bloody realities of the arena, that idealism does not and cannot reach a generation of realists. These are all true, but they are symptoms, not causes. There were plenty of men in the Age of Pericles who preferred cock-fighting to comedy, and athletics to Eshylus. Nevertheless, the drama really did reach the hearts of the people. This was because it was theirs, because it was truly national. The Roman drama, on the contrary, both as an institution and as a department of literature, was profoundly affected by the intrusion upon it at an early date of the fully developed Hellenic tradition and the long-established Hellenic masterpieces. The contrast between the Greek and the Roman drama we know it, and as the Romans themselves knew it during the historical period, was not really national, and had no deep roots in the national life. The atmosphere of the Pallinata was foreign, the material of the tragedy was not only foreign but comparatively remote; even the worship of Dionysus—god of the drama—was an exotic, and the feeling of mistrust entertained by the genuine old Roman is clearly indicated by the famous Senate, which people in the 2nd cent. B.C. Among other things it provided that the property qualification of a Roman knight should be raised to 400,000 sesterces, and that the first fourteen rows behind the orchestra should be set apart for the exclusive use of this order. The law also provided that even within these rows careful distinctions should be made among the knights themselves, the praetor for a purely financial one. One or two exceptions under the Empire are mentioned by Tacitus, but with such disapproval that they illustrate rather than invalidate the rule.
muck harder nut to crack. The Christian Fathers were especially fond of designing her as a μιμή (Chrys. vii. 665 f. etc.).

It is only just that the mimnes was not really to be blamed for his parodies. Throughout paganism he had ridiculed the ancient gods. This was characteristic of Hellenism, and no one thought anything of it. In their case, however, the Christians objected to his having had come in from the East. And, when Christianly won the upper hand, the mimne returned again to the old gods of paganism.

11. Christian opposition.—Attacks on the theatre begin with the Christianipes (written by Felix, Tatian, Arnobius, Augustine, Lactantius, Gregory Naz., etc.). Special works aimed at the theatre alone were written by Tertullian and Cyprian; and Chrysostom rarely forgets this his special vessel of wrath. In the course of time all this bitter polemic was systematized, supported, and connected by the dialectic of the law and of the Church.

All the old gods are devils (Tert. Spect. 19): Dionysus the old god is the lord of the theatre. But laughter and gaiety come from imitations of the devil, the devil. He built himself, and says expressly that it belongs to him to do this. The idea of the comic and the dramatic arts come from the devil (pseudo-Cyp. Spect. 4; Tatian, Orat. ad Graec. 32). This is a favourite topic for Chrysostom: through the medium of the mimnes Christian can expose the mouth of the mimne the devil speaks (vii. 675 B). The songs of the mimne and Sarissus are a thing for the devil alone and not otherwise (vii. 77 B, viii. 422). In the same way, etc., the whole show and all that is said and done by and during the same is inspired of hell, a demon's hymn, a devil's sacrament (vii. 6 C. ix. 332 B). All who go to the mimne become the devil's own (vii. 114 C). Therefore the Christian who goes to it is a sorcerer, for who has not seen the mimic and the mimne in the place of the God—ἀοιος αὐτοὺς—but from the devil (x. 590, vii. 97). The long and fiery passages ascribed to the various actors, above all to the mimnes. They curl their hair, they paint their cheeks, they roll their eyes, they glitter in jewels and gold— and who are these mimnes? The daughters of butchers, of shoemakers, even of slaves! Most seductive is all the beautiful voice with which they know how to sing their χορεύειν, their ἄνεμοι στασίαν, their ἑλκυσθήματα, their 'devil's own ditties.' Then, too, the language is common, vulgar, trivulial, full of oaths, not even intelligible, caking out its meaning with shouting and squealing! Yet the Christians are forever talking about the actresses, what they say, how they look, what they do. Chrysostom asks: Can the Christian convert them and then by the Divine power of the rite they were parading, had confessed their faith from the stage, and had suffered martyrdom soon after. The most famous was Genesis in Diocletian's time. His specialty had been to imitate the 'working of the spirit' with a pretended fit, after which he proceeded to baptism. A church was erected to him, and to this day Saint Genesis still remains a specialist on epilepsy.2 Even martyrdom was depicted in the most realistic fashion. But this was nothing new. In the old mimne of Laocoon, the robber chiefsten was (apparently) nailed to the cross, and, as Josephus tells us (Ant. xix. 13), the realism was heightened for the occasion. In fact, Domitian once put the last touch to this delectable specialty by substituting the genuine crucifixion of a condemned criminal. That such an entertainment could still remain a butt of ridicule, even to the Christians, the writer observes, that the sufferer was the clown. It is expressly stated that Saint Gelasinos was the ποτάμος λέξεως, i.e. the μίμης or χορεύειν. Occasionally the mimne was converted. The famous case was that of Pelagia by Bishop Nomos.3 As a rule, however, the mimne was a

1 Simeon, FG civili. 134 and 144.
2 Acta Sanctorum,olland. v. 126 (August).
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